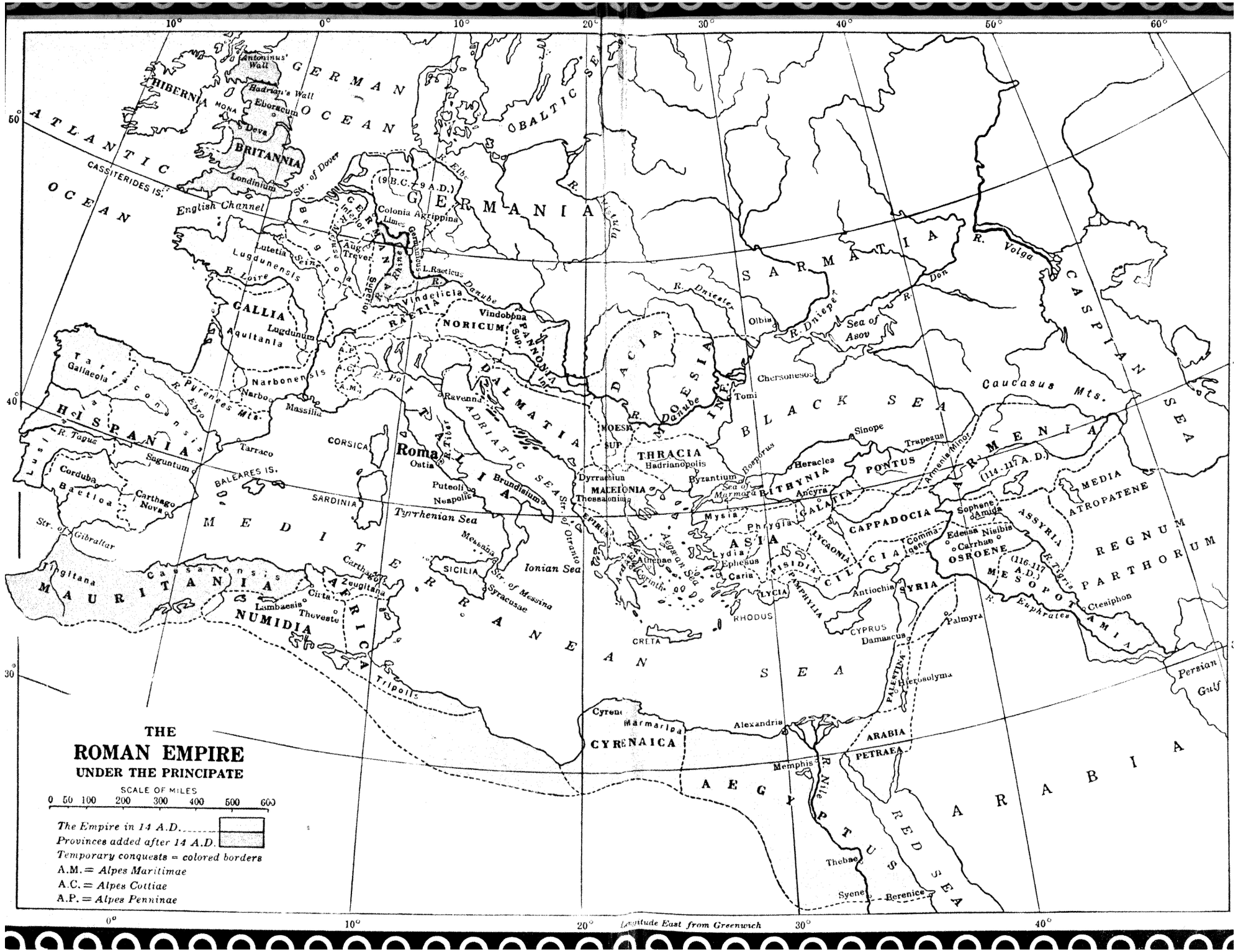

THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
UNDER THE PRINCIPATE
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
The Empire in 14 A.D.
Provinces added after 14 A.D.
Temporary conquests = colored borders
A.M. = Alpes Maritimae
A.C. = Alpes Cottiae
A.P. = Alpes Penninae
Longitude East from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMAN OCEAN
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARABIA
RED SEA
Persian Gulf
BRITANNIA
HIBERNIA
MONA
CASSITERIDES IS.
English Channel
Str. of Dover
Antoninus' Wall
Hadrian's Wall
Eboracum
Deva
Londinium
GERMANIA
(9 B.C.–9 A.D.)
Colonia Agrippina
Lugdunensis
Lutetia
Sequana
R. Loire
GALLIA
Aquitania
Lugdunum
Belgica
Aug. Trever.
Germanicus
L. Raeticus
R. Rhine
Superior
Inferior
R. Elbe
R. Vistula
R. Danube
Vindelicia
RAETIA
Vindobona
NORICUM
PANNONIA
Sup.
Inf.
DACIA
MOESIA
Sup.
Inf.
R. Danube
R. Dniester
R. Dnieper
Olbia
Sea of Asov
R. Don
R. Volga
SARMATIA
Chersonesos
Tomi
Caucasus Mts.
Sinope
Trapezus
ARMENIA MINOR
(114–117 A.D.)
Tarraconensis
Gallaecia
Lusitania
R. Tagus
Saguntum
Corduba
Baetica
Carthago Nova
R. Pyrenees Mts.
R. Ebro
HISPANIA
Narbonensis
Narbo
Massilia
Tarraco
BALEARES IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Tyrrhenian Sea
Roma
Ostia
Puteoli
Neapolis
Tiber
ITALIA
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
Ravenna
Brundisium
Str. of Otranto
Ionian Sea
Messana
Str. of Messina
SICILIA
Syracusae
Str. of Gibraltar
Tingitana
Caesariensis
MAURITANIA
Carthago
Zeugitana
Cirta
Lambaesis
Thveste
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
Tripolis
Dyrrachium
MACEDONIA
Thessalonica
EPIRUS
Aegean Sea
Gulf of Corinth
Athenae
Byzantium
Bosporus
Sea of Marmora
THRACIA
Hadrianopolis
Heraclea
PONTUS
BITHYNIA
Ancyra
GALATIA
Mysia
Phrygia
Lydia
Ephesus
Caria
ASIA
LYCAONIA
CAPPADOCIA
Comma
Iconium
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
LYCIA
CILICIA
Sophene
Arsamosata
Edessa
Nisibis
Carrhae
OSROENE
(116–117 A.D.)
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
R. Tigris
MEDIA ATROPATENE
REGNUM PARTHORUM
Ctesiphon
R. Euphrates
SYRIA
Antiochia
Damascus
Palmyra
CYPRUS
RHODUS
CRETA
PALESTINA
Hierosolyma
ARABIA PETRAEA
Alexandria
Memphis
R. Nile
AEGYPTUS
Thebae
Syene
Berenice
Cyrene
Marmarica
CYRENAICA
10°
0°
10°
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
50°
40°
30°

A History of Rome to 565 A.D.



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY CALCUTTA · MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO










Nero Trajan Hadrian

Vespasian Marcus Aurelius

Septimius Severus Constantine I Theodosius I

PORTRAIT HEADS OF ROMAN EMPERORS ON COINS

A HISTORY OF ROME

To 565 A.D.

Arthur E. R. Boak, PH.D.

RICHARD HUDSON PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Third Edition New York, 1947

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Third Edition Copyrighted, 1943,
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

All rights reserved—no part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review written for inclusion in magazine or newspaper.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Published August, 1943. Reprinted September, 1945, July, 1946; May, 1947.

Previous editions copyrighted 1921 and 1929 by The Macmillan Company

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE passing of thirteen years alone would seem to justify the revision of an historical text that makes any pretence of keeping in touch with the results of current research in its field. But, in this case, since the appearance of the first revision, notable advances have been scored in the study of Roman History, owing both to the discovery of new and important evidence and the fruitful reassessment of the old. The completion of the monumental *Cambridge Ancient History* and the publication of the *Economic Survey of Rome,* to say nothing of less extensive studies, have stimulated and in fact compelled students of Roman civilization to re-evaluate their interpretation of its character and significance. In preparing this new edition, I have tried not only to make generally available the results of recent scholarly research but also to modify or discard in the light of more mature consideration what previously appeared to me to be sound conclusions. This has necessitated the complete rewriting of considerable portions of the text, and I have taken the opportunity thus offered to try to present a clearer, more readable, and, at the same time in some cases, a more detailed narrative. I have omitted the former Introduction on "The Sources for the Study of Early Roman History" and replaced it with brief discussions of the historical materials available for our knowledge of the successive periods of Roman History. Thanks to the kindness of the editors, I have been able to improve the quality of some of the maps and to add some new illustrations.

In addition to my continued indebtedness to the persons and authorities who permitted the use of older illustrations retained in this edition, I wish to express my appreciation of the permission given by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to reproduce the terra-cotta statue of an Etruscan warrior (p. 22) and the Roman marble head (p. 170), and also of the generosity of the Smithsonian Institution in allowing the use of the photograph of the fourth century Sassanian silver bowl (p. 434). I desire also to acknowledge my general obligation to the reviewers and others who have pointed out defects in the earlier editions of the text, and my special debt to my colleague, Professor Clark Hopkins, who has given me the benefit of helpful criticism on the treatment of the early Italic cultures.

A. E. R. Boak

Ann Arbor, Michigan
July, 1942

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

My purpose in preparing this second edition of *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.* has been in part to add some new material bearing on the social and economic aspects of Roman History, to take into account the results of recent archaeological research on the prehistoric period, and to alter a few of the opinions and interpretations given in the first edition. I have also tried to make the book more serviceable to students by the insertion of new maps, four genealogical tables, and a list of additional readings. This latter addition has been made in response to numerous requests for recommendations of collateral readings and has been substituted for the Bibliographical Note of the previous edition. Owing to the kindness of the publishers, it has been possible to insert a number of plates which may serve to illustrate various phases of ancient Roman art and architecture. I am greatly indebted to Dr. L. D. Caskey and the authorities of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for permission to use the portrait head of Augustus (plate 6), and to Dr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum for help in selecting and securing casts of the coin portraits of Roman Emperors (plate 11) The illustrations of Roman Monuments have been selected from views taken by Mr. G. R. Swain for the University of Michigan.

I wish to express my thanks to all those who by means of reviews or private communications have indicated possibilities of improving the text, and in particular to Professor Frank B. Marsh of the University of Texas for his helpful criticisms.

A. E. R. Boak

Ann Arbor, Michigan
March, 1929

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This sketch of the History of Rome to 565 A.D. is primarily intended to meet the needs of introductory college courses in Roman History. However, it is hoped that it may also prove of service as a handbook for students of Roman life and literature in general. It is with the latter in mind that I have added the Bibliographical Note. Naturally, within the brief limits of such a text, it was impossible to defend the point of view adopted on disputed points or to take notice of divergent opinions. Therefore, to show the great debt which I owe to the work of others and to provide those interested in particular problems with some guide to more detailed study, I have given a list of selected references, which express, I believe, the prevailing views of modern scholarship upon the various phases of Roman History.

I wish to acknowledge my general indebtedness to Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard University for his guidance in my approach to the study of Roman History, and also my particular obligations to Professor W. L. Westermann of Cornell, and to my colleagues, Professors A. L. Cross and J. G. Winter, for reading portions of my manuscript and for much helpful criticism.

A. E. R. B.

University of Michigan
October, 1921

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

THE FORERUNNERS OF ROME IN ITALY

Chapter I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY 3

Chapter II. PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION IN ITALY 8
The Old Stone Age; the New Stone Age; the Copper-Stone Age; the Bronze Age; the Early Iron Age, the Peoples of Italy in the Sixth Century B.C.

Chapter III. THE ETRUSCANS AND THE GREEKS IN ITALY 22
The Etruscans; the Greeks.

PART II

THE PRIMITIVE MONARCHY AND THE REPUBLIC: FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO 27 B.C.

Chapter IV. EARLY ROME TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY 33
The Latins; the Origins of Rome; the Early Monarchy; Early Roman Society.

Chapter V. THE EXPANSION OF ROME TO THE UNIFICATION OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA: CA. 508–265 B.C. 45
The Young Republic and Its Neighbors; the Gallic Invasion; the Disruption of the Latin League and the Roman Alliance with the Campanians; the Conquest of the North and Center of the Peninsula; the Roman Conquest of South Italy; the Roman Confederation.

Chapter VI. THE GROWTH OF THE COMMONWEALTH: 508–287 B.C. 65
The Early Republic; the Reorganization of the Army and the Establishment of the Centuriate Assembly; the Expansion of the Magistracy; the Plebeian Struggle for Political Equality; the Roman Military System.

Chapter VII. SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC 89
Social and Economic Life; Religious Beliefs and Practices.

Chapter VIII. THE CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. THE FIRST PHASE—THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE: 264–201 B.C. 101
Carthage and Her Empire; the First Punic War; the Illyrian and Gallic Wars; the Second Punic War; the Effect of the Second Punic War upon Italy.

Chapter IX. THE CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. THE SECOND PHASE—ROME AND THE GREEK EAST: 200–167 B.C. 122
The Political Situation in the Near East; the Second Macedonian War; the War with Antiochus the Great and the Aetolians; the Third Macedonian War; Campaigns in Italy and Spain.

Chapter X. THE NEW IMPERIALISM: 167–133 B.C. 134
The Spanish Wars; the Destruction of Carthage; the Annexation of Macedonia and the Dissolution of the Achaean Confederacy; the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Pergamon.

Chapter XI. ROME, ITALY, AND THE EMPIRE: 264–133 B.C. 139
The Rule of the Senatorial Aristocracy; Imperial Administration; Economic and Social Development; Cultural Progress.

Chapter XII. THE STRUGGLE OF THE OPTIMATES AND THE POPULARES: 133–78 B.C. 171
The Agrarian Reform of Tiberius Gracchus; Gaius Gracchus and the Senate; the Rise of Gaius Marius; the Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutons; the Populares and the Senate; the Attempted Reforms of Livius Drusus; the Italic or Marsic War; the the First Mithradatic War; Sulla's Dictatorship.

Chapter XIII. THE RISE OF POMPEY THE GREAT: 78–60 B.C. 204
Pompey's Command against Sertorius in Spain; the Command of Lucullus against Mithradates; the Revolt of the Gladiators, the Consulship of Pompey and Crassus; the Commands of Pompey against the Pirates and in the East; the Conspiracy of Catiline: 63 B.C.; the Coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar.

Chapter XIV. THE RIVALRY OF POMPEY AND CAESAR AND CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP: 59–44 B.C. 220
The Triumvirate in Action; Caesar's Conquest of Gaul; the Dissolution of the Triumvirate; the Civil War between Caesar and the Senate; the Dictatorship of Julius Caesar.

Chapter XV. THE PASSING OF THE REPUBLIC: 44–27 B.C. 241
The Rise of Octavian; the Triumvirate of 43 B.C.; the Victory of Octavian; Society and Intellecual Life in the Last Century of the Republic.

PART III

THE PRINCIPATE OR EARLY EMPIRE: 27 B.C.–285 A.D.

Chapter XVI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPATE: 27 B.C.–14 A.D. 263
The Princeps; the Senate, the Equestrians, and the Plebs; the Military Establishment; the Revival of Religion and Morality; the Provinces and the Frontiers; the Administration of Rome; the Problem of the Succession; the Achievement of Augustus.

Chapter XVII. THE PRINCIPATE UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS AND FLAVIANS: 14–96 A.D. 288
Tiberius; Gaius Caligula; Claudius; Nero; the First War of the Legions or the Year of the Four Emperors; Vespasian and Titus; Domitian; the Principate in Theory and Practice.

Chapter XVIII. THE ROMAN PEACE AND THE MILITARIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT: 96–235 A.D. 313
Nerva; Trajan; Hadrian; the Antonines; the Second War of the Legions; the Dynasty of the Severi; the Principate from Nerva to Severus Alexander.

Chapter XIX. THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PRINCIPATE 344
The Rise of the Imperial Bureaucracy; the Army and the Defence of the Frontiers; the Provinces under the Principate; Municipal Life; the Beginnings of Economic Decline.

Chapter XX. SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND RELIGIOUS LIFE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE 371
Social and Economic Conditions; the Intellectual World; the Pagan Cults of the Empire under the Principate; Judaism and Christianity in Their Relation to the Roman State.

Chapter XXI. DISINTEGRATION AND RECOVERY: 235–285 A.D. 400
The Mutiny of the Soldiery; the Collapse of the Imperial Defences; Gaul and Palmyra; Imperial Unity Restored; Christianity in Danger; the End of the Principate.

PART IV

THE AUTOCRACY OR LATE EMPIRE: 285–565 A.D.

Chapter XXII. THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE MAINTAINED: 285–395 A.D. 423
Diocletian; Constantine I, the Great; the Dynasty of Constantine; the House of Valentinian and Theodosius the Great.

Chapter XXIII. THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE AUTOCRACY 438
The Autocrat and His Court; the Military Organization; the Perfection of the Bureaucracy; the Nobility and the Senate; the Totalitarian State.

Chapter XXIV. THE GERMANIC OCCUPATION OF ITALY AND THE WESTERN PROVINCES: 395–493 A.D. 458
General Characteristics of the Period; the Visigothic Migrations; the Vandals; the Burgundians, Franks, and Saxons; the Fall of the Western Empire; the Survival of the Empire in the East.

Chapter XXV. THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN: 518–565 A.D. 473
The Germanic Kingdoms in the West to 533 A.D.; the Restoration of the Imperial Power in the West; Justinian's Frontier Problems and Internal Administration.

Chapter XXVI. RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE LATE EMPIRE 489
The End of Paganism; the Church in the Christian Empire; Sectarian Strife; Monasticism; Literature and Art.

EPILOGUE 505

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE 509

GENEALOGICAL TABLES 518

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS 521

INDEX 533

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT HEADS OF ROMAN EMPERORS ON COINS	*Frontispiece*
STATUE OF AN ETRUSCAN WARRIOR	*Facing* 22
SARCOPHAGUS OF LARTHIA SEIANTI	" 26
ROMAN PORTRAIT HEAD	" 170
THE AQUEDUCT AT CARTHAGE	" 234
A STREET IN POMPEII	" 254
PORTRAIT HEAD OF AUGUSTUS	" 266
A SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES IN OSTIA	" 306
THE CAPITOLIUM AT DOUGGA	" 334
THE THEATER AT KHAMISSA	" 360
THE AMPHITHEATER AT EL DJEMM	" 386
SASSANIAN SILVER DISH	" 434
THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME	" 502

LIST OF MAPS

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE	*Front endpaper*
ITALY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.	*preceding* 19
THE ENVIRONS OF ANCIENT ROME	32
ANCIENT ROME	37
ROMAN EXPANSION IN ITALY: 500 TO 265 B.C.	46
ROMAN ITALY: 265 B.C.	*preceding* 59
THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN 265 B.C.	*preceding* 103
GROWTH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE: 265 TO 44 B.C.	*preceding* 241
THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN 395 A.D.	439
THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS: 526 A.D.	474
THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF JUSTINIAN: 565 A.D.	484
GROWTH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE: 44 B.C. TO 300 A.D.	*Rear endpaper*

PART I

The Forerunners of Rome in Italy

CHAPTER I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY

Italy, ribbed by the Apennines, girdled by the Alps and the sea, juts out like a "long pier-head" from Europe towards the northern coast of Africa. It includes two regions of widely differing physical characteristics: the northern, continental; the southern, peninsular. The peninsula is slightly larger than the continental portion: together their area is about 91,200 square miles.

Continental Italy. The continental portion of Italy consists of the southern watershed of the Alps and the northern watershed of the Apennines with the intervening lowland plain. East to west this region measures about 320 miles; its width from north to south does not exceed 70 miles. On the north, the Alps extend in an irregular crescent of over 1,200 miles from the Mediterranean near Nice to the Adriatic near Trieste. On the Italian side they rise abruptly like a lofty wall, but on the outward faces the slope is gradual and river valleys afford easy ascents to passes which lead over the divide to the plain below. From the west, there is an easy approach at the end of the Alpine chain along the Riviera coast. Thus the Alps form no serious barrier to landward migration into Italy. The lowland plain is occupied largely by the valley of the river Po, the greatest of Italian rivers, which rises in the western Alps and flows eastward for 360 miles to the Adriatic, receiving many tributaries along its route. Since the plain has been built up by the deposit of silt from the rivers, it has a rich alluvial soil. But much of the silt is carried down to the sea, where it chokes the river mouths and continuously extends the coastline. In this way it has formed the marshy delta of the Po and the lagoons on which the city of Venice has been built. However, the Alpine rivers furnish an abundant supply of water throughout the year and thus enhance the agricultural possibilities of the north Italian plain. In its natural state this region was covered with swamps and forests, and many centuries of patient human effort were required before it was cleared, drained, and brought under cultivation.

The Peninsula. The southern portion of Italy consists of a long, narrow peninsula, running northwest and southeast between the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas and terminating in two promontories, which form the

toe and heel of the "Italian boot." The length of the peninsula is 650 miles; its breadth is nowhere more than 125 miles. In striking contrast to the plains of the Po, southern Italy is traversed throughout by the parallel ridges of the Apennines, which give it an endless diversity of hill and valley. The average height of these mountains, which form a sort of vertebrate system for the peninsula (*Apennino dorso Italia dividitur,* Livy xxxvi, 15), is about 4,000 feet, and even their highest peaks (9,500 feet) are below the line of perpetual snow. The Apennine chain is highest on its eastern side, where it approaches closely to the Adriatic, leaving only a narrow strip of coast land, intersected by numerous short mountain torrents. On the west the mountains are lower and recede farther from the sea, leaving the wide lowland areas of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. On this side, too, are rivers of considerable length, navigable for small craft; the Volturnus, the Liris, the Tiber, and the Arno, whose valleys link the coast with the highlands of the interior. In ancient as well as in modern times the west coast of Italy with its adjacent islands has been the scene of considerable volcanic activity. Both to the north and to the south of the Tiber River there are extinct volcanoes. Farther south are three peaks active since ancient times: Vesuvius, near the Bay of Naples; Stromboli, on one of the Lipari islands; and Etna, in Sicily, the largest volcano in Europe. Although the violent volcanic eruptions have wrought considerable temporary damage, their effects have been beneficial in the long run. Volcanic ash and weathered volcanic rock form excellent soils, particularly adapted to the cultivation of vineyards.

The Islands: Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. The geographical location of the three large islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, permits them to be considered to some degree as a third region of Italy, with which their history has been closely linked. Sicily forms a large triangle (9,930 square miles), separated from the southern extremity of Italy by the narrow Strait of Messina and from the African coast by a shallow stretch of sea about 80 miles wide. It is really a prolongation of the Apennine chain and in early geologic times formed part of a land bridge between Italy and Africa. The small islands of Malta and Pantelleria to the south of Sicily and the Lipari group to the north are simply mountain tops projecting from the submerged portion of the broken bridge. Sardinia (9,299 square miles) and Corsica (3,376 square miles), lying to the west of the Tyrrhenian Sea, are rugged, mountainous offshoots of the Italian mountain system.

The Coast Line. In comparison with Greece, Italy presents a striking regularity of coast line. Throughout a coastal length of over 2,000 miles it has remarkably few deep bays or good harbors, and these few are almost all on the southern and western shores. On the Adriatic, the chief harbor

was at Brindisium (Brindisi), far down in the heel of Italy; on the southern shore there was Tarentum (Taranto), at the head of the gulf of that name; on the west, the Bay of Naples; and on the Gulf of Genoa the excellent ports of Genoa and Lunae Portus (Spezia), which, however, became important only late in Roman history. Sicily offered several good harbors for vessels of shallow draught; in particular, Syracuse on the east coast, Panormus (Palermo) on the north, and Drepanum on the west. Since the seagoing ships of ancient times did not require deep-water harbors, they found adequate accommodation in the mouths of rivers wherever the current was not too swift or the shoals too dangerous. For this reason many cities, like Rome itself, grew up a few miles from the sea, at the head of navigation rather than directly on the coast. The character of the Mediterranean coast of Italy, with its fertile lowlands, its rivers, its harbors, and its general southerly aspect, rendered it more inviting and accessible to approach from the sea than the Adriatic shore and determined its leadership in the cultural and material advancement of the peninsula.

Climate. Although the climate of Italy, in common with that of Europe and North Africa, underwent great fluctuations in prehistoric times, since the fifth century B.C. at least, it has been approximately the same as today. In general, it is of the Mediterranean type, characterized by a high average temperature, an absence of extremes of heat and cold, and rainy winters followed by dry summers. Nevertheless, it varies greatly in different localities, according to their northern or southern situation, their elevation, and their proximity to the sea. In the Po valley there is a close approach to the continental climate of central Europe, with a wide difference between summer and winter temperatures and clearly marked transitional periods of spring and autumn. Here there are frequent winter snows, abundant rains in spring and fall, and moderate ones in the summer months. As we go south through the peninsula, we find that the winters become much, and the summers slightly, warmer. The annual rainfall decreases, the summers are drier, in south Italy and Sicily almost rainless, and there is a rapid transition between the wet and the dry seasons. Even in the rainy seasons there is a great deal of sunshine, and the Italian climate is not only healthful but for the most part stimulating.

Malaria. Both in antiquity and in modern times the disease from which Italy has suffered most has been the dreaded malaria. The explanation is to be found in the presence of extensive marshy areas in the river valleys and along the coast, formed for the most part by the blocking of channels of streams and rivers with soil washed down from the hills, and furnishing breeding grounds for the malarial mosquito. The ravages of this disease have varied according as the progress of civilization has brought about the

cultivation and drainage of the affected areas or its decline has wrought the undoing of this beneficial work.

Forests. Italy had a much more abundant forest growth than most other Mediterranean countries. The southern slopes of the Alps and the Po valley were well wooded, the former being noted for their larch and bird's-eye maple, the latter for its oaks, beeches, and chestnuts. Great forests flourished on the Apennines, particularly along the Ligurian coast, in southern Etruria, and in the valleys of the Tiber and its tributaries. Latium was also a well-wooded area, which produced fir, pine, and beech in large quantities. The forests of Corsica were especially famous, and even the mountains in the toe of Italy were covered with a heavy growth of timber. It was there that a single pine furnished the mast for the largest ship of ancient times, built for King Hiero of Syracuse in the second half of the third century B.C. Besides the true forests, there were extensive thickets of laurel, myrtle, and similar shrubs and small trees. Italian timber was in great demand for shipbuilding among Carthaginians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans. It was not used extensively in household architecture owing to the preference for brick, stone, and cement, but was employed for roof and floor beams. Many articles of furniture, however, were made from the choicer woods. The coniferous forests supplied pitch and resin; the oak, beech, and chestnut groves provided rich fodder for herds of swine. Even as late as the beginning of the Christian era, Italy was considered to be well wooded, although long before that much of the forest growth had disappeared. This deforestation was due to the activities of woodcutters, charcoal-burners, and farmers who cleared land for tillage or pasturage. Once they had been cut down, the forests were seldom, if ever, replaced. The need for reforestation was not recognized; and the thin soil, exposed to the action of the winter rains, was washed off the hillsides before a new growth could establish itself. Even where seedlings had managed to take root, they were devoured by the herds of goats which were pastured in the clearings and which then, as now, were destructive to vegetation of all kinds.

Minerals. The mineral wealth of Italy has never been very great. In ancient times the chief minerals were copper and iron. Copper was mined extensively in Etruria, Liguria, and Sardinia; iron on the island of Elba off the coast of Etruria. For a time, the gold washings in the valleys of the Graian Alps were worked with profit. Tin was found in Etruria, and some silver in Sardinia. Obsidian, much sought after before the age of metals, was quarried in Sardinia and elsewhere. Salt was mined in Sicily and was also obtained from the salt marshes at the mouth of the Tiber and along the west coast of central Italy. Building stone of various sorts,

including marble of excellent quality, has always been abundant. Latium, Etruria, and many other parts of Italy had excellent clays for making bricks, tiles, and pottery.

Agriculture. Just as it is today, Italy in earlier times was essentially an agricultural and pastoral country. The lowland areas yielded large crops of grain of various sorts—millet, maize, wheat, and barley—while peas, beans, and other vegetables were raised in abundance everywhere. Campania was especially fertile and is reported to have yielded three successive crops annually. The island of Sicily was for a long time one of the chief granaries of the Mediterranean world. The vine, olive, and fig flourished; and their cultivation eventually became even more profitable than the raising of grain. Apples, pears, and other varieties of fruits, as well as nuts, were raised; but lemons and oranges, like rice, were not introduced from the East until long after the fall of the Roman Empire.

During the rainy season the coastal lowlands, and in summer the mountain slopes and upland meadows afforded excellent pasturage for sheep, goats, cattle, and horses. Stock raising ranked next in importance to agriculture among the occupations of the people of Roman Italy.

The Historical Significance of Italy's Configuration and Location. The configuration of the Italian peninsula, long, narrow, and traversed by mountain ridges, hindered rather than helped its political unification. Yet the Apennine chain, running parallel to the length of the peninsula, offered no such serious barriers to that unification as did the network of mountains and the long inlets that intersect the peninsula of Greece. And when once Italy had been welded into a single state by the power of Rome, its central position greatly facilitated the extension of the Roman dominion over the whole Mediterranean basin. But because Italy was further removed than Greece from the older centers of civilization in Egypt and the Near East, it was less exposed to their cultural influences, and consequently its development lagged behind that of Greece and the Aegean area.

The Name Italy. The name Italy is the ancient *Italia,* derived from the Oscan word *vitelliu* (calf-land). It was applied by the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C. to the southwestern extremity of the peninsula, adjacent to the island of Sicily. It rapidly acquired a much wider significance, until, before the end of the first century B.C., *Italia* in a geographical and political sense denoted the whole country as far north as the Alps.

CHAPTER II. PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION IN ITALY

Accessibility of Italy to External Influences. The long coast line of the Italian peninsula rendered it peculiarly accessible to influences from overseas, for the sea united rather than divided the peoples of antiquity. Thus Italy was constantly subjected to immigration by sea, and much more so to cultural stimuli from the lands whose shores bordered the same seas as her own. Nor did the Alps and the forests and swamps of the Po valley oppose any effectual barrier to migrations and cultural influences from central Europe. Consequently we have in Italy the meeting ground of peoples coming by sea from east and south and coming overland from the north, each bringing a new racial, linguistic, and cultural element to enrich the life of the peninsula. These movements had been going on since remote antiquity, until, at the beginning of the period of recorded history, Italy was occupied by peoples of different races, speaking different languages and living under widely different political and cultural conditions.

Our knowledge of this long prehistoric age is derived almost wholly from the results of archaeological investigations, supplemented by studies of the languages of the peoples inhabiting Italy at the beginning of the historic period. On this basis we can do little more than trace the early cultural development of Italy and indicate the course and approximate date of the more important migrations. Above all, the chronology of these movements is very uncertain, but there are many other problems that can be solved only by new discoveries. Nevertheless, we may regard the main outlines of the story as reasonably accurate.

I. THE OLD STONE AGE

The geologic and climatic history of Italy shows the same sequence of changes as that of the neighboring parts of Europe and North Africa. During the long period of the Pleistocene or Glacial Age, which is also the Age of Man on the earth, there were four distinct periods of glaciation in the northern hemisphere. These were characterized by a cold, moist

climate during which great ice fields formed in the mountains of Scandinavia and Switzerland and spread widely over the lowlands of northern and central Europe. Under these conditions, the plants and animals of warmer zones were replaced by those of a northern or arctic character. Then as each glacial wave receded under the influence of moderating climatic conditions, the arctic flora and fauna retreated to give place to those of more temperate climes. In Italy, as in North Africa, there was no glaciation; but each glacial period brought a colder climate and increased rainfall, which greatly affected conditions of life for plants and animals alike.

The presence of man in Italy can be traced with certainty to the period between the third and fourth glaciations (third interglacial period), when the climate was warm and the hippopotamus, elephant, rhinoceros, and other representatives of tropical wild life roamed its forests and meadows along with the stag, bison, and horse of the more northerly zone. Our evidence of the human occupation of Italy at this time comes chiefly from the discovery of the tools and weapons of flint, shaped by flaking or chipping in the fashion characteristic of the Old Stone or Palaeolithic Age. These artifacts are chiefly hand-axes, awls, gravers, and scrapers, found in river gravels and caves in many parts of Italy in association with the bones of contemporary animals. But parts of human skeletons have also come to light in the same geologic strata, and these have been identified as belonging to the so-called Neanderthal race. This primitive type of man, once widespread in palaeolithic times over Europe and the Mediterranean lands, was more apelike in its physique and of lower brain capacity than modern man. It seems to have survived throughout the whole of the fourth glacial period and to have disappeared early in postglacial times.

It was during the last glaciation that the great sinking of the land level in the Mediterranean basin took place, separating Sardinia and Corsica from Italy and making Sicily an island, thus breaking the land bridge between Africa and the peninsula. The recession of the glaciers began about 25,000 years ago, and in the wake of the retreating cold a new race of men entered Europe from Africa and from Asia. These newcomers all belonged to the race of modern man which occupies the earth today, but they included several varieties or types. In the caves of Grimaldi on the Ligurian coast near the border between Italy and France there have been found numerous late palaeolithic burials which bear witness to the presence of two new types of man in Italy. The older shows some negroid characteristics, the later belongs to the Cro-Magnon folk who occupied southern France during the period and showed high artistic skill in the drawing and painting of animal figures on the rocky walls of caves.

In the Grimaldi caves the dead were buried in shallow trenches, which were sometimes lined or partly covered with stones. Some of the skeletons had their limbs flexed, others outstretched. Seashell necklaces, flint tools, quantities of shells used as a covering for the dead, and deposits of red ochre, probably used for painting the body, were found in the graves. Careful burials of this sort seem to indicate that the men of the Old Stone Age had some form of belief in a future life in which the deceased would have need of the material things which he had prized upon earth.

In Italy, as elsewhere, in palaeolithic times, men were hunters and food-gatherers. Without domestic animals and ignorant of agriculture, they lived upon the animals and fish which they could catch and such edible plants and fruits as flourished in a wild state. They had, however, a knowledge of fire; and doubtless they made use of wooden clubs and spears, more effective than the primitive stone hatchets but unable, like them, to survive the ravages of time. Rock shelters and caves seem to have been the only habitations, although windbreaks of branches may also have been used. Under these conditions, Italy can only have had a small and widely scattered population.

II. THE NEW STONE AGE

When the recession of the last glaciations was far advanced and the climatic conditions and plant and animal life had become approximately as they have been in historic times, possibly about 5000 B.C., a new race of men made their way into Italy. They came from North Africa, where the gradual drying-up of the country owing to a northward shift in the rain-bearing westerly winds produced desert conditions and made life more difficult and, in some areas, impossible. One path of migration was into southern Italy by way of Sicily; another led across the Strait of Gibraltar, up through the Spanish peninsula, and thence along the Mediterranean coast of France into Italy from the northwest. These newcomers brought with them a higher culture; and their appearance in Italy marks the beginning of the New Stone or Neolithic Age, which takes its name from the process of grinding and polishing now introduced in the manufacture of stone implements.

Although we know nothing about the tribal names or even the language of the neolithic settlers in Italy, we can tell their physical type from their burials. They belonged to the so-called Mediterranean branch of the white race, which from neolithic times has been established on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean Sea. The physical characteristics of the

Mediterranean racial type are a dark complexion, dark hair, narrow head, and medium to short stature. This type remains dominant in Italy as in other Mediterranean lands today, assimilating both the broad-headed Alpine and the blond, narrow-headed Nordic types which have been introduced by subsequent migrations. The older palaeolithic peoples, never very numerous, were either exterminated or absorbed by the neolithic immigrants, who came to form the basic element in the later population of Italy.

Tools and Weapons. By virtue of the new technique of polishing and grinding, men of the New Stone Age could make use of a large variety of stones that did not lend themselves to the more primitive process of flaking. They could also make implements of shapes that were formerly impossible. They worked with sandstone and also with such hard materials as jadeite, serpentine, and porphyry. Their commonest products were stone hammers, axes, chisels, and club heads. At the same time they improved the older process of flaking and produced flint daggers and arrowheads of flint and obsidian, which show that they armed themselves with bows and arrows. Objects of polished stone were also used as ornaments. Bone likewise served as a material for ornaments and for small tools.

Pottery and Textiles. The arts of the potter and the weaver made their appearance with the Neolithic Age. Pottery vessels were handmade and baked in open fires. They were fashioned in many shapes and sizes to satisfy domestic needs and burial requirements. In the decoration of these vessels with incised and painted patterns, largely of geometric figures, the artistic instincts of the age found their chief expression. Technically and aesthetically, the products of South Italy and Sicily were superior to those of the North. Flax and wool supplied the materials for woven goods which came to supplant the garments of skin used in the more primitive palaeolithic period.

Agriculture and Herding. The neolithic peoples of Italy were no longer dependent upon hunting and food-gathering as their primary means of subsistence, although for a long time these occupations played an important part in providing them with a livelihood. Herding was their main occupation. Their domestic animals included oxen, sheep, goats, asses, and pigs. The wild animals which they killed for food or in defence of their flocks and herds were the deer, bear, wild boar, wolf, fox, and hare. Agriculture was not so important as herding. Wild fruits and nuts were gathered, but it does not seem that cultivated species were known so early. Before the close of this period, flax and several varieties of grain were raised.

Village Settlements. The possession of flocks and herds and the raising

of cultivated crops provided neolithic man with a regular and abundant supply of food. This in turn sustained a population much more numerous than in palaeolithic times. At the same time, herding and agriculture forced men to occupy permanent abodes and to clear land for their pastures and fields. Although caves continued to be used as dwellings, hut villages arose in almost all parts of Italy, and their remains indicate the presence of social groups organized for co-operative efforts and the protection of their members. The remains of the hut foundations (*fonde di capanne*) are one of our chief sources of knowledge about the neolithic period for they contain the ashes of the open hearths, in which were embedded the charred remains of food, discarded utensils, and pottery. From these foundations we can reconstruct the appearance of the huts themselves. They were of various shapes; round, elliptical, or rectangular, with walls made of a framework of wooden poles, interlaced with small branches, reeds, or straw, and plastered with mud. The wall supports, curved inwards until they met, formed the framework of the roof. In many cases the interior of the hut was excavated somewhat below the level of the ground outside.

Burial Customs. Our second great source of information is constituted by the numerous cemeteries. In spite of some local variations, there is a striking uniformity of burial customs throughout this whole period. The dead were nearly always buried in a contracted position with the arms folded across the chest and the knees drawn up to the body. Besides the corpse, which was usually interred with its clothing and ornaments, the grave contained weapons, pottery vessels to serve as containers for food and drink, and the red ochre used for painting the body. The burials were made both in caves and in trenches or pits excavated in the open ground. At times the graves were lined and covered with stone slabs; at times they were filled with heaps of stone to protect the corpse.

Navigation. Apparently the neolithic peoples of Italy were familiar with the use of seagoing vessels propelled by oars and sails. This explains their passage from Africa to Sicily and Italy and their occupation of Sardinia and Corsica, which seem to have been uninhabited in palaeolithic times. Their ability to make use of the sea as a highway for travel enabled them to establish contacts with other lands and thus fostered the growth of trade. At the same time seafarers from the east and the west of the Mediterranean were beginning to make voyages to Italy and its islands.

Culture Areas. In this period it is possible to distinguish two clearly marked culture areas in Italy. The more southerly of these, which includes the lower part of the peninsula and Sicily, gives evidence of contact with the Aegean civilization and the Balkan peninsula. The more northerly,

comprising the rest of the mainland and the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, appears somewhat less advanced in its technical and artistic development.

Such was the primitive state of civilization in Italy between 3000 and 2500 B.C., a time when Egypt was a great kingdom under the rule of the pharaohs who built the pyramids, when large cities flourished in Mesopotamia, when civilized life was far advanced in Syria and Asia Minor, and when the islanders of the Aegean Sea had already passed out of the Age of Stone and were developing a distinctive Bronze Age culture.

III. THE COPPER-STONE AGE

From contacts with the outside world, the neolithic peoples of Italy gradually acquired a knowledge of copper, the first metal used by men as a substitute for and an improvement upon stone. In all probability copper was first brought to Italy by sea from Cyprus along a trade route which led by way of Crete and the Aegean area to southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Liguria. But northern Italy was in touch with the central Danubian valley, and there was communication between the islands and the Spanish peninsula, so that these regions, which are rich in copper, may have been supplementary sources of supply. The local copper ores remained unworked. Stone implements were not discarded upon the introduction of copper since the supply of that metal was limited and for some purposes it was not as satisfactory as stone. For this reason the new culture period has been called the Chalcolithic or Copper-Stone Age. The chief metal objects were daggers and chisels of pure copper. Not only did stone implements remain in use, but the technique of stone-working reached its height in this period. Its finest products were axe and hammer heads, with holes drilled in them for the insertion of wooden handles.

There is no evidence of any extensive immigration into Italy during the Copper-Stone Age. Cultural conditions show a gradual but uninterrupted development from the preceding period, so that at times it is almost impossible to distinguish between the neolithic and chalcolithic remains. In central and southern Italy, as well as on the islands, the use of natural caves led to the excavation of tombs in cliffs and rocky hillsides. From the stone-lined trench graves there developed the great stone tombs built above ground in south Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Some of these are in the form of dolmens or chambers where each of the sides and the roof are formed by a single huge block of stone. Associated with the dolmens are monuments called menhirs, single great stones set upright in the ground.

Most of the megalithic tombs like the larger rock tombs were collective burial places in use for many generations. This is particularly true of the so-called "giants' graves" of Sardinia, which are long chambers built somewhat like the dolmens with stone sides and roofs of flat stone slabs.

IV. THE BRONZE AGE

Immigration from the North. About 2000 B.C., a new folk descended upon Italy from the north by way of the Alpine passes, where the snow line was receding under the influence of a prolonged warm and dry climatic phase. This people settled on the north Italian lakes at the foot of the Alps. They brought with them a new culture, which was in sharp contrast to that of the previous population of Italy and shows close affiliations with Switzerland and the upper Danubian basin. Although their culture was still in part that of the New Stone Age, they had metal tools which were not of copper but bronze, and their appearance in Italy marks the beginning of the transition from the Copper-Stone to the Bronze Age. Their later settlements are in the fully developed bronze period, when articles of stone and bone have given way almost entirely to those of metal.

Lake Villages. One striking trait of these invaders was that they were lake-dwellers. That is to say, they lived in villages which, for the sake of protection, were built over the shallow waters of lakes. In these villages the houses were set on artificial platforms raised above the surface of the water. While it seems that some of these platforms were supported upon stakes or piles driven into the mud below the water, as in the case of modern Malayan pile-villages, it may well be that others were solidly built structures of tree trunks and stones, anchored in position on the lake bottom by upright stakes and resembling the foundations of the lake-dwellings of northwestern Europe. The houses were ranged in regular lines intersected by canals. An artificial causeway or a bridge sometimes connected the village with the shore. Settlements of this type are usually called *palafitte* (sing. *palafitta*), from the Italian word for a row of stakes or piles.

The *palafitte* peoples were hunters, fishers, and agriculturalists. They traversed the lakes and rivers in wooden dugout canoes and cleared the lake shores for their fields and pastures. Wheat and millet were their main crops; their chief domestic animals were the ox, the sheep, and the dog. Their handmade pottery, decorated with circles and zigzags, shows different forms from that of the Italian neolithic peoples. Spindle whorls and fragments of woven cloth attest their activity as weavers. From beyond the Alps they procured amber, which came by ancient trade routes across central Europe from the Baltic Sea.

If it is correct to attribute to the *palafitte* villagers the cemeteries found in the vicinity of their settlements (which some archaeologists deny), they cremated their dead and buried their ashes in pottery jars together with ornaments and other small objects.

The Terremare Settlements. After some interval, probably about 1500 B.C., another group of immigrants from Central Europe made their way into the Po valley, settling to the south and east of the lake region. Their arrival was contemporary with the later stages of the *palafitte* settlements. The sites of their villages have been recognized in recent times by the fertile black earth which had accumulated as the result of long human occupation. This was known in the local Italian dialect as *terramara* (plural, *terremare*), a name which archaeologists have adopted to designate the type of settlement and civilization which these sites revealed.

The early excavators believed that the *terremare* settlements were constructed on piles like the *palafitte* villages and, in fact, were an adaptation of the lake villages to dry or possibly marshy ground. They also held that all the settlements were laid out according to a uniform trapezoidal ground plan with streets intersecting at right angles, and surrounded by an earthen wall and a ditch filled with water. It is now clear that these views were based upon inadequate evidence and must be discarded, along with the theory that this type of village was the antecedent of the later Roman military encampment. In fact, the *terremare* villages had no regular plan. The houses were huts, at first round and later oblong in shape, with walls of wicker work and clay strengthened by wooden posts of which the lower portions are in many cases still in position. Only in a few cases is there any proof of pile foundations, and these are late and due, apparently, to protracted flooding of the sites in various localities. In some instances, but by no means all, the villages were surrounded by crude earth walls and ditches, and at times palisades were also used.

The Terremare Culture. The *terramaricoli,* as the inhabitants of the *terremare* settlements are called, possessed a much more advanced culture than the *palafitte* peoples, one which has close affinities with the contemporary bronze age culture of parts of the Hungarian plain. These northern invaders were primarily a farming and cattle-raising folk. But at the same time they were active as hunters, practised weaving, and were skilful workers in wood and bronze. Seeds of flax, beans, and two varieties of wheat found in the remains of their villages indicate the crops which they raised. Their domestic animals were horses, oxen, sheep, swine, and dogs. Their coarse pottery, their bronze tools and weapons, and their ornaments were of distinctive Central-European forms. Besides axes, spearheads, and daggers of bronze, they used two-edged cutting swords, or rather long knives,

of the same metal. They seem also to have used wheeled carts, and for musical instruments had horns or trumpets of bronze.

In the later stages of the *terremare* settlements, and probably in the earlier as well, the inhabitants cremated their dead and buried the ashes in jars known as ossuaries or cinerary urns.[1] At first these were deposited, closely packed in rows, in cemeteries adjacent to the villages. Later on, the individual urns began to be separated by stone slabs, and finally individual graves came to be constructed. For a time, the dead were burned in their clothing, but no equipment of any sort was buried with the ashes. With the use of separate pits for the urns, however, it became customary to deposit therein weapons, ornaments, and pottery vessels, along with the cinerary urn.[2] The growth of wealth, the greater consciousness of individuality, and the influence of the older inhabitants, with whom, as subjects or neighbors, peaceful relations began to develop, modified the original simplicity and uniformity of their burial rites.

The Coming of the "Indo-Europeans" into Italy. There is hardly any reason to doubt that the invasions of the *palafitte* people and of the *terramaricoli* find their explanation in the southward and westward expansion of that great swarm of peoples who belong to the Indo-European speech group. This movement resulted in the gradual occupation of the Aegean area by the Hellenic peoples in the centuries between 2000 and 1000 B.C., and the introduction of the Italic dialects belonging to the Indo-European family of languages into North Italy and the peninsula appears to have been due to a parallel series of intrusions from the north. In the early stages of this process we may assign a role to the *terramaricoli,* and possibly to the *palafitte* people also. But we can no longer accept the view of a subsequent southward migration of *terramaricoli* into the peninsula; much less can we see in them the ancestors, however remote, of the historic Latins. The penetration of the peninsula by the speakers of the Italic dialects was the work of other invading groups from the north and northeast, whose appearance in Italy may have followed close on the heels of that of the bearers of the *terremare* culture. This was true also of Venetia, the country around the head of the Adriatic Sea, where the Bronze Age seems to have been introduced by immigrants from Illyria.[3] The *terremare* culture was not the only type of Bronze Age civilization that appeared in North

[1] Some archaeologists believe that the practice of cremation was introduced by a second migration of the same people who settled in the same area as their predecessors.

[2] These urn-graves are late, belonging in many cases to the Early Iron Age.

[3] We must not, however, exclude the possibility that there was a considerable penetration of Italy by peoples of Indo-European speech even before the *palafitte* period. This would account for the absence of survivals of pre-Italic dialects among such people as the Ligurians.

Italy, although it seems to have been the most widespread. Nor must we look upon the *terremare* peoples as the only northern immigrants into this region during the Bronze Age.

The Bronze Age in Central and South Italy. In the central and southern parts of peninsular Italy and in the islands, the Bronze Age culture was an outgrowth of that of the Copper-Stone Age under various external influences, among which that of the *terremare* played some part. More important were the contacts with the eastern shore of the Adriatic and with Sicily. This island enjoyed greater prosperity and a higher cultural development than the mainland owing to its sea trade with the Aegean area, particularly in the period from 1400 to 1200 B.C. Long, narrow swords and hatchets of bronze, leaf-shaped daggers, Mycenean pottery, and ornaments of various sorts indicate the extent of the commercial relations of the Sicilians with Aegean peoples in the outgoing Bronze Age. It was at this time, too, that the prehistoric civilization of Sardinia reached its height. Great stone tombs continued to be built and also the fortresses in the form of stone towers called *nuraghi* which are a peculiar development of the Sardinian Bronze Age. Throughout this period both Sardinia and Corsica maintained their contacts with the Spanish peninsula which was the western source for the supply of tin essential in the manufacture of bronze.

V. THE EARLY IRON AGE

In North Italy. The Early or Prehistoric Iron Age in Italy began somewhere around 1000 B.C. and lasted for almost three hundred years. It is characterized by the rise of distinct regional cultures in different parts of the Po valley and the peninsula.

In northern Italy the introduction of iron and an iron industry was due, most probably, to the immigration of several groups of people of Indo-European speech from the upper valley of the Danube. One of these groups settled around Villanova near Bologna on the northeastern side of the Apennines, another occupied Etruria north of the Tiber between the Apennines and the sea, and a third pushed on across the Tiber into Latium as far as the Alban hills. All of these peoples practiced the burial rite of cremation. At the same time other cremating peoples of the Indo-European group established themselves in the Po valley and Venetia absorbing the earlier immigrants of the Bronze Age.

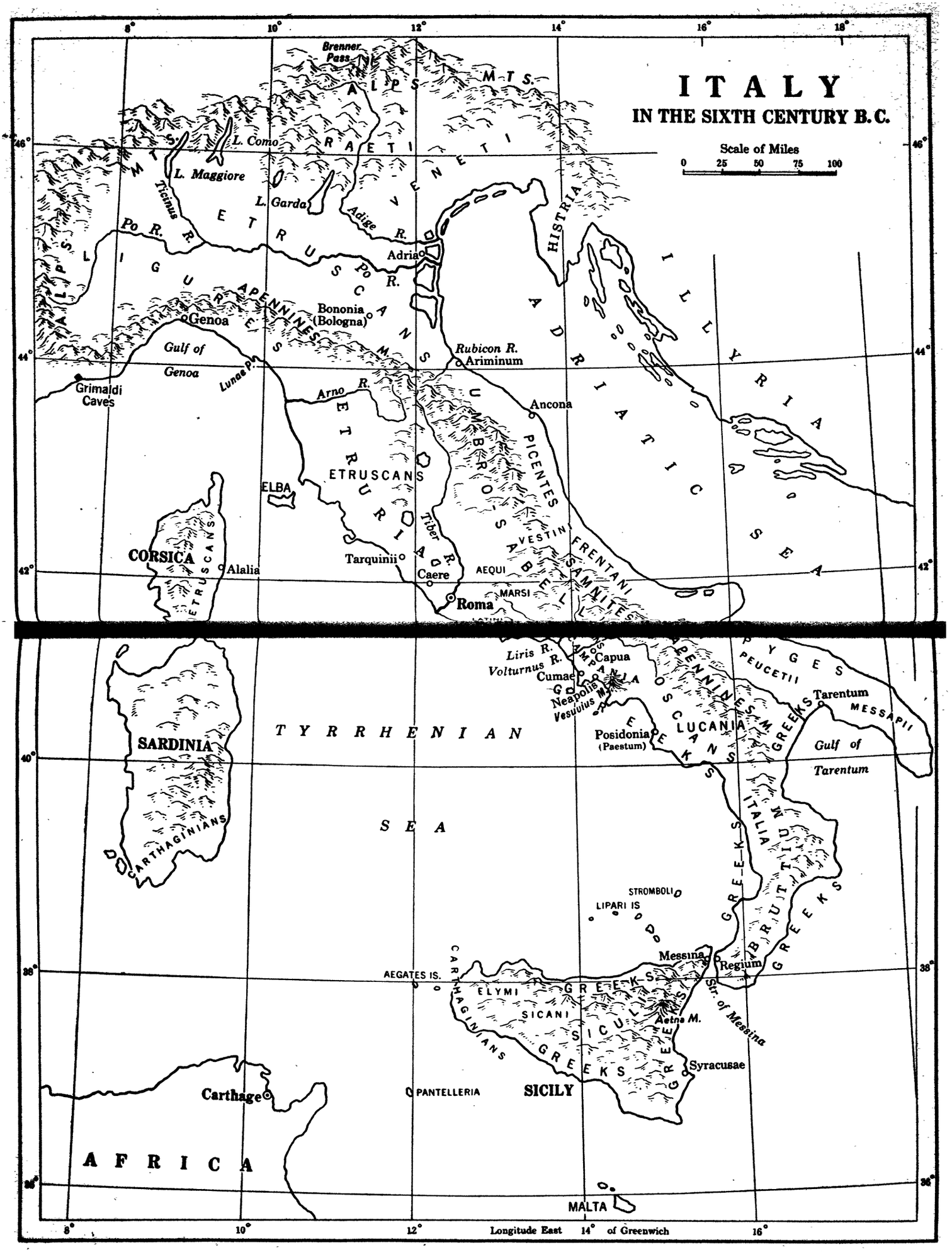
The Villanova Culture. We may regard the Villanova culture of the Bologna district as typical of northern Italy in the Early Iron Age. Here the settlements were irregular villages of round huts. Earthenware and, later, bronze jars of a peculiar biconical shape were used to hold the ashes

and bones of the dead. These jars were buried in pits covered with stone slabs (*tombe a pozzo*) or in rectangular stone-lined tombs (*tombe a fossa*). Swords, spears, and axes of iron served as weapons; rings and armlets of gold, pins with colored glass heads, amber beads, and discs were the chief ornaments. Garments were of wool fastened with elaborate bronze safety pins. A great improvement took place in bronze work, owing to the introduction of the process of making hammered bronze plates. This made possible the manufacture of bronze helmets, shields, and body armor, as well as vases, boxes, and other articles for domestic use.

In the East and South. Along the east coast of central Italy and in the south, the Early Iron Age developed partly from contacts with the north and from trade with the Aegean and Balkan areas, and partly as the result of the intrusion of Illyrian peoples from across the Adriatic. In Sicily, there was a gradual transition from the Bronze Age to an Iron Age culture which closely resembled that of the southern portions of the mainland. Sardinia and Corsica lagged behind Italy and Sicily in the emergence from the Bronze Age, and, in fact, the Iron Age in Sardinia was accompanied by a cultural decline.

Etruscan and Greek Migrations. The migrations into Italy from central Europe and Illyria which accompanied the introduction of the Iron Age ceased by 900 B.C. In the centuries that followed, two other peoples came by sea from the East and found new homes for themselves on the shores of the peninsula and the island of Sicily. These were the Etruscans and the Greeks. The former gained a foothold on the west coast to the north of the mouth of the Tiber; the latter planted their settlements on the southern coast from the Adriatic Sea to the Bay of Naples. The Etruscan immigration took place in the late ninth or the eighth century, that of the Greeks between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the sixth century B.C. The settlements of the Etruscans and the Greeks were of great significance for they brought Italy into much closer contact with the older culture-world of the eastern Mediterranean. The Etruscans through trade with Phoenician Carthage introduced Oriental products and influences, while they also aided the Greek colonists in diffusing the culture of the Hellenic peoples. Under the influence of these contacts, the various peoples of Italy, with different degrees of rapidity, emerged from barbarism into the conditions of civilized life and into the light of history for it is to the Greeks that we owe the earliest written records concerning Italy and its inhabitants.

The Early Iron Age in Italy witnessed the formation of the various peoples of Italy who played their respective parts in its subsequent history.


ITALY
IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100
Brenner Pass
ALPS MTS.
L. Como
L. Maggiore
L. Garda
RAETI
VENETI
HISTRIA
Ticinus R.
Po R.
Adige R.
Adria
LIGURES
APENNINES MTS.
Bononia (Bologna)
Genoa
Gulf of Genoa
Lunae P.
Grimaldi Caves
Rubicon R.
Ariminum
Arno R.
Ancona
ETRUSCANS
UMBROS
PICENTES
VESTINI
FRENTANI
SABELLI
SAMNITES
ELBA
CORSICA
Alalia
Tarquinii
Tiber R.
Caere
AEQUI
MARSI
Roma
ADRIATIC SEA
ILLYRIA
Liris R.
Volturnus R.
Capua
Cumae
CAMPANIA
Neapolis
Vesuvius M.
PYGES
PEUCETII
Tarentum
MESSAPII
Posidonia (Paestum)
LUCANIA
GREEKS
Gulf of Tarentum
TYRRHENIAN SEA
SARDINIA
CARTHAGINIANS
STROMBOLI
LIPARI IS.
ITALIA
BRUTTII
Messina
Regium
AEGATES IS.
ELYMI
SICANI
SICULI
Aetna M.
Str. of Messina
Syracusae
Carthage
PANTELLERIA
SICILY
AFRICA
MALTA
Longitude East of Greenwich

Beginning with the sixth century B.C., we can attempt to present, although for some time in outline only, a connected historical narrative of their political, cultural, and economic development.

VI. THE PEOPLES OF ITALY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

If we survey the situation in Italy in the sixth century B.C., we shall find that, as a result of the migrations described above, the distribution of the various peoples was as follows.

The Ligurians. The northwest corner of Italy including the Po valley as far east as the Ticinus river and the coast as far south as the Arno was occupied by the Ligures or Ligurians. They were descendants of the neolithic population, who had suffered little, if any, mixture with subsequent immigrants. By the opening of historic times, however, they spoke an Indo-European language, although it is not certain under what circumstances they acquired it. An important part of the population of Corsica was also of Ligurian stock.

The Veneti and Their Neighbors. In the eastern part of continental Italy from the Po river northward to the Alps and from Lake Garda to the peninsula of Histria, the chief people were the Illyrian Veneti, whose language, like that of the Illyrians in general, belonged to the Indo-European group. To the north and west of the Veneti, in the Alpine foothills and valleys, dwelt a people called the Raeti, whose speech shows a mixture of central European and Illyrian elements. In the sixth century, the western Raeti, like the other tribes in the Po valley between the Ligurians and the Veneti, had come under the rule of Etruscan invaders from south of the Apennines. North and east of the Apennines, the coastal strip from the Po as far as Ariminium was peopled by the creators of the Villanova culture, who had also been overrun by Etruscan conquerors.

The Etruscans. In Etruria proper, that is, the region on the west side of the main Apennine chain between the Arno and the Tiber rivers, the bulk of the population was a fusion of the old neolithic stock with the more numerous and culturally superior Indo-European-speaking invaders of the Early Iron Age. This basic element was dominated by the Etruscans, who differed from them in language and in cultural tradition. As we have seen, by the sixth century B.C. the Etruscans had extended their conquest into the central and eastern parts of the Po valley. At the same time they had sent out colonies to Corsica, Elba, and Campania, while Etruscan bands had planted themselves at various points in Latium.

The Latins. To the south of the Tiber dwelt the Latins, who were destined after several centuries to become the leading people in Italy and to make enduring contributions to world civilization. Like the basic element in the population of Etruria, the Latins had been formed by the union of invaders of Indo-European speech, who cremated their dead, with the previous, less numerous neolithic inhabitants who practiced inhumation. To these two factors, there was added about the opening of the sixth century a small percentage of Etruscans. Several small tribes bordering on Latium, such as the Falinsci and the Hernici, may be regarded as substantially the same as the Latins in race and languages.

The North Central Peoples. In the valleys of the central Apennines dwelt a large group of tribes often called the Umbro-Sabellians. They were not altogether confined to the mountain area for in the sixth century they extended down to the west coast south of Latium and to the middle Adriatic shore on the east. The Umbri, Sabini, Aequi, Marsi, Volsci, Vestini, Frentani, and the Samnites or Sabellians were the chief tribes in this group. Basically, they represented a survival of the neolithic population with a strong admixture of northern invaders who introduced an Indo-European element into their speech.[4] Later, as we shall see, these tribes expanded towards the southwest and south at the expense of neighboring peoples. The Umbro-Sabellians, together with the Latins and their kinsmen, formed the block of peoples usually called Italic in contrast to Etruscan, Greek, Ligurian, and Illyrian. An enclave along the Adriatic to the south of Ancona including the massif of the Abruzzi was held by the Picentes. A warlike people, of neolithic stock apparently with an Illyrian infusion, they had warded off the invasions of the people of the Villanova culture to the north.

Campania and South Italy. Until the coming of the Greeks by sea towards the close of the eighth century and the Etruscans by land in the early sixth, Campania was occupied by the descendants of its neolithic inhabitants who had not been disturbed by the migrations from the north. In the districts of Apulia and ancient Calabria, along the Adriatic and the Gulf of Tarentum, were a number of tribes of Illyrian origin—Daunii, Peucetii, Messapii—often called Iapygians, who had established themselves in this area by about 900 B.C. and had absorbed the indigenous population. To the southwest, in Lucania and the land of the Bruttii, the population was predominantly of neolithic stock mixed with Illyrians, whose influence

[4] An alternative view regarding the Umbro-Sabellians is that they were the descendants of an invasion of noncremating Indo-Europeans which occurred at the beginning of the Iron Age. This explanation, however, does not harmonize so well with our present archaeological information as that presented in the text.

was felt in the Indo-European character of the local dialects. They were closely connected with the people of Campania and had various tribal names, as Oscans or Opicans and Oenetrians. Along the coast, the Greek colonists were the dominant element. But until well after the close of the sixth century there was no trace of Sabellian invasions from central Italy.

The Islands. The population of Sicily, prior to the Greek occupation, was in general closely affiliated with that of the adjacent regions of south Italy. This people was known partly as Sicans but more widely as Sicels, although there does not seem to be any real distinction in the use of these names. For a long time it was considered that the Sicels were related, linguistically if not racially, to the Latins. But now it is considered that the Indo-European character of their speech was due to Illyrian connections.[5] In western Sicily, the people called the Elymi may have been of Iberian origin. By the sixth century, the southern, eastern, and part of the northern coasts of the island were in the hands of the Greeks, who also had penetrated well into the interior. A few Phoenician settlements which formed part of the Carthaginian Empire were established in the extreme west. Sardinia was largely in the possession of the population which had been established there in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, but the Carthaginians had obtained a foothold on the southern coast. Likewise on Corsica the old element remained almost undisturbed, although the Etruscans had won control of a strip along the eastern shore of the island.

From the foregoing survey of the peoples of Italy at the close of the sixth century B.C., we can see that there was neither racial nor cultural unity among the various sections of the country. This condition added a still more serious difficulty to the topographical obstacles placed by nature in the path of political unification and the forming of an Italian nation.

[5] This view contradicts the older theory of an Indo-European migration southward from Latium along the west coast of Italy to Sicily during the Early Iron Age and is more in agreement than the latter with the results of archaeological research.

CHAPTER III. THE ETRUSCANS AND THE GREEKS IN ITALY

I. THE ETRUSCANS

Etruria. As we have seen, in the sixth century B.C. the region between the Tiber and the Arno west and south of the Apennines was dominated by the Etruscans. These people were known to the Greeks as Tyrsenoi or Tyrrhenoi and to the Romans as Etrusci or Tusci. According to a Greek tradition, they called themselves Rasenna. The memory of the Etruscan occupation is preserved in the name *la Toscana*, derived from the Roman form *Tuscanus*, which is the modern designation of their Italian homeland, while their Greek name is perpetuated in that of the Tyrrhenian Sea, which lies between the west coast of Italy and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.

The Origin of the Etruscans. The Etruscans differed from all other peoples of Italy in language and culture, and even their Greek contemporaries disagreed on the question of their origin. Modern writers are equally at variance in their solutions of this problem. Some claim that they were a fusion of the neolithic population of Etruria with immigrants who introduced the Iron Age culture. Others see in them invaders who entered Italy by way of the Alpine passes. Still others accept the view of the Greek historian Herodotus who, in the fifth century B.C., declared that the Etruscans had migrated to Italy by sea from the west coast of Asia Minor. Although, in the light of our present knowledge, it would be rash to claim positive proof for any one of these theories, the weight of evidence, particularly that of language, is in favor of the view that the Etruscans were at one time inhabitants of the Asiatic coast of the Aegean Sea.

Even among those who are agreed that the Etruscans reached Italy by sea from the Aegean area, opinions differ widely regarding the probable date of their arrival. Some, who identify them with the Tursha, one of the peoples who raided Egypt by sea about 1226 B.C., believe that the first Etruscan settlement in Italy occurred between 1000 and 950 B.C. and that this was followed by a later one about 800 B.C. The majority, however, favor a date between 850 and 800 B.C., before the earliest Greek colonization. It



STATUE OF AN ETRUSCAN WARRIOR ABOUT 500 B.C.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

has been pointed out, however, that the explanation of the Etruscan settlement north of the Tiber may be that they found the Greeks already established in Sicily and at Cumae on the Campanian coast. In that case we should place their coming after 750 B.C.

Conquest of Etruria. The number of Etruscan invaders was small, but they possessed a higher culture than the native population. Their superiority in arms and organization enabled them to seize strategic points near the coast, particularly Tarquinii and Caere, and then to push inland, establishing themselves as masters in the earlier settlements of the Iron Age. As a result, about eighteen Etruscan cities developed in the region between the Tiber and the Arno. The twelve most important of these, each the head of a small kingdom, were united in a league primarily for the joint celebration of religious festivals. The individual cities, however, remained politically independent and were governed by kings assisted by the heads of noble families called *lucumones*. Later, the kingships disappeared, and the governments became aristocracies.

The Etruscans proper never constituted more than a small minority of the population in the towns of Etruria. Like the Norman adventurers who conquered and ruled over Naples and Sicily in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after Christ, they remained a dominant aristocracy. Although able to impose their language upon their Italian subjects, they did not merge with them as did the Normans with the English in England but kept them in a position of dependence and exploited their labor and their military strength for their own ends.

Expansion in Italy. Towards the close of the seventh century B.C., the Etruscans crossed the Tiber and overran a large part of Latium. There they occupied Rome and other important sites. Early in the sixth century, they pushed on southward into the rich lowlands of Campania, where Capua became their chief center. Finding the coast already in occupation of the Greeks, they tried in 524 B.C. to capture the Greek city of Cumae but were vigorously repulsed. A little earlier, however, they had been more successful in dealing with Greek colonists on the island of Corsica. With the help of the Carthaginians, they forced the Greeks to abandon their colony of Alalia (about 536 B.C.) and retained for themselves sole access to the vast Corsican forests, although they never occupied more than a narrow strip along the eastern coast of the island.

Late in the sixth century B.C., the Etruscans crossed the Apennine barrier and descended into the Po valley. Here they conquered the central region between the Ligures and the Veneti from the Adriatic coast right up to the Alps. North of the Apennines, their chief city was Felsina situated near modern Bologna. Their seaport Adria, founded in the territory

of the Veneti just north of the mouth of the Po, has given its name to the Adriatic Sea.

In the sixth century B.C. the Etruscans were the most powerful political group in Italy, although the successful opposition of the Greeks in Campania prevented the unification of the country under their authority. But the position of the Etruscans was fundamentally insecure because of their failure to build up a stable political organization. Both within Etruria and without, their conquests had been effected by small bands of warriors acting in loose co-operation. These bands founded separate states which were not bound together by any firm alliance and did not recognize any central authority although they regularly lent each other mutual support in time of war. At the same time, as we have seen, their oppressive treatment of their subjects caused these to be disloyal or indifferent to their overlords. Accordingly, the more they expanded, the more precarious Etruscan rule became.

Decline of Etruscan Power. The first losses were suffered in Latium. In 509 B.C. the Romans expelled their Etruscan king, and in 505 other Latin cities aided by Aristodemus, the Greek ruler of Cumae, defeated an Etruscan army at Aricia. Some time later, in an effort to strengthen their position, the Etruscans launched a great attack upon Cumae by sea and by land. But Hieron, the ruler of Syracuse, came to the rescue and destroyed the Etruscan fleet (474 B.C.). The Etruscan sea power was broken, and the ships of Syracuse raided Corsica, Elba, and the coast of Etruria. These attacks were repeated in the early fourth century by Dionysius I of Syracuse, who also seized the Etruscan harbor towns on the Adriatic. In Campania, the expansion of the Samnites from the central Apennines brought about the downfall of Etruscan rule, which ended with the fall of Capua in 438 A.D. About 400 B.C., Celtic tribes descended through the central Alpine passes into the Po valley and soon overran the territory which the Etruscans had held in continental Italy. Henceforth the Etruscans were confined within the limits of Etruria proper, and their later history will be treated in connection with the expansion of Rome, which led to their absorption into the Roman state.

Etruscan Civilization. Etruscan civilization from the seventh century onwards shows a mingling of that brought to Italy by the Etruscans themselves with that of the Italian peoples whom they conquered. It also contained a liberal admixture of Greek influences, largely the result of commercial contacts with the Greek colonies to the south. This civilization was based upon the active pursuit of agriculture, industry, and commerce, all of which experienced a great impetus under Etruscan direction.

The Etruscans planted vineyards and olive orchards, raised grain for

export, and were active in horse raising. In order to win new land for cultivation and to prevent soil erosion they dug tunnels and built dams on an extensive scale. They exploited to the full the mineral resources of the areas under their control, promoting iron-working in Etruria and opening up the iron mines of Elba. They also worked the copper desposits of Corsica and the copper and tin ores of Etruria. Their bronzes, especially their mirrors and candelabra, enjoyed high repute even in fifth-century Athens. Their goldsmiths and silversmiths, too, fashioned elaborate ornaments of great technical excellence. The native black pottery called *bucchero nero* improved greatly in quality after the Etruscan occupation, and the ceramic industry was expanded by the production of imitations of imported Greek wares.

The Etruscans were seamen before they settled on Italian soil and long continued to be a powerful maritime people. They established commercial relations with the Phoenicians and Carthaginians almost from the date of their settlement in Italy. By the early seventh century B.C. they had developed an active trade with Greece, as is evidenced by the contents of their tombs and the influence of Greece upon their civilization in general. In the sixth century they traded directly with Athens, and this trade seems to have been carried on largely by Etruscan vessels. But there was also an extensive trade with the Greek cities of South Italy, and there were groups of Greek traders settled in Etruscan seaports both on the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts. The growth of commerce ultimately led to the introduction of coinage. About the close of the sixth century the Etruscans gave up using rough lumps of copper as a medium of exchange and employed coins of the Greek cities of Ionia. After 500 B.C., Populonia and other Etruscan cities began to issue gold, silver, and copper coins, using at first a standard adopted from Lydia but later discarding this in favor of the Greek standard in vogue in Euboea and Campania. The Etruscans, as well as the Carthaginians, were jealous of Greek expansion in the western Mediterranean, and, as we have seen, about 536 B.C. a combined fleet of these two peoples drove the Greek colonists from the island of Corsica. From this time Etruscan domination in the Tyrrhenian Sea was firmly established, and this may have been responsible for the reputation for piracy which they enjoyed among the Greeks.

Cities and Cemeteries. Our knowledge of Etruscan civilization is derived mainly from the ruins of their cities and from their tombs.

In the course of their conquests, the Etruscans occupied the older local settlements which, for the most part, were situated on hilltops or in other easily defensible positions. Under Etruscan rule these towns increased greatly in size and prosperity and were fortified with strong walls of stone,

sometimes constructed of rude polygonal blocks and at other times of dressed stone laid in regular courses. The ruins of these fortifications exist today at many points throughout Etruria and in the other regions once subject to Etruscan rule. In general, the towns followed a regular plan with two main streets intersecting at right angles and smaller ones parallel to one or the other of these. Frequently the streets had stone pavements and drainage gutters. The most important public buildings were the temples. The typical Etruscan temple was an almost square structure set on a high base and having a portico or pillared entrance porch almost as large as the interior chamber (*cella*). Walls were of sun-dried brick resting upon stone courses; columns and the beams of the steeply pitched roof were of wood. All wooden parts were faced with colored terra cottas, and the roof was ornamented with figures of the same material. Private houses were of wood or sun-dried brick and in some cases were built around a central, open court, in the so-called Greek *peristyle* fashion. The Romans credited the Etruscans with developing distinctive types of column and domestic hall (*atrium*), both later called Etruscan, and from the Etruscans they learned the use of the arch and vault.

The older population of Etruria practiced cremation and buried the urns with the ashes of their dead in well-shaped and trenchlike tombs. The Etruscans brought with them the custom of inhumation and buried their dead in stone sarcophagi. However, under the influence of their Italian subjects and neighbors they came to adopt the practice of cremation as well. Their tombs, which constitute the most striking memorials of their civilization, were of various types: *tumuli* or artificial mounds of earth enclosing a burial chamber, *tholoi* or circular stone vaults built into the hillsides, and corridor tombs with many chambers excavated in the solid rock. The larger corridor tombs were evidently family burial vaults and were elaborately decorated with reliefs carved on their rocky walls or with painted friezes, from which decorations we derive most of our information regarding the Etruscan appearance, dress, and customs. The great quantities of gold ornaments and other costly articles found in Etruscan tombs of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. attest the wealth of the ruling aristocracy.

Art. Etruscan art exhibits itself in many forms: painting on vases and the walls of tombs, incised designs on bronze chests and mirrors, statues and statuettes of bronze and terra cotta, reliefs on grave steles, sarcophagi, and cinerary urns, terra-cotta architectural ornaments, and gold and silver jewelry. The greatest impulse to artistic productivity came to the Etruscans from contact with the Greeks in the sixth century, and from that time they derived continuous inspiration from Greek art. Yet the Etruscan



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF LARTHIA SEIANTI

An Etruscan sarcophagus from Clusium with an inscription in the Etruscan alphabet. Rings, necklace, bracelet, and pendant illustrate the Etruscan fondness for jewelry. Reproduced from *Monomenti Inediti*, Vol. xi, tav. 1.

artists were by no means slavish imitators of Greek originals. While they copied the form, subjects, and technique of the latter, they always preserved their own basic conceptions and thus succeeded in creating a truly native art of their own. And although this art lacked the idealism, the sense of beauty, the rhythm, harmony, and restraint of the Greek, it excelled in naturalness, force, and vivacity, and is a true reflection of the Etruscan outlook upon the present and future life. The most famous product of Etruscan sculpture is a terra-cotta group of the late sixth century B.C. from Veii called the "Contest for the Sacred Hind." Although Greek influences are obvious in the subject and its treatment, the chief figure, that of the god Apollo, shows distinctive Etruscan characteristics. Perhaps some of these qualities may be due to the artistic traditions of the pre-Etruscan element in the population.

Religion. Religion played a very prominent part in Etruscan life. The Etruscans worshipped numerous gods and believed in powerful malicious spirits which controlled the afterworld. In their desire to interpret the will of the gods and to ward off impending evils, they developed a most elaborate system for forecasting the future by examining the livers of sacrificed animals and by interpreting the significance of flashes of lightning and numerous other omens. The use of liver-divination is evidence which connects the Etruscans with peoples of western Asia. The Etruscans readily adopted both Italian and Greek gods into the circle of their own divinities, and with the Greek deities came a great deal of Greek mythology. Among the higher gods, they paid particular reverence to a triad composed of Tinia, later identified with the Roman Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, of whom the last two are clearly Italian divinities. In order to honor their dead and to ensure them immortality in a future life, the Etruscans believed that it was necessary to offer to the gods the lives of others. Here we find the origin of gladiatorial combats at funerals and perhaps the explanation of the cruel massacres of prisoners of war which the Etruscans perpetrated.

Language. The Etruscan language presents a peculiarly difficult problem. It is known chiefly from over 9,000 inscriptions, of which most are short dedications on funerary monuments. They are written in an alphabet adopted from the western type of the Greek alphabet either from Cumae after the Etruscan settlement in Italy or, as some now think, at an earlier date from the Greeks in the Aegean area. Etruscan survived as a spoken language in Italy until as late as the second century after Christ; and the Roman Emperor Claudius in the first half of the first century must have had sufficiently abundant written materials at his disposal to compose his work in twenty books on Etruscan history and civilization which has

perished completely. In spite of the fact that the value of the Etruscan letters is known, that the meaning of a considerable number of words has been ascertained, and that something has been learned about Etruscan grammar, so far all attempts to translate the language have failed. Nevertheless, many things point to its affiliations with the pre-Indo-European languages of western Asia Minor. With the exception of the Greek colonies and inhabitants of the region permeated by their cultural influence, all the peoples of Italy derived their systems of writing directly or indirectly from the Etruscans.

The Etruscans in Italian History. Our general impression of the Etruscans is that they were a wealthy, luxury-loving people, but by no means the voluptuaries that certain Greek writers represent.

In Etruscan society, women occupied a prominent place. Not only did they have great freedom in social intercourse, but often descent was reckoned on the maternal rather than the paternal side.

Quick to appreciate and adopt the achievements of others, the Etruscans were somewhat lacking in originality themselves. A strain of cruelty is revealed in their religion, particularly in the rites celebrated in honor of the dead. Bold and energetic warriors as their conquests show them to have been, they nevertheless lacked a spirit of discipline and co-operation and were incapable of developing a stable political organization. On the whole, they were a most active agency in the promotion of civilization in early Italy. In town planning, architecture, art, warfare, political organization, and religion, they profoundly influenced all the Italian peoples with whom they came into close contact, particularly those of the central and northern part of the peninsula.

II. THE GREEKS

Greek Colonization. In the preceding chapter it has been pointed out that as early as the eighth century the Greeks had begun their colonizing activity in the western Mediterranean. In the course of the next two centuries, they had settled the eastern and southern shores of Sicily, stretched a chain of settlements on the Italian coast from Tarentum to the Bay of Naples, and established themselves at the mouth of the Rhone and on the Riviera. The opposition of Carthage shut them out from the western end of Sicily and from Spain; the Etruscans closed to them Italy north of the Tiber; while the joint action of these two peoples excluded them from Sardinia and Corsica.

In the fifth century these Greek cities in Sicily and Italy were at the height of their power and prosperity. In Sicily the Greeks had penetrated

from the coast far into the interior, where they had brought the Sicels under their domination. Their position was challenged by the Carthaginians; but by the victory of Himera, in 480 B.C., Gelon, the ruler of Syracuse, secured the Sicilian Greeks in the possession of the greater part of the island and freed them from all danger of Carthaginian invasion for over seventy years. Six years later, as we have seen (p. 24), his brother and successor, Hieron, in a naval battle off Cumae, struck a crushing blow at the Etruscan naval power and delivered the mainland Greeks from all fear of Etruscan aggression. The extreme southwestern projection of the Italian peninsula, known to the Greeks as Italia (see p. 7), was completely under their control from sea to sea; but northward as far as Posidenia on the west coast and eastwards to Tarentum their territory did not extend far from the seaboard. Likewise in Campania, their cities Cumae and Naples were closely confined to the coast by the Etruscans. It was in this region, apparently, that the Romans came to call the Greeks "Graeci" instead of "Hellenes," which was the common name they had adopted for themselves. How firmly the Greeks were established in south Italy and how deeply it was permeated by their culture may be judged from the name *Great Hellas* which they applied to this area.

The Greeks, however, possessed even less political cohesion than did the Etruscans. Each colony was itself a city-state, a sovereign independent community, owing no political allegiance to its mother city. Thus colonial Greece reproduced all the political characteristics of the motherland. Only occasionally, in times of extreme peril, did even a part of the Greek cities lay aside their mutual jealousies and unite their forces in the common cause. Such larger political structures as the tyrants of Syracuse built up by the subjugation of other cities were purely ephemeral, barely outliving their founders. The individual cities also were greatly weakened by incessant factional strife within their walls. The result of this disunion was to restrict the Greek expansion and, eventually, to pave the way for the conquest of the Western Greeks by the Italian "barbarians."

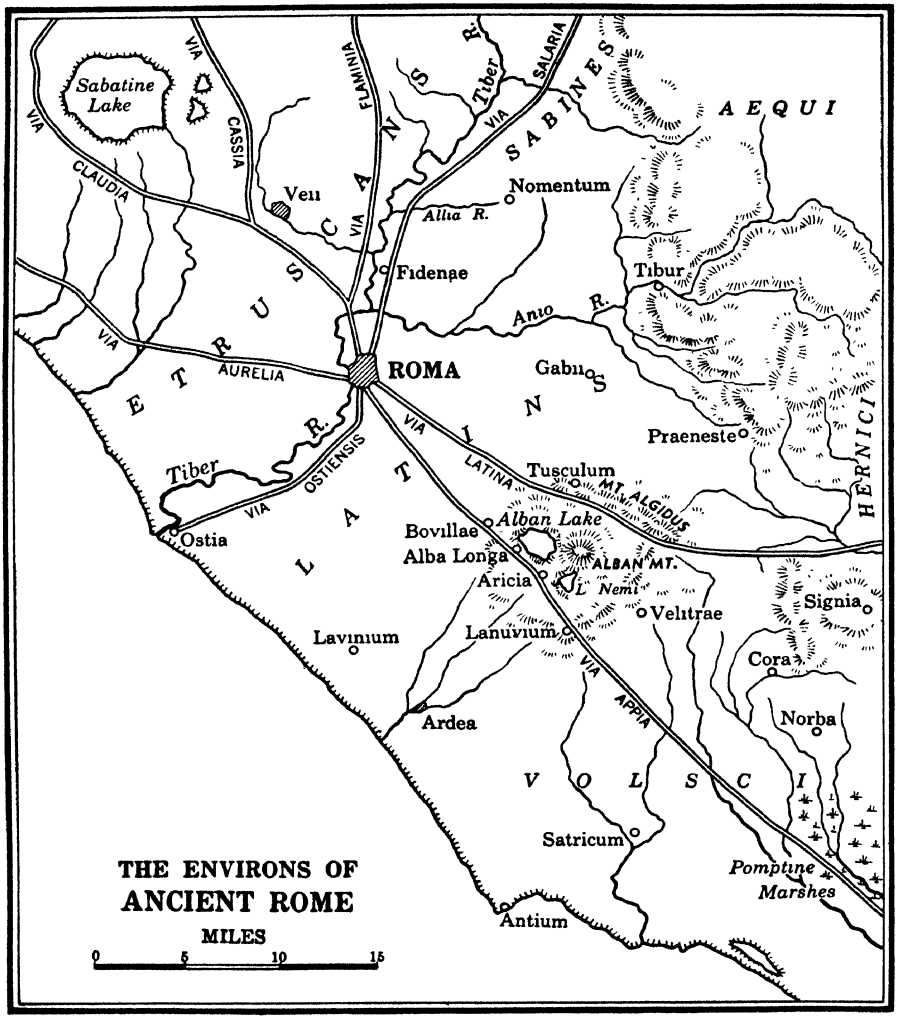
Decline of the Greek Power in Italy and Sicily. Even before the close of the fifth century, the decline of the Western Greeks had begun. In Italy their cities were subjected to repeated assaults from the expanding Samnite peoples of the central Apennines. In 421, Cumae fell into the hands of a Samnite horde, and from that time onwards the Greek cities further south were engaged in a struggle for existence with the Lucanians and the Bruttians, offshoots of the Samnite stock. In Sicily the Carthaginians renewed their assault upon the Greeks in 408 B.C. For a time (404–367) the genius and energy of Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, welded the cities of the island and the mainland into an empire which enabled them

to make head against their foes. But his empire had only been created by breaking the power of the free cities, and after his death they were left weaker and more disunited than ever. After further warfare, by 339, Carthage remained in permanent occupation of the western half of the island of Sicily, while in Italy only a few Greek towns, such as Tarentum, Thurii, and Rhegium, were able to maintain themselves, and that with ever increasing difficulty, against the rising tide of the Italians. Even by the middle of the fourth century an observant Greek predicted the speedy disappearance of the Greek language in the West before that of the Carthaginians or Italians. However, their final struggles must be postponed for later consideration.

The Greeks in Italian History. It was the coming of the Greeks that brought Italy into the light of history and into contact with the more advanced civilization of the eastern Mediterranean. From the Greek geographers and historians we derive our earliest information regarding the Italian peoples, and they, too, shaped the legends that long passed for early Italian history. The presence of the Greek towns in Italy gave a tremendous stimulus to the cultural development of the Italians, both by direct intercourse and indirectly through the agency of the Etruscans. In this spreading of Greek influences, Cumae, the most northerly of the Greek colonies and one of the earliest, played a very important part. The more highly developed Greek political and military institutions, Greek art, Greek literature, and Greek mythology found a ready reception among the Italian peoples and profoundly affected their political and intellectual progress. Traces of this Greek influence are nowhere more noticeable than in the case of Rome itself, and the cultural ascendency which Greece thus early established over Rome was destined to last until the fall of the Roman Empire.

PART II

The Primitive Monarchy and the Republic: From Prehistoric Times to 27 B.C.


Sabatine Lake
VIA CLAUDIA
VIA CASSIA
FLAMINIA
Veii
VIA
TUSCANUS R.
Tiber
SALARIA
VIA
SABINES
AEQUI
Nomentum
Allia R.
Fidenae
Tibur
Anio R.
VIA AURELIA
ROMA
Gabii
ETRUSCAN
Praeneste
HERNICI
Tiber R.
VIA OSTIENSIS
VIA LATINA
LATIN
Tusculum
MT. ALGIDUS
Alban Lake
Ostia
Bovillae
Alba Longa
ALBAN MT.
Aricia
L. Nemi
Velitrae
Signia
Lavinium
Lanuvium
Cora
VIA APPIA
Ardea
Norba
VOLSCI
Satricum
Pomptine Marshes
Antium
THE ENVIRONS OF ANCIENT ROME
MILES
0 5 10 15

CHAPTER IV. EARLY ROME TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY

I. THE LATINS

Latium and the Latins. The district to the south of the Tiber, extending along the coast to the promontory of Circeii and from the coast inland to the slopes of the Apennines, was called in antiquity Latium. The northern part of Latium, now known as the Roman Campagna, is an undulating plain intersected by watercourses and dominated by the isolated volcanic mass which culminates in the Alban Mount over 3,000 feet above sea level. At the opening of the historic period this region was occupied by an Italic people called the Latins (*Latini*). They were a mixed people in which the dominant element was formed by the descendants of northern invaders, a cremating folk, who, as we have seen, found their way south of the Tiber about the opening of the Early Iron Age.[1] These invaders had absorbed the previous occupants of the country, probably a sparsely settled pastoral folk, who had been there since neolithic times. Somewhat later, in the Early Iron Age, there appears to have been an intrusion of an inhumating people, probably of Sabine stock, who descended the Tiber valley and ultimately amalgamated with the Latins. South of the Alban Mount, however, the land was held by Sabellian peoples, in particular the Volsci.

Early Latin Culture. Until the close of the eighth century B.C., the inhabitants of Latium remained an agricultural and pastoral people little affected by the cultural developments taking place elsewhere in Italy. Their settlements were villages built upon defensible eminences, with cemeteries placed outside the inhabited area. In these cemeteries they deposited the ashes of their dead in clay urns made in the form of the huts in which they lived. These huts were round or elliptical structures with thatch and plaster walls supported by a wooden framework. The sloping thatched roof was held in place by exterior beams or poles which extended from the ridgepole part way down the sides. In the roof was a hole which served as a vent for the smoke from the hearth. The roof terminated in over-

[1] See p. 20. The older view that these invaders were *terramaricoli* has been abandoned by the most recent investigators.

hanging eaves, and the single doorway was flanked on either side by one or two wooden pillars. The doorway was large and served not only as a means of entrance and exit but also, when, as was often the case, there were no windows, to admit light and air to the interior of the hut.

Cultural Progress. In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., Latium enjoyed a much richer cultural life. The change was mainly due to Etruscan influence, which in many places was accompanied by Etruscan political domination. At the same time Carthaginian, and more particularly Greek, traders began to frequent the coast towns of Latium. The villages developed into towns with fortified citadels and protecting walls of stone and were adorned with temples built and decorated in Etruscan style. The grave deposits of the period show the presence of a wealthy class easily distinguishable from the majority of the people. It seems also that the population had increased considerably and that arable land was in demand and had to be intensively cultivated, if we may attribute to this age the dams and drainage works still visible today which were constructed at various places to win new ground or protect old fields from erosion.

Political Conditions. There is no evidence for a union of all the Latins in a single state. On the contrary, they were divided into a large number of independent units called *populi* (peoples). Each *populus* occupied a definite district (*pagus*) and had its central point in its fortified town (*oppidum*). There was a marked tendency on the part of the stronger of these petty states to absorb the weaker, and many of the sixty-five towns whose names have been preserved had been merged with their more powerful neighbors before the close of the sixth century.

Latin Leagues. The general feeling among the Latins that they were united by ties of common inheritance and common interests found expression in associations of groups of towns for the joint celebration of the worship of deities widely recognized among the Latins as a whole. Most important of these associations was the religious league which celebrated the annual festival of the Latin Jupiter (*Jupiter Latiaris*) on the Alban Mount. It is uncertain how many Latin towns participated in the Alban festival at any given time. Tradition has preserved the number forty-seven for the end of the sixth century, and that is not improbable. Tradition also records that the town of Alba Longa on the west shore of the Alban Lake was the early head of the league, but this refers to religious and not political leadership. Each of the communities which joined in the celebration contributed its quota of the offerings and received a share of the sacrifices. In spite of the political fate of the Latin towns, this festival of prehistoric origin was maintained until well into the Christian era.

Quite distinct from the league of towns united in the cult of Jupiter was that which was under the protection of the goddess Diana. The central point of the latter was the grove and temple of Diana at Aricia, near which city the meetings of the league were held. This league had a political as well as a religious character, and early in the fifth century B.C. it comprised only eight cities. The origin of this union is obscure, but a very plausible theory is that it was organized in the sixth century by a group of Latin peoples who felt their independence endangered by the expansion of Rome.

II. THE ORIGINS OF ROME

The Site of Rome. Rome, the Latin *Roma,* is situated on the Tiber about fifteen miles from the sea, where the river makes its way through a cluster of low hills. There, on the left, or eastern, bank are the three isolated eminences called the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine. Stretching out towards them from the high ground to the east are the spurs known as the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Caelian. All these formed part of Rome of the later Republic and the Empire, the City of the Seven Hills, which also extended across the Tiber to the west bank, where it included both the low ground along the river and the height of Mount Janiculum. But this extent represents the result of a long period of growth; the beginnings of Rome were on a much more humble scale.

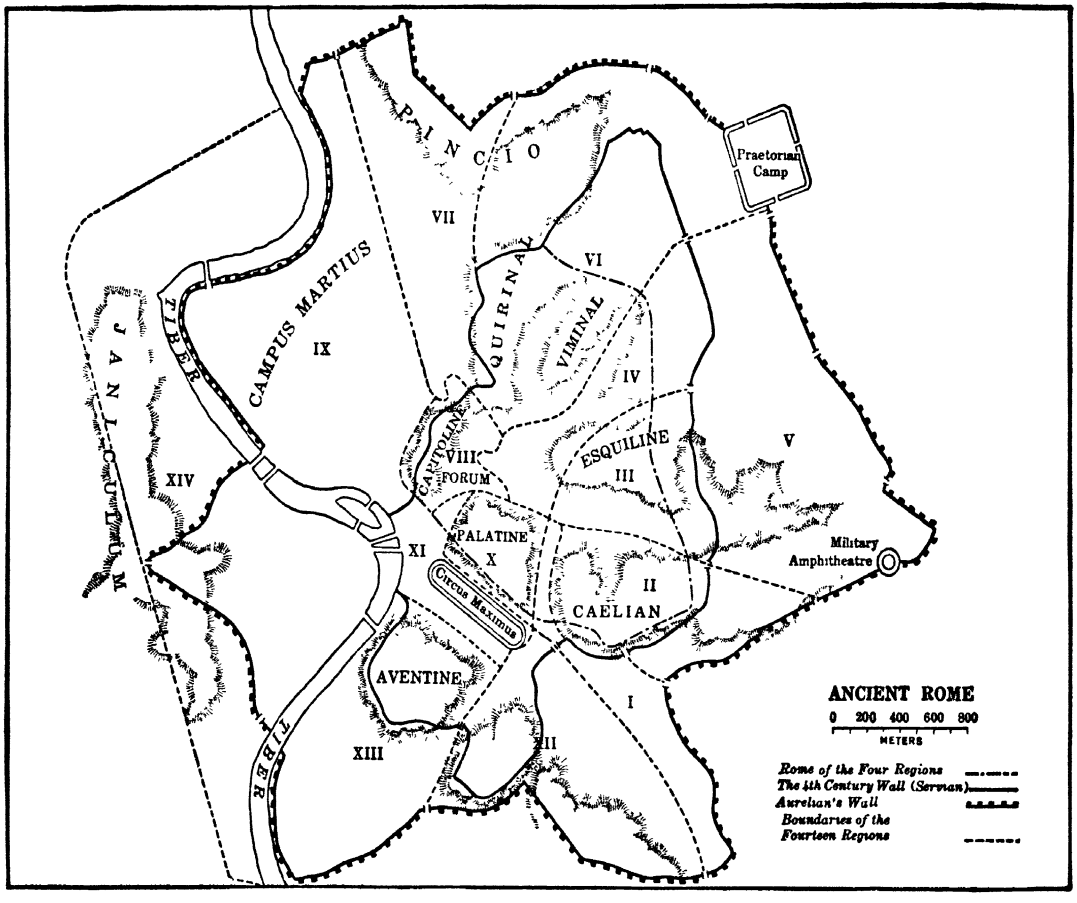
The Growth of the City. The origins of Rome go back to prehistoric times and were not the subject of contemporary records. But as time went on, particularly as Rome grew in importance, men's curiosity on this point was aroused, and speculation began to supply the want of historical evidence. From this source various legends arose which ultimately came to form the traditional version of the founding of Rome. In this we can detect contributions from both the Romans themselves and their Greek neighbors in Italy and Sicily. Before the close of the fourth century B.C., the Romans had invented as the founder of the city a mythical figure called *Romulus,* whose name is derived from that of Rome itself. Romulus, son of the god Mars and the daughter of a king of Alba Longa, was credited with the establishment of a city on the Palatine hill. Meanwhile, the Greek desire to explain the origin of Rome by linking it with their own legendary past had given rise to various myths in which the founder of the city appears as the descendant of one of the heroes of Greek mythology. The most significant of these Greek tales was the one which established a connection between Rome and the Trojan prince Aeneas, son of the goddess Aphrodite. Aeneas, so the story went, in his wanderings after

the destruction of Troy finally made his way to Italy, where either his son or his grandson became the founder of Rome. Owing to the Greek cultural ascendency over the Romans, the latter partially accepted the Greek myth and by the end of the third century B.C. had combined it with the native tradition. The resultant composite version was that Aeneas came to Latium and founded Lavinium, his son Ascanius founded Alba Longa, and Romulus, his descendant after many generations, was the founder of Rome. In this legend there is nothing of historical worth, except perhaps a faint reflection of the early importance of Alba Longa in Latium and the vague memory of a prehistoric settlement on the Palatine. Roman writers of the late third and the second centuries B.C. differed widely in regard to the date of the founding of Rome, but in the first century the date 753 B.C. came to be generally accepted and to serve as the basis for reckoning events in Roman history in terms of years "from the founding of the city." But it is entirely unsupported by any valid historical evidence.

In default of written records we must rely mainly upon archaeological evidence in any attempt to picture the early stages in the growth of the city. Excavations have brought to light three prehistoric cemeteries of the Early Iron Age within the limits of historic Rome, and each of these indicates the presence of a distinct community. The earliest of these cemeteries lay on the low ground to the north of the later Forum, which was then a marshy, uninhabitable area receiving the drainage for the adjacent hills and often inundated by the floods of the Tiber. Apparently, this cemetery began to be used not long after the opening of the Iron Age, probably before 900 B.C. Here the earliest graves contained cremation burials such as have been found elsewhere in Latium for the same period. In all probability, the settlement to which these graves belonged was situated on the Palatine hill because it had a level top of sufficient extent, was easily defensible, and commanded the easiest crossing of the river. It would be natural that the cremating invaders from the north, the earliest Latins, should occupy a site with such obvious advantages.

Not much later than the Forum cemetery, there came into use a cemetery on the Esquiline hill. Here, too, the earlier graves show the use of cremation, although the later ones indicate the predominance of inhumation. The site of this cemetery points to the presence of a settlement nearby, on the Esquiline also. It would seem that its earliest inhabitants were a group similar to the founders of the Palatine village but that later they amalgamated with some of the older native population or, more likely, with newcomers from the Sabellian tribes of the adjacent mountain region.

The third and latest of the cemeteries was on the Quirinal, and the people who used it must have dwelt on the same hill. All the graves in


PINCIO
Praetorian Camp
VII
VI
QUIRINAL
VIMINAL
CAMPUS MARTIUS
TIBER
IX
IV
CAPITOLINE
VIII
FORUM
ESQUILINE
V
XIV
III
JANICULUM
PALATINE
XI
X
Military Amphitheatre
Circus Maximus
II
CAELIAN
AVENTINE
I
TIBER
XIII
XII
ANCIENT ROME
0 200 400 600 800
METERS
Rome of the Four Regions
The 4th Century Wall (Servian)
Aurelian's Wall
Boundaries of the Fourteen Regions

the Quirinal cemetery show inhumation, and this lends support to the view that the Quirinal was occupied by Sabine invaders subsequent to the settlement of the Palatine and the Esquiline.

At first, each of the three communities was quite distinct from its neighbors. The earliest evidence of any sort of a union comes from the festival known in later times as the Septimontium or Seven Mounts. These "mounts" were elevations on the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the intervening ground; consequently they point to the celebration of a common religious rite by the people of the Palatine and Esquiline villages. This indicates a religious union at least and may have been the symbol of the political amalgamation of the two communities.

Rome of the Four Regions. The next step was the organization of the earliest city to which we can with certainty give the name of Rome. It is the city of the Four Regions, known in historic times as the Palatina, Esquilina, Collina, and Sucusana (later Suburana). These included the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Caelian, and Palatine hills, as well as the intervening low ground. Within the boundary of this city, but not included in the four regions, was the Capitoline, which had separate fortifications and served as the citadel (*arx*). The extent of Rome of the Four Regions shows that it arose from an amalgamation of the Palatine, Esquiline, and Quirinal communities; and the date of this unification is fixed as late in the seventh century B.C. by the cessation of the burials in the Forum, for burials within the city were contrary to Roman practice. As this date falls within the period of Etruscan influence in Latium and agrees approximately with the traditional time of the establishment of an Etruscan dynasty in Rome, it is highly probable that the organization of Rome of the Four Regions was effected by Etruscan conquerors. This view finds support in the name *Roma* itself, which seems to be of Etruscan origin, although the absence of the names of Etruscan divinities in the earliest calendar of Roman religious festivals[2] may indicate that the union occurred somewhat prior to the Etruscan conquest. The new city was fortified by a wall partly of stone and partly of earth which for the most part probably followed a consecrated boundary line, called the *pomerium*. The Aventine Hill, as well as part of the plateau back of the Esquiline, was only brought within the city walls in the fourth century B.C. and remained outside the *pomerium* until the time of the Emperor Claudius.

The Historic Romans. The archaeological evidence cited above shows that the Roman tradition of a strong Sabine element in the population of the early city has a substantial basis. But though it is true that the historic

[2] Some scholars, however, maintain that there are Etruscan gods in the list.

population of Rome was the result of a fusion of different elements, Latin and Sabine mainly but with a slight admixture of Etruscan and possibly even pre-Italic, nevertheless the Romans were essentially a Latin people. In language, in religion, in political institutions, they were characteristically Latin; and their history is inseparably connected with that of the Latins as a whole.

Rome's Strategic Situation. The location of Rome, on the Tiber at a point where navigation for seagoing vessels terminated and where an island made easy the passage from bank to bank, marked it as a place of commercial importance. It was at the same time the gateway between Latium and Etruria and the natural outlet for the trade of the Tiber valley. Furthermore, its central position in the Italian peninsula gave it a strategic advantage in its wars for the conquest of Italy. But the greatness of Rome was not the result of its geographic advantages: it was the outgrowth of the energy and political capacity of its people, qualities which became a national heritage because of the character of the early struggles of the Roman state.

III. THE EARLY MONARCHY

The Tradition. "In the beginning," wrote the Roman historian Tacitus, "kings ruled the city Rome." [8] The accuracy of this statement is attested by the mention of the *rex* or king in an inscription of the sixth century B.C. and by the survival of this term in later times in the title *rex sacrorum* or "king of the sacrifices" which was borne by one of the higher priests, as well as by the general strength of the Roman tradition regarding an early period of monarchical rule. Nevertheless, it is quite impossible to present any reliable history of the early Roman monarchy because when Roman historians began to write practically all records of the regal age had long since perished and oral tradition had become hopelessly confused. Consequently the Roman account of the reigns of the kings is a reconstruction due to the efforts of annalists and antiquarians who sought to attribute to these rulers the origins of Roman political and religious institutions.

According to the accepted Roman version, seven kings ruled over Rome between the founding of the city and the establishment of the Republic about 509 B.C. The first of these, Romulus, as we have seen (p. 35), may be dismissed as a fictional character, and so also Titus Tatius, an alleged Sabine colleague of Romulus who was never included in the list of the kings. The six successors of Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius (Priscus), Servius Tullius, and Lucius

[8] *Annales* I, 1.

Tarquinius (Superbus), very probably were historical personages, although we can place no reliance upon the characteristics and exploits assigned to each. Of these six kings, the first three apparently belonged to the period before the Etruscan conquest and the last three to the sixth century when Rome was under Etruscan domination. By name, as well as by tradition, the Tarquinii were certainly Etruscan, and Servius Tullius may well have been an Etruscan whose name has survived in a Latin form.

In spite, however, of the unreliability of the Roman account of the age of the kings, it is possible to draw a general picture of conditions in Rome under its kingly rulers. For this we are indebted to the survival in later times of religious, political, and social institutions which had their origin in the early stages of the Roman state and to the results of archaeological studies which have revealed to us much of the character of early Roman civilization.

The Political Organization of the Regal Period. The political institutions of the early Roman state bear a strong resemblance to those of other city kingdoms built up by immigrants from the north in Greece and Italy. They comprised the kingship, a council, an assembly of the people, and the units into which the citizens were grouped for the better performance of their obligations and the exercise of their rights.

As far as can be judged, the Roman monarchy was not purely hereditary but elective within the royal family, like that of the primitive Greek states, where the king was the head of one of a group of noble families, chosen by the nobles and approved by the people as a whole. The king was the leader in war, the chief priest, and the judge in matters affecting the public peace. His authority, called the *imperium*, included the right of scourging and execution. Its symbols were the *fasces,* small bundles of rods enclosing an axe, which were carried by attendants called *lictors.* The royal power was not absolute, for its exercise was tempered by custom, by the lack of any elaborate machinery of government, and by the practical necessity for the king to avoid alienating the good will of the community.

The council was called the Senate (*senatus*), which, as its name indicates, was originally a council of elders but, following the pattern of similar councils in the city states of Greece, had become a council of nobles. We do not know the details of its organization, but its functions were primarily advisory in character. From a very early date the Roman people were divided into thirty groups called *curiae*, which at one time may well have corresponded to divisions of the territory of Rome. Membership in the *curiae* was probably hereditary, and each *curia* had its special cult, which was maintained long after the *curiae* had lost their political importance. Apparently the *curiae* were grouped into three larger units called tribes, ten *curiae* to each tribe. The names of these tribes, *Ramnes, Tities,*

and *Luceres,* survived in later times as the names of cavalry corps in the Roman army, which was recruited at first on a tribal basis.[4]

When the members of all the *curiae* met together, they constituted the popular assembly known as the Curiate Assembly (*comitia curiata*). The primitive assembly of the *curiae* was convoked at the pleasure of the king to hear matters of interest to the whole community such as adoptions, wills, and grants of citizenship. It did not have legislative power, but such important steps as the declaration of war or the appointment of a new *rex* required its formal sanction.

Expansion under the Kings. Under the kings Rome grew to be the chief city in Latium, having absorbed several smaller Latin communities in the immediate neighborhood, extended her territory along the lower course of the Tiber to the seacoast, where later the port of Ostia was founded, and even conquered Alba Longa, the former religious center of the Latins. This expansion seems to have been responsible for the organization of the Latin League with its center at Aricia (p. 35) as a check upon further Roman conquests. However that may be, the building of a temple to the Latin goddess Diana on the Aventine Hill in Rome indicates at least a claim on the part of Rome to political leadership over some of the Latin peoples.

The Fall of the Monarchy. About 509 B.C. the monarchy came to an end with the abolition of the kingship as a political office, although it survived as a shadow of its former self in a lifelong priesthood. It is possible that there had been a gradual decline in the royal authority in the face of the growing power of the nobles as had been the case in Athens, but the final step in the change seems to have assumed a violent character. Although we cannot credit the Roman account of the misdeeds of the second Tarquin as the cause of the rebellion, it is quite clear that the struggle resulted in the fall of the Etruscan dynasty and the establishment of the Latin nobility as the rulers of the state. About the same time, apparently, the kingship disappeared from the other Latin cities.

Etruscan Influence in Early Rome. While the period of Etruscan domination failed to alter the Latin character of the Roman people, it left many traces in various aspects of Roman life, notably in official paraphernalia, military organization, and religious practices (such as the employment of *haruspices* or Etruscan diviners). Besides the earliest city wall, the sewer, probably at first an open ditch, which drained the Forum, belongs to the Etruscan period. In early Roman art and architecture the Etruscan influence is particularly noticeable. The earliest temple of Jupiter on the

[4] The view of Roman writers that these tribes corresponded respectively to the Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan elements in the Roman people is undoubtedly false.

Capitoline was built in the sixth century in Etruscan style, and the statue of Jupiter which it contained and its terra-cotta roof decoration are ascribed to Etruscan artists. Indeed, the association of the three divinities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, in a triad worshipped in this same temple of Jupiter was an imitation of a widespread Etruscan practice. Under the Etruscan kings there was some development of industry in Rome, particularly in pottery, and bronze- and iron-working. In this connection we may note the introduction of the worship of Minerva, the goddess of handicraft and the patroness of trade guilds. It is quite possible that the organization of the eight early trade guilds of free craftsmen, the names of which reveal the scope of the industrial life of kingly Rome, falls within the period of Etruscan rule. These trade guilds were those of the flute players, gold-workers, smiths, dyers, shoemakers, leather-workers, bronze-workers, and potters. The use of music on state occasions and the celebration of public games and shows were popular Etruscan practices that were early adopted by the Roman state.

IV. EARLY ROMAN SOCIETY

The Populus Romanus. The oldest name of the Romans was *Quirites,* a name which long survived in official phraseology but which was superseded by the name *Romani,* derived from that of the city itself. The whole body of those who were eligible to render military service, to participate in the public religious rites, and to attend the meetings of the popular assembly, with their families, constituted the Roman state—the *populus Romanus.*

At the basis of Roman society lay the household (*familia*), a closely knit economic as well as social unit. Such households as could claim descent from a common ancestor formed a clan or *gens.* These *gentes* were social rather than political groups for they did not form subdivisions of the state for political purposes, even though they might exercise a great deal of influence upon the public life of the community. Each clan was distinguished by its gentile name,[5] which was borne by all its members; and each celebrated its own religious rites (*sacra*), from which all outsiders were carefully excluded.

Patricians and Plebeians. At the close of the regal period the *populus Romanus* comprised two distinct social and political classes. These were

[5] For example: all members of the Cornelian *gens* were called Cornelius, those of the Julian *gens,* Julius. In addition, each had a personal name (*praenomen*) used before the clan name (*nomen*), and in later times a family name (*cognomen*) regularly followed the *nomen.* These three elements appear in such names as Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Gaius Julius Caesar.

the patricians and the plebeians. A very considerable element of the latter class was formed by the clients. These class distinctions had grown up gradually under the economic and social influences of the early state and, in antiquity, were not confined to Rome but appeared in many of the Greek communities also at a similar stage of their development.

The patricians were the aristocracy. Their influence rested upon their wealth as great landholders, their superiority in military equipment and training, their clan organization, and the support of their clients. Their position in the community assured to them political control, and they had early monopolized the right to sit in the Senate. The senators collectively were called *patres,* whence the name *patricii* (patricians) was given to all the members of their families and to their descendants.

The patrician aristocracy formed a social caste, the product of a long period of social development, and this caste was enlarged in early times by the recognition of new *gentes* as possessing the qualifications of the older clans (*patres maiorum* and *minorum gentium*). But eventually it became a closed order, jealous of its prerogatives and refusing to intermarry with the non-patrician element.

Apparently, the clients were tenants who tilled the estates of the patricians, to whom they stood for a long time in a condition of economic and political dependence. Each head of a patrician household was the patron of the clients who resided on his lands. The clients were obliged to follow their patrons to war and to the political arena, to render them respectful attention and, on occasion, pecuniary support. The patron, in his turn, was obliged to protect the life and interests of his client. For either patron or client to fail in his obligations was held to be sacrilege. This relationship, called *patronatus* on the side of the patron, *clientela* on that of the client, was hereditary on both sides. The origin of this form of clientage is uncertain, and it is impossible for us to form a very exact idea of the position of the clients in the early Roman state, for the like-named institution of the historic republican period is by no means the one that prevailed at the end of the Monarchy. The older, serflike conditions had disappeared; the relationship was voluntarily assumed, and its obligations, now of a much less serious nature, depended for their observance solely upon the interest of both parties.

The non-patrician element constituted the plebeians or *plebs.* They were free citizens—the less wealthy landholders, tradesmen, craftsmen, and laborers—who lacked the right to sit in the Senate and so had no direct share in the administration. Beyond question, however, they were included in the *curiae* and had the right to vote in the *comitia curiata.* Nor is there any proof of a racial difference between plebeians and patricians. It is not

easy to determine to what degree the clients participated in the political life of the community; yet, in the general use of the term, the plebs included the clients, who later, under the Republic, shared in all the privileges won by the plebeians and who, consequently, must have had the status of plebeians in the eye of the state.

The sharp social and political distinction between nobles and commons, between patricians and plebeians, is the outstanding feature of early Roman society and affords the clue to the political development of the early republican period.

CHAPTER V. THE EXPANSION OF ROME TO THE UNIFICATION OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA: CA. 508–265 B.C.

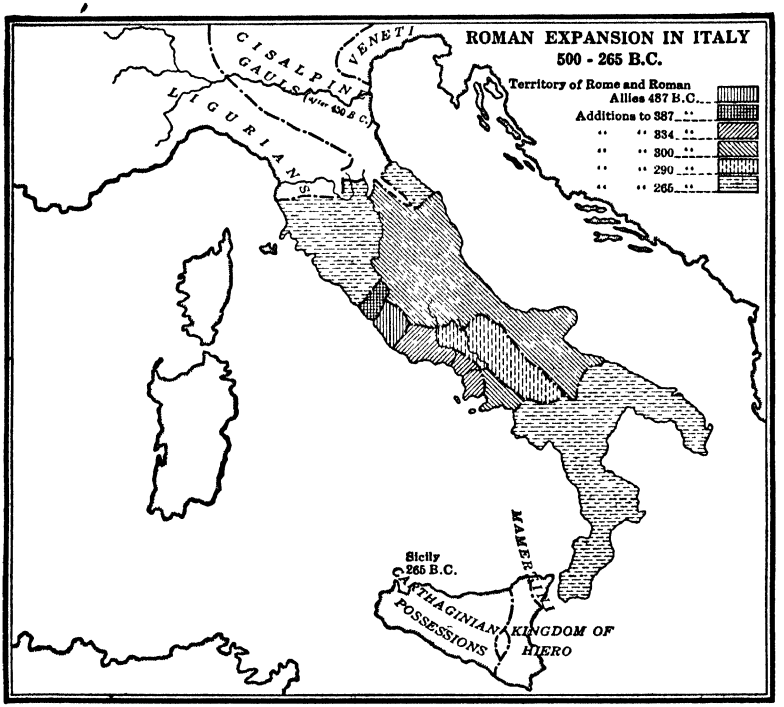
The history of the two centuries and a half after the fall of the Roman monarchy rests upon a somewhat more secure foundation than that of the age of the kings. Although there was no contemporary historical writing and no important literary productivity of any kind, documents and records of various sorts were committed to writing in increasing numbers, and these furnished later Roman historians with the foundations for an account of this period. But these materials were too scanty to permit of any more than a skeleton narrative, which in time came to be padded heavily with fictitious details by ancient writers. Accordingly we must recognize the unreliable character of the traditional Roman version of the history of the early Republic and content ourselves with a simple outline based upon a sober criticism of the available sources.[1]

I. THE YOUNG REPUBLIC AND ITS NEIGHBORS: 508–392 B.C.

The Alliance of Rome and the Latin League: 493 (486) B.C. At the close of the regal period Rome appears as the chief city in Latium, controlling a territory of some 300 square miles along the lower course of the Tiber. But the fall of the monarchy somewhat weakened the position of Rome, for it brought on hostilities with the Etruscan prince Lars Porsena, who, according to a Roman tradition, attacked Rome and forced it to surrender. The Romans were compelled to cede the districts which they held on the right bank of the Tiber and to give up their iron except such as was used for agricultural purposes. They also were obliged to give hostages for their future conduct. This period of Etruscan domination was, however, of short duration, for the Etruscans were defeated at Aricia (505 B.C., see p. 24) and forced to withdraw from Latium.

[1] There is also considerable uncertainty in the chronology before 300 B.C. For this reason both traditional and corrected dates have been given, the latter in parentheses.

The defeat at the hands of Porsena broke down whatever suzerainty Rome may have exercised over Latium and necessitated a readjustment of relations between Rome and the Latin cities. After a period of warfare, a treaty, traditionally ascribed to the Roman Spurius Cassius, was concluded between Rome on the one hand and the Latin League on the other. By its terms the Romans and the Latin League formed an offensive and defensive military alliance, each party contributing equal forces for joint military enterprises and dividing the spoils of war. At the same time the



private rights of citizenship were exchanged between the contracting parties. This meant that a Roman could transact business in a Latin city that was party to this agreement, with the assurance that his contract would be protected by the law of the said city, and could also acquire and hold property there (right of *commercium*), while if he married a woman from a Latin city this would be a legitimate union and his children from it would inherit both his property and his citizenship (right of *conubium*). Conversely, a citizen of a Latin community would enjoy the same privileges in Rome.[2] This alliance had its basis in the common racial and cultural heritage of Romans and Latins as well as in the common dangers which

[2] These terms were preserved when the alliance was renewed in the early part of the fourth century. A bronze copy of the treaty drawn up at that time, which may have been the treaty actually concluded by a Spurius Cassius, survived into the first century B.C.

threatened all the dwellers in the Latin plain from the Etruscans on the north and the highland Italian peoples to the east and south. One great advantage which Rome derived from this league was that the Latin cities formed a barrier between its territory and the aggressive peoples of the Aequi and Volsci. Not long after the Romans and Latins had concluded their alliance, they extended it to include the small people called the Hernici on the eastern border of Latium.

Wars with the Aequi and Volsci. On the northeast, east, and south the Latins were confronted with Italic tribes of the Sabellian group: Sabines, Aequi, and Volsci. In Roman tradition the fifth century was a period of intermittent warfare with these peoples, who sought to encroach upon Latin territory. Although the details of these wars are unreliable and some of the wars themselves may be fictitious, it is apparent that the Sabines and the Aequi under pressure of overpopulation in their mountain valleys sought to expand into the lowlands of Latium. The raids of the Sabines seem to have been unsuccessful border forays; but by the middle of the century the Aequi had penetrated into the heart of Latium, as far as Tusculum and Mt. Algidus. By the close of the sixth century the Volsci were already in occupation of the southeastern part of the Latin plain as far as the coast, and here they seem to have met with a Latin attempt to win new territory for settlement. Evidence for this comes in the establishment of Signia and Norba as Latin foundations in Volscian territory during the fifth century. But it was not until towards the close of the century that the Latins with Roman support definitely gained the upper hand over both Aequi and Volsci and freed themselves from the danger of encroachments by these two peoples.

Veii. In addition to these frequent but not continuous wars, the Romans had to sustain a serious conflict with the powerful Etruscan city of Veii, situated about twelve miles to the north of Rome, across the Tiber. Veii was a flourishing town, which controlled a larger and richer territory than Rome. Excavations have shown that it was a place of importance from the tenth to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. It had come under Etruscan influence in the course of the eighth century and was now the bulwark of Etruscan power in southern Etruria. The contents of its tombs have revealed the wealth and the extensive foreign trade of the Veientes, while imposing sculptural remains from its temple show that they were in contact with the Greek cultural influences then so powerful throughout the Italian peninsula. It is highly probable that the cause of the war with Rome was the conflict of commercial and political interests in northern Latium, for war broke out in 407 (402) B.C., shortly after the Romans had gained possession of Fidenae, a town which controlled a crossing of the

Tiber above the city of Rome. According to tradition the Romans maintained a blockade of Veii for eleven years before it fell into their hands, but this tale looks like an invention of the Roman annalists in imitation of the legendary ten years' siege of Troy. It was in the course of this war that the Romans introduced the custom of paying their troops, a practice which enabled them to keep citizen soldiers under arms throughout the entire year if necessary. Veii was destroyed, its population sold into slavery, and its territory incorporated in the public land of Rome. By this annexation the area of the Roman state was nearly doubled.

II. THE GALLIC INVASION

The Gauls in the Po Valley. But scarcely had the Romans emerged victorious from the contest with Veii when a sudden disaster overtook them from an unexpected quarter. About 400 B.C. a group of Celtic tribes crossed the Alpine barrier, probably by way of the Brenner Pass, and swarmed down into the Po valley. This inroad was part of the general expansion of the Celtic peoples from their homeland in the upper Danubian region of central Europe, from which they were slowly being forced to migrate by the pressure of Germanic peoples to the north. The invaders belonged to that branch of the Celts who were known as Gauls. They conquered the Etruscans, who formed the ruling class in the central part of the valley, and well before the close of the fourth century had occupied all the land from the Ticinus river and Lake Maggiore southeastwards to the Adriatic between the mouth of the Po and Ancona. To the Romans this district came to be known as Cisalpine Gaul, *i.e.,* Gaul on the near side of the Alps.

The Gauls formed a group of eight tribes, which were often at enmity with one another. Each tribe was divided into many clans, and there was continual strife between the factions of the various chieftains. They were a barbarous people, living in rude villages and supporting themselves by cattle-raising and agriculture of a primitive sort. Their chief industry was metal-working, in which they displayed considerable skill and artistic ability. Drunkenness and love of strife were their characteristic vices, war and oratory their passions. Ancient writers describe them as a tall race, with blond hair and blue eyes. Brave to the point of recklessness, they were formidable warriors, and the ferocity of their first assault inspired terror even in the ranks of veteran armies. Their chief weapons were long, two-edged swords of soft iron, which frequently bent and were easily blunted; for defence they carried small wicker shields. Their armies were undisciplined mobs, greedy for plunder, disinclined to prolonged, strenu-

ous effort, and utterly unskilled in siege operations. These weaknesses nullified the effects of their victories in the field and prevented their occupation of Italy south of the Apennines. But during the fourth century, before they settled down to exploit the rich agricultural resources of the Po valley, the Gauls were very restive. Large bands of them made frequent incursions into the peninsula in search of adventure and plunder.

The Sack of Rome. In 390 (387) B.C., a horde of these marauders crossed the Apennines and besieged Clusium in central Etruria. Thence, angered, as was said, by the hostile actions of Roman ambassadors who had been sent to persuade the Gauls to withdraw, they marched directly upon Rome. The Romans marched out with all their forces and met the Gauls near the Allia, a small tributary of the Tiber above Fidenae. The fierce onset of the Gauls drove the Roman army in disorder from the field. Many were slain in the rout, and the majority of the survivors were forced to take refuge within the ruined fortifications of Veii. Deprived of their help and lacking confidence in the weak and ill-planned walls, the citizen body evacuated Rome itself and fled to the neighboring towns. The Capitol, however, with its separate fortifications, was left with a small garrison. The Gauls entered Rome and sacked the city but failed to storm the citadel. Apparently they had no intention of settling in Latium, and therefore, after a delay of seven months, upon information that the Veneti were attacking their new settlements in the Po valley, they accepted a ransom of 1,000 pounds of gold (about $225,000) [3] for the city and marched home. Their decision may have been hastened by their knowledge of the gathering of a Roman and allied force at Veii. The Romans at once reoccupied and rebuilt their city and soon after provided it with more adequate defences in the new wall of stone known later as the Servian wall.

Later Gallic Incursions. For some time the Gauls continued their incursions into the peninsula, even penetrating as far south as Apulia. But not until 360 (357) did they appear again in Latium. On that occasion they raided as far as the Alban Hills, but the Romans feared to meet them and remained in the shelter of their walls. When, however, a fresh horde appeared in 349, the Romans were prepared. They and their allies blocked the foe's path; and the Gauls retreated, unwilling to risk a battle. Rome thus became the successful champion of the Italian peoples, their bulwark against the barbarian invaders from the north. In 331 the Gallic tribe of the Senones and the Romans concluded peace and entered upon a period of friendly relations which lasted for the rest of the fourth century.

[3] At the current (1939) rate of $35 an ounce this would be $420,000. In view of the comparative poverty of early fourth-century Rome, it is likely that the ransom has been greatly exaggerated.

III. THE DISRUPTION OF THE LATIN LEAGUE AND THE ROMAN ALLIANCE WITH THE CAMPANIANS: 390–336 (387–334) B.C.

Wars with the Aequi, Volsci, and Etruscans. The disaster that overtook Rome created a profound impression throughout the civilized world and was noted by contemporary Greek writers. But the blow left no permanent traces, for only the city, not the state, had been destroyed. It is true that, encouraged by their enemy's defeat, the Aequi, Volsci, and the Etruscan cities previously conquered by Rome took up arms; but each met defeat in turn. Rome retained and consolidated her conquests in southern Etruria. Part of the land was allotted to Romans for settlement, and four tribal districts were organized there. On the remainder, two Latin colonies, Sutrium (383) and Nepete (372), were founded. But it was not until 351 that the Etruscans were so badly beaten that they abandoned their attacks on Rome and sued for peace. The Aequi and Rome's former allies, the Hernici, who had seized the opportunity to assert their independence, were speedily subdued. Not so the Volsci, who fought long and bitterly to preserve their independence and regain control of Southern Latium. In 358 the Romans annexed a large part of their territory and settled it with Roman colonists organized in two tribal districts. But even this did not put an end to the struggle. Only with the fall of their chief city, Antium, in 338 did the Volsci abandon their resistance and accept a Roman alliance.

The End of the Latin League: 338 (336) B.C. An even greater menace than the hostility of the Etruscans and Volsci was the attempt of the Latins to break off their alliance with Rome. Before Rome had recovered from the shock of the Gallic victory, several of the more important Latin cities deserted the Latin League and challenged Rome's predominance in Latium. But, although they received support from the Hernici and Volsci, they were defeated and forced to join with the rest of the Latins in accepting a renewal of the old treaty which had bound the Latin League to Rome (358 B.C.).[4]

In this conflict, the majority of the Latin towns had remained faithful to their alliance, but in 340 (338) the whole Latin League was in arms against the Romans. They had come to realize that alliance with Rome would inevitably lead to domination by Rome, and this they were unwilling to accept without a further struggle. Several acts on the part of Rome were sufficient to justify their fears. In 358 the Romans had not allowed them any part of the land annexed from the Volsci. In 354 they had con-

[4] See p. 46, n.

cluded an alliance with the Samnites of the mountain region to the southeast of Latium. It is true that the purpose of this was co-operation against Gallic invasions, but the Latins now felt hemmed in between Romans and Samnites. Finally, in 348 a treaty was concluded between Rome and Carthage in which the Romans obviously asserted their suzerainty over Latium.

The Latins sought and obtained an alliance with the cities of Campania which were threatened by the Samnites. They then demanded from the Romans the political equality which they had previously enjoyed. Upon the refusal of this demand war began. Within three years the Romans were completely victorious. The Latin League was dissolved, and the individual cities had to accept the terms which Rome imposed. Five of them were deprived of their independence and incorporated in the Roman state. The rest, including the Latin colonies, became Roman allies with the obligation of furnishing troops when called upon. They lost the rights of trade and intermarriage with each other but continued to enjoy them with Rome. They also lost the privilege of forming leagues or other joint associations.

Rome and the Campanian Cities. In the first year of the Latin war the Romans succeeded in detaching the Campanians from their alliance with the Latins and induced them to make a separate peace upon favorable terms. Three Campanian cities, including the important towns of Capua and Cumae, were granted Roman citizenship and thus became a part of the Roman state. The same treatment was accorded to two other strategic cities between Latium and Campania. Thus Roman territory was extended as far south as the Bay of Naples. It is true that the members of these communities did not receive full Roman citizenship for they lacked the right to vote and to hold office in Rome, although, like full citizens, they had the obligation of military service. Nevertheless they had definite advantages. They were now assured of protection against foreign attack, in particular against their new enemies the Samnites; and in their private and business relations with Romans they had the full benefit of the Roman laws. At the same time these cities preserved their existence as at least locally self-governing communities retaining their former constitutions and laws, except where they voluntarily accepted those of the Romans. Apparently, Romans who moved to Capua and the other towns enjoyed there the same privileges that the Campanians did when they took up residence in Rome.

Following the Latin War, the Romans strengthened their communications with Campania by occupying the Volscian hill-country. This territory was secured by alliances with some peoples, the annexation of others, and the planting of Roman and Latin colonies at strategic points.

IV. THE CONQUEST OF THE NORTH AND CENTER OF THE PENINSULA: 327 (325)–280 B.C.

The Expansion of the Sabellians.[5] While the Romans were consolidating their power in southern Etruria, Latium, and northern Campania, the more southern regions were being overrun by peoples of Sabellian stock from the valleys of the central Apennines. But whereas the Roman expansion was that of a settled agricultural people whose conquests were motivated fully as much by the necessity of protecting themselves from foreign attacks as by the desire to find new lands for colonization, that of the Sabellians was caused almost entirely by the pressure of overpopulation. About once in each generation bands of young men were forced to emigrate and descended upon the neighboring lowland areas to win homes for themselves at the expense of the former occupants.

From the middle of the fifth century the force of these migrations was felt all over the southern part of the Italian peninsula. Capua (438) and Cumae (421) fell into Sabellian hands. Farther south, Sabellian settlements gave rise to the people known as the Lucanians, before whose advance the Bruttians were driven into the southwestern extremity of Italy. In the course of the fourth century both the Apulians and the Greek cities of the south were forced to defend themselves against repeated attacks from the expanding Sabellians. Unlike the Romans, who had created a single, powerful state supported by a series of military alliances, the Sabellians had split up into several independent groups. Those who had settled in the Campanian cities had amalgamated with the older population and were repeatedly at war with fresh waves of invaders from Samnite territory. The Lucanians were united in a military federation entirely free from the control of their kinsmen in their former homeland. The Samnites, as the latter were called, also formed a loose confederacy of kindred peoples whom poverty drove to plundering raids or attempted conquests at the expense of the descendants of earlier emigrants from the same mountain hinterland.

The Clash of Romans and Samnites in Campania. It was fear of the Samnites which had induced the cities of northern Campania to accept incorporation in the Roman state, and it was this Roman policy of supporting the more civilized and more peaceful lowlanders against their aggressive highland neighbors which led to a prolonged and desperate struggle between Rome and the Samnites. In this conflict all the peoples of the central and northern parts of the peninsula came to be involved; its result

[5] Sometimes called Oscans. But the term *Oscan* seems originally to have applied to part of the pre-Sabellian population in south central Italy (see p. 21).

was the establishment of Roman supremacy throughout the whole area. As we have seen, the Romans had concluded an alliance with the Samnites in 354 B.C. in the face of common danger from the Gauls. This also had the effect of preventing the Latins from drawing support from the Samnites and placing a northern limit upon Samnite expansion. The alliance, which was not very close, seems to have lasted through the period of the Latin War; [6] and even the union of Capua and Cumae with Rome did not provoke any Samnite reaction. It may have been that this apparent indifference was due to the preoccupation of the Samnites with a war against the Tarentines, who were supported by an able ally, Alexander, king of the Molossians in northern Greece (334–331 B.C.).

When the war with Tarentum came to an end, the Samnites, who still looked upon Campania as a legitimate field for expansion, intervened in the party struggles in the Greek city of Naples and garrisoned the town with the support of one faction of the citizens. Cumae became involved in the struggle and sought Roman support. In 327 (325) B.C. the Romans besieged Naples and got control of it when the Samnite garrison was induced to evacuate the city by the pro-Roman party. Thereupon Naples became a Roman ally, and open warfare began between the Romans and Samnites.

The Samnite Wars, First Phase, 326 (324)–304 B.C. The Samnites were a brave and warlike people. In numbers they were not greatly inferior to the Romans, and their military organization was better adapted than the Roman for mountain fighting. On the other hand, the Romans were superior in the open country and had the advantage of a greater centralization of authority, which insured unity and continuity of policy in a long conflict. The Roman plan was to encircle the Samnites by alliances with the peoples of central Italy to the north of Samnium and with the Apulians to the southeast.

Apparently the Romans won some successes in the opening years of the war, but these were more than counterbalanced by an overwhelming defeat in 321 (319) B.C. A Roman army attempting to march from Campania through Samnium into Apulia, was trapped in a valley called the Caudine Forks and compelled to surrender. The terms of surrender included the acceptance of a peace under which the Romans vacated some of the border territory claimed by the Samnites and agreed not to renew the war.

During the next few years the Romans strengthened their position in Apulia and increased and reorganized their army. They adopted a formation which was more suitable for maneuvering in rough country and perhaps at this time rearmed some of their troops by providing them with

[6] A war between Rome and the Samnites assigned by the historian Livy to the years 343–341 B.C. bears all the characteristics of annalistic fiction and may be disregarded.

javelins in place of spears. In 316 B.C. they reopened hostilities. But the initial success lay with the Samnites, who won a great battle at Lautulae near Tarracina in southern Latium (315 B.C.). For a moment Campania wavered in its loyalty, but a Roman victory recovered the lost ground and placed the Samnites on the defensive. In the upper valley of the Liris river, in Campania, and in Apulia, the Romans planted colonies which served as fortresses to block the exits from Samnium and as bases for Roman attacks upon that country. At the same time the Romans constructed a paved highway, known as the Via Appia, from Rome to Capua, which assured them of uninterrupted communications with Campania even in the rainy season.

Seeing that the extension of Roman influence across central Italy would cut them off from the north, the Samnites persuaded the Etruscan cities, whose treaties with Rome were lapsing, to create a diversion by attacking Roman territory in southern Etruria. This attack obliged the Romans to divide their forces and momentarily relieved the pressure on the Samnites. In two swift campaigns, however, the Roman armies penetrated north central Etruria and forced the cities which had taken up arms to accept a new peace (309–308 B.C.).[7] The Samnites then succeeded in detaching the Hernici, Aequi, and Paeligni from their alliance with Rome and thus prolonged hostilities in the central Apennines. But by 304 the Romans had reduced these tribes to submission and also brought the Samnites to terms.

The Samnites retained their independence and possession of their own territory with the exception of certain frontier districts. But their position in regard to Rome had become much weaker owing to the great increase of Roman power. By virtue of alliances the Romans had acquired control of Apulia and southern Campania. Other alliances assured them of the military support of the warlike Marsi, Marrucini, Frentani, Paeligni, and some city-states among the Umbrians. The revolt of the Hernici had been punished by confiscation of territory and the annexation of several of their towns as citizen communities. At the close of the war the Aequi met a similar fate, and part of the Sabine country was annexed with the grant of citizenship to its inhabitants. Colonies were planted on some of the confiscated land; the rest was divided up for settlement among individual Roman citizens. This expansion of Roman territory was marked by organization of new tribal districts.

Second Phase, 298–290 B.C. In 298 the Samnites again took up arms

[7] So the later Roman version. But there are several improbabilities in the narrative, and these campaigns seem to have been invented from the later Roman invasion of Etruria of 295 B.C.

against Rome. During the earlier Samnite war the Romans had had an alliance with the Lucanians, which had kept them friendly to Rome although they had not rendered very active support. Still later, in 303, Rome had co-operated with them in a war against Tarentum, which was aided by Cleonymus, king of Sparta. Afterwards, for some unknown reason, part of the Lucanians became hostile to Rome, and apparently the Samnites supported this anti-Roman faction. But in spite of Samnite intervention the Romans were able to induce the Lucanians to resume their alliance.

A more serious threat arose from joint action on the part of the Gauls, Samnites, and Etruscans. Stirred by the arrival of new migratory bands from beyond the Alps, the Gauls of the Po valley were once more restive and began to make raids into the peninsula. As Rome was the state which would inevitably oppose these inroads, it was easy for the Samnites to secure the co-operation of the Gauls against the common enemy; and some of the Etruscan cities were encouraged to take up arms again against Rome. The Sabines also joined the circle of Rome's enemies, whereas the Picentes, who had good reason to fear Gallic expansion, made an alliance with Rome. In 295, the Samnites succeeded in sending an army to meet the Gauls in Umbria, where the united forces joined battle with the Romans at Sentinum. Here the Romans won a decisive victory, which proved to be the turning point of the war. The Etruscans were defeated in their own country, and Samnium lay open to Roman attack. By systematically ravaging the country the Romans forced the Samnites to sue for peace. A portion of their land was confiscated, and they were obliged to accept the status of Roman allies (290 B.C.). The Romans then turned their attention to the Sabines, who could offer little resistance. Their territory was annexed, and they themselves were made Roman citizens without voting rights. Rome was now beyond question the dominant power in peninsular Italy.

Wars with the Gauls and Etruscans. Although the Samnites had been conquered, the Gauls were still restive and for a time constituted a serious threat on Rome's northern frontier. In 284 the tribe of the Senones, who were settled on the Adriatic coast north of Picenum, attacked Arretium in Etruria. While attempting to relieve this allied city, the Romans suffered a costly defeat. Aroused by this disaster, they invaded the country of the Senones, defeated them, and drove them out of the peninsula. Their former territory was added to the public land of Rome but continued to be known as the Ager Gallicus (the Gallic Land). Another tribe, the Boii from the Po valley, then marched into Etruria and joined forces with certain Etruscan towns which had broken off their alliances with Rome after the battle of Arretium. But the Romans crushed their united armies

at the Vadinonian Lake near Volsinii (283 B.C.). When a second raid in the following year met a like fate, the Boii made peace; and by 280 the warring Etruscan cities had again accepted an alliance with Rome.

V. THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF SOUTH ITALY: 281–270 B.C.

Italians and Greeks in South Italy. Peace in the north came none too soon for the Romans, who had become involved in the conflict between the Greeks of South Italy and their Italian neighbors. Ever since the collapse of the empire of Dionysius I of Syracuse in 367 (p. 29), the Greek cities in the far south of the peninsula had been exposed to constant attacks of the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Messapians; and only a few of them had succeeded in maintaining their independence. Of these, Tarentum was by far the largest and most powerful. A manufacturing and trading city, it had the strongest navy in Italy and gradually assumed the role of protector of the Italian Greeks. But the forces of the Tarentines were by no means a match for those of the Italians, and so they were obliged from time to time to enlist the services of military adventurers from the Greek world. The first of these was King Archidamus of Sparta, who fell fighting against the Lucanians in 338. Four years later, Alexander, king of Epirus and uncle of Alexander the Great, succeeded in defeating the Lucanians and Bruttians. He made a treaty with Rome, in which the Tarentines probably were included. But when the latter realized that Alexander intended to create an empire of his own in South Italy, they deserted him, with the result that he was defeated and killed by the Italians (330 B.C.). Still later, in 303, they called in another Spartan king, Cleonymus. More fortunate than his predecessors, Cleonymus forced the Lucanians to make peace. Since the Romans had supported their allies, the Lucanians, in this war, they must also have agreed to the peace.[8] A few years later Agathocles, king of Syracuse, assisted the Italian Greeks against the Bruttians (after 298 B.C.). He also made an alliance with the Messapians and Peucetians of Apulia, which may have been directed against the Romans. But when Agathocles died in 289, his kingdom disintegrated, and the western Greeks were left without a protector. Consequently, when the Lucanians made an attack upon the Greek city of Thurii, the Thurians appealed to Rome for aid since they regarded the Romans as more powerful than the Tarentines and more reliable than the Greek mercenary kings. As the Lucanians had broken off their alliance with Rome after the Gallic

[8] Livy represents Cleonymus as having been defeated by the Lucanians and Romans, but this seems to be a falsification dictated by Roman pride.

victory at Sentinum, the Romans accepted Thurii as an ally and came to its rescue (282 A.D.). A Roman army defeated the Lucanians, who were supported by the Bruttians, relieved Thurii and left a Roman garrison there. Two other Greek cities, Locrii and Regium, also became Roman allies and received Roman garrisons for their protection.

The Roman intervention at Thurii aroused the suspicions of the Tarentines, who regarded this action as a challenge to their position as the dominant Greek state in Italy. Accordingly, when a small Roman fleet appeared off the harbor of Tarentum contrary to the terms of a treaty (either that of 334 or that of 303) which excluded Roman warships from the Gulf of Tarentum, they became enraged and attacked it without delay. Some Roman vessels were sunk, and the Tarentines went on to oust the Roman garrison from Thurii and occupy the town themselves. A Roman demand for reparations was rejected, and their ambassadors were publicly insulted. Thereupon a Roman army invaded Tarentine territory to enforce the demand.

In the meantime, the Tarentines had succeeded in enlisting the support of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. They could also count upon co-operation from Messapians, Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians. With this backing they were prepared to defy the power of Rome.

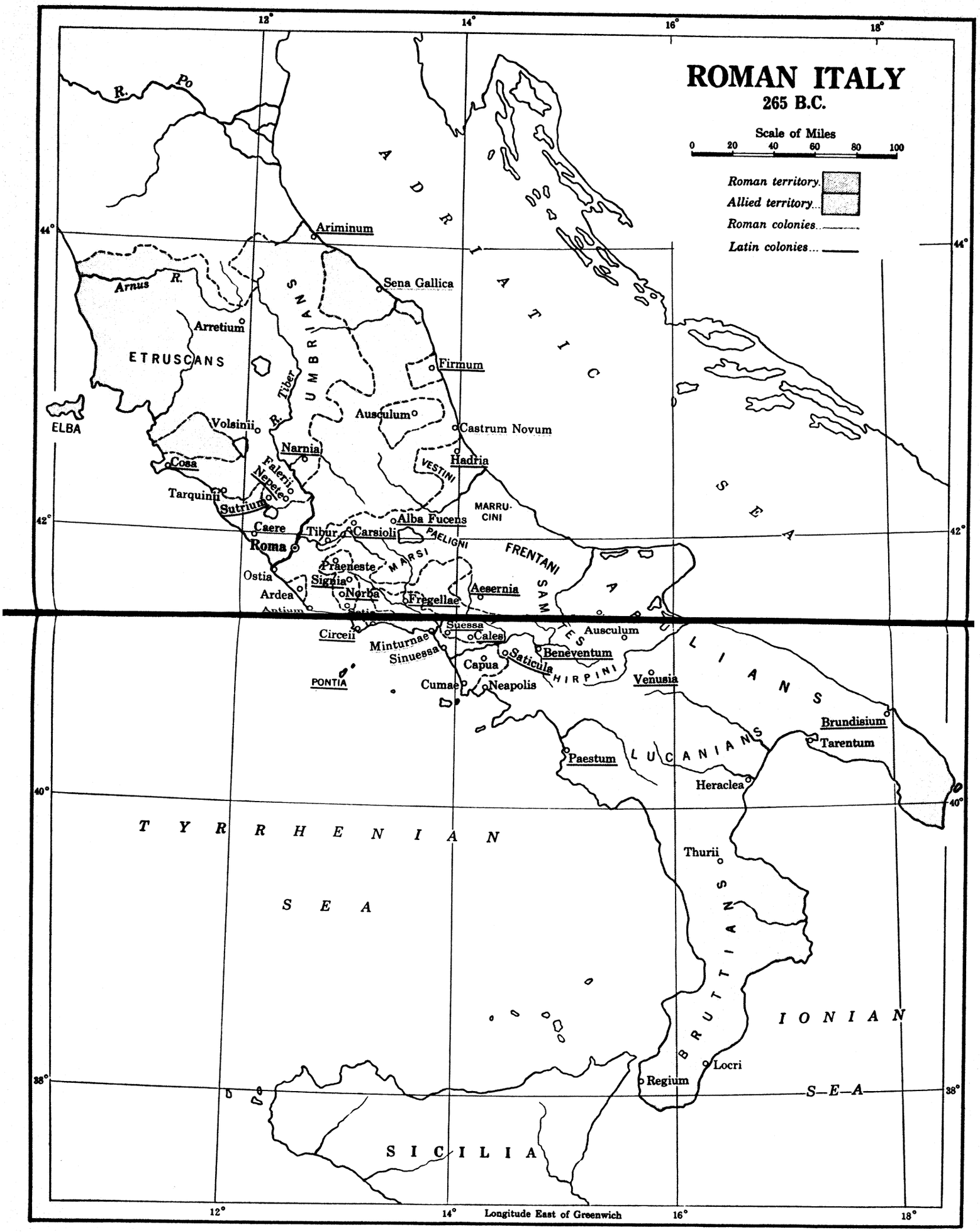
The War with Pyrrhus and Tarentum. Pyrrhus was probably the most skilful Greek general of the time, and he brought with him into Italy an army organized and equipped according to the Macedonian system of Alexander the Great, which had become the standard in the Greek world. His force comprised 20,000 heavy-armed infantry forming the phalanx, 3,000 Thessalian cavalry, and 2,000 archers. In addition, he had twenty war elephants—animals which had first appeared on Greek battlefields twenty years before but were as yet unknown to the Romans. The first engagement was fought near Heraclea (280), and after a severe struggle the Romans were driven from the field. The superior generalship of Pyrrhus and the consternation caused by his war elephants won the day, but his own losses were so heavy as to give rise to the expression "a Pyrrhic victory." As fighters the Romans had shown themselves the equal of the foe; and their tactical organization, perfected in the Samnite Wars, had proved its value in its first encounter with that developed by the military experts of Greece. In consequence of his victory at Heraclea, Pyrrhus was able to advance as far north as Latium, but he withdrew again without accomplishing anything of importance. He also sent an embassy to Rome with proposals for peace but his terms were rejected. The next year, Pyrrhus won another hard-fought battle near Ausculum in Apulia in which he himself was wounded. Although the king was unable to exploit

his victory, the Romans now opened negotiations which Pyrrhus welcomed. But before an agreement was reached, the Carthaginians, who feared the intervention of Pyrrhus in Sicily, offered the Romans assistance in money and ships. Their proffer was accepted; the negotiations with Pyrrhus ended; and Rome and Carthage agreed that in case either of them should make a treaty with the common foe it should reserve the right to aid the other if the latter's country were invaded. In the meantime the Carthaginian fleet was to co-operate with the Romans.

Pyrrhus in Sicily: 278–275 B.C. Nevertheless Pyrrhus determined to answer an appeal from the Sicilian Greeks and to leave Italy for Sicily. After the death of Agathocles in 289 the Greeks in Sicily had fallen upon evil days. The Carthaginians had renewed their attacks upon them, and a new foe had appeared in the Mamertini, Campanian mercenary soldiers of Agathocles who had seized Messana and made it their headquarters for raiding the territory of the Greek cities. Caught between these two enemies, the Greeks appealed to Pyrrhus, who came to their aid, possibly with the hope of uniting Sicily under his own control. His success was immediate. The Carthaginians were forced to give up all their possessions except Lilybaeum, and Pyrrhus stood ready to carry the war into Africa. But at this juncture the exactions that he laid upon his Sicilian allies and their fear that his victory would make him their permanent master caused them to desert his cause and make peace with their foes. Deprived of their assistance and seeing that his allies in Italy were hard pressed by the Romans, he abandoned his Sicilian venture.

The End of the War. Pyrrhus returned to Italy but lost part of his fleet in a naval battle with the Carthaginians. He reorganized his forces and advanced into Samnium to meet the Romans. Near Beneventum he attempted to surprise a Roman army but failed and suffered a repulse (275 B.C.). Thereupon he abandoned the offensive and retired to Tarentum. Leaving a garrison in that city, he transported what remained of his forces to Greece, where conditions seemed favorable for him to conquer Macedonia. Three years later he was killed while fighting in southern Greece, and his garrison at Tarentum turned over the citadel to the Romans. Tarentum had to surrender to Rome and receive a permanent Roman garrison. Along with the other Greek cities of South Italy, it now became a Roman ally.

As a penalty for its continued hostility, the Samnite confederacy was broken up into its component tribes. A good deal of land in Samnium was seized by the Romans and used for the founding of Latin colonies. The Lucanians received more generous treatment, having to surrender only the former Greek city of Paestum and its territory. The Bruttians


ROMAN ITALY
265 B.C.
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Roman territory
Allied territory
Roman colonies
Latin colonies
12° 14° 16° 18°
44° 42° 40° 38°
R. Po
ADRIATIC SEA
Ariminum
Arnus R.
Sena Gallica
Arretium
ETRUSCANS
UMBRIA
Firmum
Tiber R.
Ausculum
Castrum Novum
ELBA
Volsinii
Narnia
Hadria
VESTINI
Cosa
Faleri
Nepete
Tarquinii
Sutrium
MARRUCINI
Alba Fucens
Caere
Tibur
Carsioli
PAELIGNI
Roma
FRENTANI
MARSI
Praeneste
Ostia
Sigina
Ardea
Norba
Fregellae
Aesernia
SAMNITES
Antium
Suessa
Ausculum
Circeii
Minturnae
Cales
Sinuessa
Beneventum
Capua
Saticula
HIRPINI
PONTIA
Cumae
Neapolis
Venusia
APULIANS
Brundisium
Tarentum
Paestum
LUCANIANS
Heraclea
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Thurii
BRUTTIANS
IONIAN SEA
Locri
Regium
SICILIA
Longitude East of Greenwich

became Roman allies but were forced to give up half of their forests on the Sila mountains.[9]

In the North, the Romans experienced further trouble with some Etruscan towns and had to wage a war with their former allies, the Picentes. The latter were punished with some loss of territory; but most of them, together with the Sabines, received full Roman citizenship in 268. In 265 the whole of the Italian peninsula was united under Roman suzerainty.

VI. THE ROMAN CONFEDERATION

Roman Foreign Policy in Italy. Rome had united the Italian peninsula in the form of a confederation under Roman domination. In retrospect, the successive steps in this process appear so methodical and consequential as to create the impression of deliberate and relentless planning. But it is not to be supposed that this was a goal consistently pursued through many generations by Roman statesmen. Probably it was not until the end was nearly within sight that the Romans realized whither their policy was leading them. Indeed, it is certain that many of Rome's wars were purely defensive in character, and if they resulted in an extension of the sphere of Roman influence or of Roman territory, this was an unforeseen result. This seems particularly true of the period prior to the Gallic inroad of 387. In the ancient Roman formula employed in declaring war, that uttered by the representatives of the priestly college called the Fetiales, war appears as the last means employed to obtain reparation for wrongs that had been suffered at the hands of the enemy. Yet, although the Roman attitude in such matters was doubtless at one time sincere, we may well question how long this sincerity continued and whether the injuries complained of were not sometimes the result of Roman provocation. Such attempts to place the moral responsibility for a war upon the enemy are common to all ages and are not always convincing. If, however, we may not convict the Romans of conscious imperialism prior to 265, at any rate the methods which they pursued in their relations with the other peoples of Italy made their domination inevitable in view of the Roman national character and their political and military organization. These methods early became established maxims of Roman foreign policy. The Romans, whenever possible, waged even their defensive wars offensively and rarely made peace save with a beaten foe. As a rule, the enemy was forced to conclude a treaty with Rome which assured Rome of his military support against other foes. This treaty was regarded as perpetually bind-

[9] Some scholars believe that the confiscation of this area occurred after the Hannabalic War, *i.e.*, after 201 B.C.

ing, and any attempt to break off the relationship it established was regarded as an hostile act. Possibly the Romans looked upon this as the only policy which would guarantee peace on their borders, but it inevitably led to further wars, for it resulted in the continuous extension of the frontiers defended by Rome and so continually brought Rome into contact and conflict with new peoples. Again, the voluntary allies of Rome were not allowed to leave the Roman alliance; such action was treated as equivalent to a declaration of war and regularly punished with severity. This practice gradually transformed Rome's independent into dependent allies.

From the middle of the fourth century, it seems that Rome deliberately sought to prevent the development of a strong state in the southern part of Italy and to this end gladly took under her protection weaker communities that felt themselves threatened by stronger neighbors, although such action inevitably led to war with the latter.

Furthermore, a conquered state frequently lost a considerable part of its territory. Portions of this land were set aside for the foundation of fortress colonies to protect the Roman conquests and overawe the conquered. The rest was incorporated in the public domain to the profit of both the rich proprietors and the landless citizens. Usually, the Roman soldiers shared directly in the distribution of the movable spoils of war, sometimes a huge booty, as after the subjugation of the Sabines and Picentes in 290. Rome's long series of successful and profitable wars, for she was ultimately victorious in every struggle after 387, had engendered in her people a self-confidence and a martial spirit which soon led them to conquests beyond the confines of Italy. During this period of expansion within Italy, Roman policy had been guided by the Senate, a body of unrecorded statesmen possessed of keen political insight and great determination, who not only made Rome mistress of the peninsula but succeeded in laying enduring foundations for the Roman power.

It is difficult to say in how far the Romans were consciously influenced in their foreign policy by pressure of overpopulation caused by the exhaustion of the soil of Latium after centuries of intensive cultivation. But the ability to stand the losses of so many serious wars without apparent diminution of military strength and the founding of large numbers of colonies, particularly in the latter part of the fourth and the first half of the third centuries, point to a surplus population and unsatisfactory economic conditions among the rural classes. A demand for new land arising from these causes and the ambitions of a new element in the ranks of the Roman governing circles may account for the more aggressive foreign policy pursued after the overthrow of the Latin League.

The Roman Confederation. The Roman confederation in Italy was in reality an empire consisting of Rome as the dominant power and a number of allied states as the dependent element. Broadly speaking, there were two classes of allies: (1) the Latins and (2) the federated states.

The Roman State. As a result of confiscations of territory and the extension of Roman citizenship to various city and tribal communities, the area of the Roman state (the *ager Romanus*) had expanded from some 300 square miles in 508 to about 10,000 square miles in 265. That is to say, it comprised about one fifth of the land in the Italian peninsula. Along the west coast of Italy it extended in a broad strip from near Tarquinii in Etruria southwards to the Bay of Naples, and from the latitude of Rome it stretched northeastwards across the Apennines to the Adriatic coast.

The Roman citizens who constituted the free population of this territory were of two classes: (1) full citizens and (2) citizens without the right to vote or hold office in Rome.[10] The full citizens resided in the city Rome, in municipal towns, and in small rural communities. For administrative purposes, the citizen body was organized into tribes on the basis of residence in districts into which Rome and Roman territory were divided. In addition, there were a number of colonies of Roman citizens which had been planted for the most part in harbor towns of Italy that lay at one time beyond the Roman frontiers. These were really small garrisons of Roman citizens, usually only three hundred in number, whose duty it was to protect the maritime communities from sea raids and to insure the loyalty of their inhabitants to Rome. Altogether, twenty-seven of these citizen colonies came to be established. Their military character is clearly expressed in the exemption of the colonists from active service with the Roman armies.

The second class of Romans, who had all the obligations but only the private rights of citizenship, comprised the inhabitants of towns in Etruria, Latium, and Campania which had received, in most cases voluntarily, this form of association with Rome. These towns were called *municipia* (municipalities), a term which originally implied that their inhabitants had the full burdens but not the full rights of Roman citizens. The *municipia* of citizens without the right of suffrage retained a large measure of the organization which they had enjoyed as independent states, including their former officials. In their external relations, however, they were under the jurisdiction of the higher Roman magistrates. *Municipia* of full citizens also appear to have continued to enjoy a certain measure of local autonomy under the framework of their former constitutions, although the

[10] *Cives sine suffragio et iure honorum.*

functions and powers of their magistrates undoubtedly suffered serious curtailment. The municipal system was a distinctly Roman contribution to the solution of the problem of local government in an enlarged city-state. Rome was not only the capital city; it was the *state,* for all Romans were citizens of Rome and could exercise their public rights of citizenship only in Rome itself. But the municipalities were a means of incorporating other city states into the Roman without the dissolution of their community life or a violent break with their previous traditions, customs, and culture. The status of the municipalities without the right of suffrage was only a halfway stage in the complete amalgamation of previously independent communities with Rome, for they all ultimately attained full citizenship. For the new citizens it brought positive advantages as well as obligations while preserving for them a great deal of local independence; for the Romans it brought an increase of man-power which helped to meet the growing military burdens of Rome and at the same time saved the older citizens from having to share their power and responsibilties with too great a number of unassimilated foreigners.

The Latin Allies. Of the non-Romans in Italy the people most closely bound to Rome by ties of blood and common interests were the Latin allies. They included: (1) the old Latin towns of Tibur, Praeneste, and one or two others which had not been absorbed by Rome in 338, (2) the nine Latin colonies founded by the Latin League prior to its political dissolution at that date, and (3) new Latin colonies founded by Rome in Italy after 338, of which there were twenty-one in all. The great majority of the colonists for these later colonies was supplied from the poorer classes of Roman and Latin citizens, but in some cases citizens of other allied states were also enrolled as settlers. Whatever their origin, the members of a Latin colony took the status of Latin allies; but if any one of them left a son of military age in his place, he had the privilege of moving to Rome and becoming a citizen. Each colony had full rights of local self-government, with its own laws, magistrates, and the right to issue coins and control its own census. Its constitution was modelled upon that of Rome, and its citizens enjoyed the rights of *commercium* and *connubium* with Rome and with the other Latin towns, except that the last twelve colonies founded between 268 and 181 had *commercium* only. The Latin colonies were towns of considerable size, having citizen bodies which comprised in some cases 2,500, in others 4,000, and in others again 6,000 heads of households. As each colonist received a land grant of sufficient size to support a family, large areas had to be assigned by the Roman state from confiscated territory for these settlements. Latin colonies were primarily military in character. Founded at strategic points on conquered territory

they formed one of the strongest supports of the Roman power in Italy. At the same time colonization of this character served to relieve overpopulation and satisfy land hunger in Latium. Contrasted with the other allies of Rome in Italy, the citizens of the Latin towns formed the *nomen Latinum* (people of the *Latin name*). Unlike the Roman citizens without the suffrage, they did not serve in the Roman legions but formed separate detachments of horse and foot.

The Italian Allies. The rest of the peoples of Italy, Italian, Greek, Illyrian, and Etruscan, formed the federate allies of Rome—the *socii Italici.* These constituted some 150 separate communities, city or tribal, each bound to Rome by a special treaty (*foedus*), whereby its specific relations to Rome were determined. In all these treaties, however, there were two common features, namely, the obligations to lend military aid to Rome and to surrender to Rome the control over their diplomatic relations with other states. But no taxes of any kind could be imposed by Rome upon an allied community. The troops of the allies were not incorporated in the legions but were organized as separate infantry and cavalry units (*cohortes* and *alae*), raised, equipped, and officered by the communities themselves. They were, however, under the orders of the Roman generals; and if several allied detachments were combined in one corps, this was commanded by a Roman officer. The allied troops, moreover, received their subsistence from Rome and shared equally with the Romans in the spoils of war. The Greek cities of South Italy were excused from service on land but were obliged to furnish warships with their crews to the Roman fleet; and for this reason they were called naval allies (*socii navales*). All the federate allies had *commercium,* and the majority *conubium* also, with Rome. Apart from the foregoing obligations towards Rome, each of the allied communities was autonomous, having its own language, laws, and political institutions.

In many cases, as for example in the Etruscan cities, the treaties of alliance with Rome were strengthened by the strong bond of sympathy which existed between the local aristocracies of many of the Italian towns and the senatorial order at Rome. As we have seen, the foreign relations of Rome were directed by the Senate, which represented the views of the wealthier landed proprietors; and it was only natural that the senators should have sought to ally themselves with the corresponding social class in other states. This class represented the more conservative and, from the Roman point of view, more dependable element, while the support of Rome assured to the local aristocracies the control within their own communities. Consequently there developed a community of interest between the Senate and the propertied classes among the Roman allies.

Roman Imperialism in Italy. Thus we see that, although peninsular Italy was united under the Roman *imperium,* it by no means formed a single state. Rather it was an agglomerate of many states and many peoples whose sole point of contact was that each was in alliance with Rome. In form these alliances constituted a military confederation, but for all practical purposes they created a Roman empire on Italian soil. In the organization of the confederation, the Romans exhibited a high degree of statecraft. They did not seek rigid uniformity but adapted themselves readily to the varied conditions that obtained in different parts of Italy. Where they found a high degree of urbanization, as in Latium, Campania, the Greek South, northern Apulia, and Umbia, they left the city-states as the existing political units. But in the less highly civilized areas, such as Bruttium, Lucania, southern Apulia, Samnium, and other regions of central Italy, they recognized the tribal states and accorded them a place in their system of alliances. Although, under pressure of military necessity and need of room for colonization, they made extensive annexations at the expense of obstinate foes, this practice was not carried to an extreme. Relentless in the prosecution of war, the Romans showed themselves lenient in imposing peace. Most of their conquered opponents received moderate terms, and nowhere did the Romans interfere with the language, religion, laws, or constitutions of allied states. The reward of this tolerant attitude came in the loyalty displayed by the allies during the wars of the following century.

Although there was as yet no such thing as an Italian nation, still it was from this time that the name *Italia* began to be applied to the whole of the peninsula and the term *Italici* (Italians) was employed, at first by foreigners but later by themselves, to designate its inhabitants.[11]

[11] The several elements in the Roman military confederation may be seen at a glance from the following scheme:

I. Roman citizens	(*a*)	with full civic rights (*optimo iure*)
	(*b*)	with private rights only (*sine suffragio*)
II. Romans allies	(*a*)	Latin allies
	(*b*)	Federate peoples of Italy

CHAPTER VI. THE GROWTH OF THE COMMONWEALTH: 508–287 B.C.

While the Romans were expanding their territory and building up their confederation in Italy, the Roman state itself experienced a profound internal evolution. This was brought about in part by the necessity of modifying the governmental organization to meet the needs of a rapidly growing community and in part by a successful struggle on the part of the plebeians to secure for themselves the political and other privileges which were monopolized at first by the patricians. The detailed story of these developments was not written by contemporaries because they occurred before Roman historical writing began. But their memory was preserved in institutions and usages that originated in this period and survived into later times, in notices of laws of which the names and in some cases the general content were preserved, in lists of officials where changes in numbers and titles indicate political crises, and in some brief accounts of episodes which occurred in times of political strife. The scarcity of information regarding the first two centuries in the life of the Roman Republic made it possible for later Roman writers to reconstruct the early internal history of the state according to their own political ideas, to invent details and dramatic incidents with which to expand and enliven their narratives, and to give mistaken explanations of customs and institutions whose origins had long since been forgotten. In spite of conscientious research, it is impossible for modern students of Roman history to present a satisfactory picture of the establishment of the foundations of the later republic. They must admit that on many points they possess no more information than the Roman historians and that their best explanations are in many cases only reasonable hypotheses.

I. THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The Constitution of the Early Republic: the Magistrates. Upon the overthrow of the Monarchy, the Romans set up a republican form of government, where the chief executive office was filled by popular election.

At the head of the state were two annually elected magistrates, or presidents, called at first praetors but later consuls. Together they exercised the old kingly power known as the *imperium,* symbolized by the rods and axes (*fasces*) carried by the lictors (see p. 40). The *imperium* also involved the *auspicium,* that is, the right to take the auspices or omens by which the gods were believed to declare their approval or disapproval of public acts. Both consuls enjoyed these powers in equal measure and, by his veto, the one could suspend the other's action. Thus from the beginning of the Republic annuality and collegiality, that is, the division of authority among colleagues of equal rank, were the characteristics of the Roman magistracy. But as time went on the Romans came to recognize the advantage of an occasional concentration of all power in the state in the hands of a single magistrate; and so, in times of emergency, the consuls, acting upon the advice of the Senate, nominated a dictator, who superseded the consuls themselves for a maximum period of six months. The dictator, or *magister populi,* as he was called in early times, appointed as his assistant a master of the horse (*magister equitum*). The earliest of these dictators seems to have been appointed late in the fifth century, and most of those known to us belong to the fourth century B.C. Only patricians were eligible to the consulship, dictatorship, and mastership of the horse.

The Senate. At the side of the magistrates stood the Senate. By the third century B.C. this council had a fixed membership of three hundred but it is unlikely that it was so large at the beginning of the Republic. Appointments to the Senate were made by the consuls from members of the patrician clans. The senators held their seats for life unless guilty of grave public or private misconduct.

The disappearance of the monarchy had increased greatly the importance of the Senate. Its primary duty was to act as an advisory council to the consuls, as it had to the kings. But since the consuls were annual officers who became private citizens when their terms ended, the Senate as a permanent body had much more influence over them than it had over the monarchs who had ruled for life. We can hardly say that at this period the consuls were subordinate to the Senate, but they would be reluctant to act contrary to its advice. The Senate also acquired the right to sanction or to veto resolutions passed by the Assembly, which could not become laws without the Senate's approval.

The composition of the Senate and the life-tenure of its members made it a strongly conservative body devoted to maintaining the interests of the patrician aristocracy.

The Assembly of the People. During the early years of the Republic,

the only Assembly of the People was the old Curiate Assembly of the regal period (see p. 41). It was the privilege of the Assembly to elect the annual consuls and to approve or reject such proposals as the latter placed before it. But its powers were limited to voting, for it did not have the right to initiate legislation or to discuss or emend the measures that were presented to it. Its legislative power, furthermore, was limited by the Senate's right of veto.

In the Assembly the voting was open, either by show of hands or oral declaration. The members of each *curia* voted as a unit, the majority within the *curia* determining whether the vote should be affirmative or negative. Under these conditions we can easily believe that the voting in the *curiae* was often controlled by the patricians, owing to their personal influence and the support of their clients who did not dare to oppose their wishes.

The Priesthoods. In Rome a special branch of the administration was that of public religion, which dealt with the official relations of the community towards its divine protectors. This sphere was under the direction of a college of priests, at whose head stood the *pontifex maximus.* Special priestly brotherhoods or guilds cared for the performance of particular religious ceremonies, while the use of divination in its political aspect was under the supervision of the college of augurs. With the exception of the *pontifex maximus,* who was elected by the people from an early date, the priesthoods were filled by nomination or co-optation, and their tenure was lifelong. The acts of worship previously performed by the king were carried out by a priest, who preserved the memory of the kingship in his title King of the Sacrifices (*rex sacrorum*). In the order of the priesthoods the "king" ranked first; nevertheless he was appointed by the *pontifex maximus.* The Roman priesthood did not form a separate caste in the community; and, since the priestly offices were held by the same men who, in another capacity, acted as magistrates and senators, the Roman official religion was subordinated to the interests of the state and tended more and more to assume a purely formal character.

At the beginning of the Republic the priests exercised a very considerable influence in public affairs. They were the custodians of religious law, which was enforced in the punishment of many crimes that were looked upon as offences against the gods; they alone knew the exact formulas which had to be employed in important legal transactions; the *pontifex maximus* had charge of the calendar, fixed the dates of the public festivals, and announced each month what days were open and what closed to public business: and the members of the college of augurs could cause the postponement of any public acts by proclaiming the occurrence of an un-

favorable omen. For these reasons it was not merely a matter of prestige but also of practical advantage to the patricians that all priesthoods had to be filled by members of their class.

The Patrician Domination. From the foregoing survey of the Roman constitution at the opening of the fifth century B.C., it is apparent that the patricians were in complete control of the government. They monopolized the magistracies, the Senate, and the priesthoods. Through these they controlled the actions of the Assembly and the administration of justice. A study of the patrician clan names shows that at this time there were between 40 and 50 such clans in existence. It has been estimated that these comprised about 1,000 families, or a total of 4,500 persons, who constituted between 7 and 8 per cent of the total citizen population.[1] Although no high degree of accuracy can be claimed for these figures, they are at least a fair approximation; and we can well understand that the domination of this aristocratic minority would soon be challenged by the plebeian majority.

II. THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CENTURIATE ASSEMBLY

The New Tribal System. An important change in the governmental organization of the Roman state was made with the organization of a new tribal system. In place of the traditional three tribes of the regal period, we find the citizens grouped on the basis of residence in twenty tribes. Four of these were made up of the inhabitants of the city in so far as they were not also owners of land outside the city; the remaining sixteen included the rural population of the Roman territory in Latium. We do not know just when the twenty tribes were created; but at the latest it was in the last half of the fifth century B.C., for a twenty-first tribe was organized about the end of that century on land that was occupied by the Romans after the capture of Fidenae to the north of the Anio river (p. 47, see map on p. 32). Thereafter, as we have seen, the Romans kept increasing the number of the rural tribes to keep pace with the enlargement of the territory occupied by Roman citizens with full rights until there were thirty-three tribes in all by 265 B.C. The tribes served as districts for the registration of citizens and their property and so became the fundamental units in the system of raising the levy for military service, in collecting property taxes, and the classification of citizens into new voting groups.

Military Reforms. According to Roman tradition, which here seems

[1] Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, pp. 220–223.

to have a foundation in fact, the Roman army of the regal period was a levy of 3,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, recruited in equal proportions from each of the three early tribes. Thus each tribe supplied a regiment of 1,000 infantry commanded by a tribune of the soldiers (*tribunus militum*) and a troop of 100 cavalry. If this is correct, we may infer that each of the thirty curiae furnished a company of 100 infantry and a detachment of 10 horsemen. Apparently this system of raising the normal levy was still employed during the first part of the fifth century, although the number of centuries (*i.e.*, units of 100 men) of cavalry had been at some time increased from three to six. These cavalry units were drawn exclusively from the patricians, for in the early Roman state they alone had sufficient wealth to provide themselves with horses and armor. The chariots of earlier days had been discarded; and the horsemen, although few in numbers, were the decisive factor on the battlefield. They were not true cavalry but rather mounted infantry whose horses gave them great mobility. In battle they did not charge in solid ranks but engaged in a series of duels with the leaders of the enemy. If necessary, they dismounted and fought on foot, and if the enemy fled they remounted for the pursuit. The infantry, inferior in training and equipment, was supplied wholly or at least in great part by the plebeians.

In the latter part of the fifth century the infantry levy was raised from thirty to forty centuries, that is, a total of 4,000 men, most probably recruited on the basis of two centuries to each of the twenty tribes. Such an increase seems to indicate a corresponding increase in the number of citizens who could furnish the full equipment of an infantry soldier. At the time this comprised a leather cap with bronze plates, bronze body armor and greaves, a leather shield, an iron sword, and a spear. Those who possessed this equipment were called the class (*classis* or "calling"); the rest of the citizens were rated as "below the class" (*infra classem*). The latter could be called upon for military service for which inferior equipment was adequate; but they were not included in the regular line of battle, which was that of the Greek *phalanx*, a solid formation of heavy-armed infantry all equipped alike. Shortly before 400 B.C., possibly on account of the war with Veii, the levy was increased from 4,000 to 6,000. This was accomplished by organizing new "classes" from the poorer property holders, who were called upon to furnish smaller numbers of centuries than the original "class," which now became the first class. In 366 (361) B.C. the levy was raised to 8,400 men, organized in two legions.

These changes in the organization of the army reflect an important development in the art of warfare and had far-reaching consequences in the political life of the state. In the first place, they show that among the

Romans and their neighbors in Italy foot soldiers armed and drilled in the new fashion were proving more efficient than horsemen, just as they had in the Greek world about two centuries earlier. Secondly, we see that the struggle for existence compelled the state to draw more and more heavily upon the less privileged plebeian class for military service and hence it could not refuse the plebs an increase in political rights.

This is clearly seen in the establishment of a new assembly of the people, which was in its origin modelled upon the military system of the latter part of the fifth century B.C. In this assembly the citizens of military age voted by centuries in the order of the property classes in which they were enrolled for the performance of military duties, and the number of voting centuries assigned to each class was equal to the number furnished by that class for military service. Thus, at first, the *equites* or horsemen had six centuries or, we may say, six votes. In the first class, the juniors (*iuniores*) or men between seventeen and forty-six years of age who were liable to active service were given forty centuries, and the juniors in the second and third classes ten centuries each. These were the men who served as the heavy-armed infantry; and the total number of their voting centuries was sixty, which corresponded to the infantry levy of 6,000 men. But since the assembly was a political and not a military body, provision had to be made for the senior men in the state, those forty-six years of age and over who were only liable for garrison duty. This was done by assigning to the seniors of each class the same number of voting centuries as to the juniors, except in the case of the cavalry. The former *equites* apparently voted in the senior centuries of the first class. Because the assembly voted century by century it came to be called the Centuriate Assembly (*comitia centuriata*) to distinguish it from the older Assembly of the Curiae.

The foregoing account of the early organization of the Centuriate Assembly is a reconstruction based upon the description of that body at the close of the fourth century as transmitted to us by Roman writers. At that time there were eighteen equestrian centuries and five property classes.[2] In the classes, the number of junior centuries was now eighty-four, corresponding to a levy of 8,400 men or two legions of 4,200 each. As before, the number of senior centuries in each class was equal to that of the juniors, so that the five classes comprised one hundred and sixty-eight centuries of juniors and seniors. Of these the first class had eighty; the second, third, and fourth, twenty each; and the fifth, twenty-eight. Besides these, there were seven supernumerary centuries made up of two

[2] The property ratings of each class were fixed in terms of the current bronze coinage, but the earlier method of assessment is unknown.

centuries of mechanics and two of musicians (both crafts originally detailed to special military duties), one century of unarmed replacements, one of late-comers to the assembly, and one for those who lacked the property qualification for the fifth class and were called proletarians.[8] Altogether the one hundred and sixty-eight centuries of the classes together with the eighteen equestrian and seven supernumerary centuries made a grand total of one hundred and ninety-three voting units.

In its completed form, the Centuriate Assembly was distinctly a political and not a military organization. It included many who were unfit for military duties, and the term century had lost its original meaning of a company of one hundred with the organization of the senior centuries, for the men of that age group were far less numerous than the juniors. By the close of the fourth century also the equestrian centuries were ceasing to function as a true cavalry corps and becoming merely a special class of well-to-do patrician and plebeian property holders. The real cavalry in the Roman armies was now supplied by the Italian allies. The old infantry phalanx made up of centuries had been superseded by the new legionary formation, in which the units were maniples of sixty and experience not wealth determined a man's position in the ranks. Nevertheless, the memory of the military origins of the assembly was perpetuated not only in the use of classes and centuries but also in certain practices connected with its activities. For a long time it continued to assemble in military formation with officers and corps standards; it regularly met on the parade ground, the Campus Martius, outside the pomerium, for an army could not be assembled within the city; it could be convened only by a magistrate with military authority; and when it was meeting a war flag was raised on the Janiculum hill where a guard was stationed.

When the Centuriate Assembly was organized it took over the most important functions of the Curiate Assembly and became the chief assembly of the Roman people. It elected all the higher magistrates, it acquired the sole right to authorize a declaration of war, it voted upon legislative proposals submitted to it by the consuls or other magistrates with *imperium*, and it acted as a court of appeal for citizens upon whom a magistrate had pronounced a penalty of execution, scourging, loss of citizen rights, or a heavy fine. The legislative power of the Centuries, however, was limited for a long time by the veto power of the patrician senators (the *patrum auctoritas*), who had to ratify measures passed by the assembly before

[8] That is, those who had no taxable property, only offspring (*proles*). They were called also *capite censi*, or those registered by name only. Sometimes, the two centuries of replacements and late-comers were included with the fifth class, giving it a total of thirty centuries.

they acquired the force of law. But this restriction was practically removed by the Publilian Law (339 B.C.), which required the *patres* to ratify in advance proposals that were to be presented to this assembly. In like manner, the elections of the Curiate Assembly were subject to the *patrum auctoritas,* and in the case of officials with *imperium* this authority had to be conferred upon the successful candidates by a law of the Curiate Assembly. But this law of the Curiae soon became a mere convention, and by the Maenian Law passed about 287 B.C. candidates had to be approved by the *patrum auctoritas* before the elections were completed.

In the Centuriate Assembly many of the practices established in connection with the Assembly of the Curiae were maintained. There was no right of discussion or amendment, and business was restricted to matters presented by the presiding magistrate. The system of group voting was retained also, each century having a single vote, which was determined by the majority within the century. Furthermore, the centuries voted in a fixed order, and the vote of each was reported as soon as it had completed its polling. The eighteen equestrian centuries voted first; they were followed by the centuries of the first class; these by the centuries of the second class; and so on until a majority of the centuries had voted in favor of or against a measure or in favor of the number of candidates to be chosen at any election. Once a majority was reached, the voting ceased; and on many occasions the centuries of the lower classes were never called upon to express an opinion. This would be true particularly whenever the equestrian centuries and those of the first class voted unanimously, for together they had ninety-eight votes, which was a majority of the total of one hundred and ninety-three. We have, however, no means of ascertaining how often these two groups voted in unison. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Centuriate Assembly did put the higher propertied classes in control of the voting in elections and legislation. This broke down the influence of the patrician clans exercised through the Curiae and organized the citizen body strictly on the basis of property: That is to say, in place of aristocratic control it set up a timocracy or rule of wealth in which the dominant part was played by that class which made the greatest contribution to the military strength of the state in the latter part of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries B.C. As we have seen, the Curiate Assembly was not abolished. In addition to formally conferring the *imperium,* it met under the presidency of the Pontifex Maximus to witness or confirm ceremonial acts that were mainly of a religious character. But by the close of the Republic the action of this Assembly had become so purely formal that its meetings were attended only by thirty lictors who represented the Curiae.

III. THE EXPANSION OF THE MAGISTRACY

The Consular Tribunate. The changes in the military system and the accompanying organization of the Centuriate Assembly reacted upon the magistracy. Shortly after the middle of the fifth century, the two annual consuls were replaced with increasing regularity by larger boards of officials called military tribunes with consular power (*tribuni militum consulari potestate*). Between 444 and 427 (436–418) B.C. there were six boards of three tribunes; from 426 to 406 (417–402) B.C., three boards of three and seven of four; and from 405 to 367 (401–363) B.C. thirty-three boards which normally comprised six members, although the number in some is doubtful. The title *tribune* means tribal officer, and the military tribunes were the original commanders of the levies from the respective tribes. Since these originally numbered 1,000 from each tribe, the title *military tribune* came to be used for the commanders of thousands even when the army was no longer organized on a tribal basis. It is in this sense that it appears to have been employed during the late fifth and early fourth centuries. Accordingly the military tribunes with consular power were simply the chief military officers who were granted the consular *imperium*. This will explain the striking correspondence between the number of the consular tribunes and the size of the levy: three before 427 B.C., when the levy was 3,000; then regularly four until close to 400 B.C., while the levy was increased to 4,000; and thereafter normally six to meet the needs of the levy of 6,000 in force until 367 B.C. The military tribunes were elected by the Centuriate Assembly, and the most plausible explanation of their being granted consular *imperium* is found in the tradition that the military situation frequently required the presence of more than two magistrates who could exercise both the highest civil and military authority.[4]

The Consulship Restored. In 366 (362) B.C. the use of military tribunes with consular power was abandoned permanently. The dual consulship was restored, and for the future military tribunes appear only as legionary officers under the command of the consuls or other magistrates. Six tribunes were assigned to each legion; and since the legion now numbered 4,200, the military tribune ceased to be a commander of a unit of 1,000 men.

[4] One explanation of the origin of this tribunate offered in antiquity and still held in some quarters is that it was created to take the place of the consulship as an office to which plebeians might be admitted while they were still excluded from the regular presidency. Against this view, besides the existence of another explanation equally old which has been adopted above, it may be urged that although the military tribunate first appeared in 444 B.C. it was not until 40 years later that plebeians were elected to it. And further, plebeians appear in only six of the fifty-one colleges of military tribunes elected between 444 and 367.

The Praetorship. At the same time that the consulship was restored, the numerical weakness of this office was corrected by the establishment of a new magistracy, the praetorship. Its holder, the praetor, was elected annually by the Centuriate Assembly and took charge of civil jurisdiction, relieving the consuls of this responsibility. The praetor was regarded as a junior colleague of the consuls and exercised the *imperium*. Consequently, if need arose, he could take command of an army, convene the Senate or an assembly, and exercise the other consular functions.

The Censorship. An important step in the expansion of the magistracy was the creation of the censorship about 443 (435) B.C. This coincided closely with the beginnings of the use of property qualifications for military service and with the appearance of the consular tribunate. As their name indicates, the censors were originally officials for taking the census; and since in Rome the census was taken every five years, censors were elected only at the beginning of each new census period. The censors were two in number, and, unlike the other magistrates, they held office for eighteen months. They were chosen by the Centuriate Assembly but did not have the *imperium*. The earliest duty of the censors was to register all Roman citizens and their properties according to their tribes and to assign them to the appropriate classes and centuries, in so far as these existed, for the performance of military duties and the exercise of voting privileges in the Centuriate Assembly. The development of this system of registration adequately explains the inauguration of the censorship, since neither consuls nor military tribunes would have had time to perform the duties of censors in addition to their other obligations. At an early date, perhaps from the foundation of their office, the censors had charge of letting public contracts; and their assessments formed the basis for the collection of the property tax (*tributum*) in time of war. By the end of the fourth century they had acquired the right to revise the list of the senators at the same time that they took the census. Since this involved an examination of the public and private conduct of the senators, there arose that aspect of the censor's power which has survived in the modern conception of a censorship, namely, the supervision of morals. The loss of the right to make up the roll of the Senate greatly diminished the influence of the consuls over that body.

The Quaestorship. In the early Republic the consuls had appointed two officers called quaestors to act as their deputies in administering criminal justice. Not long after the middle of the fifth century the quaestors were raised to the status of magistrates and elected by vote of the people. In 421 B.C. their number was increased to four, of whom two served as public treasurers (*quaestores aerarii* or *urbani*). The other pair were assigned to

act as assistants to the consuls; they accompanied the latter to war and performed the duties of quartermasters in charge of supplies and payment of troops.

The Aedileship. Evidence for the growth of the city Rome and the increasing burden of municipal administration which this entailed is found in the establishment of the magistracy called the aedileship, probably at about the same time as the elevation of the quaestorship to a magistracy. The aediles, as the holders of the new office were called, acted as superintendents of public works, as market commissioners, and as police magistrates. At first they were two in number and were elected from among the plebeians. In 366 (362), however, coincident with the restoration of the consulship, their number was increased to four by the addition of two "curule" aediles, so called because they had the right to use the seat known as the curule chair, which had been a prerogative of the higher magistrates. For some time the curule aedileship was open only to patricians, but its duties were the same as those of the plebeian aediles.

The Promagistracy. The Roman magistrates were elected for one year only, and after 342 B.C. re-election to the same office could only be sought after an interval of ten years. This system entailed some inconveniences, especially in the conduct of military operations, for in the case of campaigns that lasted longer than one year the consul in command had to give place to his successor as soon as his own term of office had expired. Thus the state was unable to utilize for a longer period the services of men who had displayed special military capacity. The difficulty was eventually overcome by the prolongation, at the discretion of the Senate, of the command of a consul in the field for an indefinite period after the lapse of his consulship. The person whose term of office was thus extended was no longer a consul but acted "in the place of a consul" (*pro consule*). This was the origin of the promagistracy. It first appeared in the campaign at Naples in 327; and, although for a time employed but rarely, its use eventually became very widespread and extended to other offices than that of consul.

Characteristics of the Magistracy. By the close of the fourth century the Roman magistracy had attained the form that it preserved until the end of the Republic. It consisted of a number of committees, each of which, with the exception of the quaestorship, had an independent sphere of action. But among these committees there was a regularly established order of rank, running, from lowest to highest, as follows: quaestors, aediles, censors, praetors, consuls. With the exception of the censorship, which was regularly filled by ex-consuls, men who followed a public career usually advanced from one magistracy to another in this order. A distinctive feature of the committee system was the right of any magistrate to veto the

action of his colleague or colleagues in office. This applied to the consulship as well as to the lower magistracies; but in order to avoid detrimental results to the public interest from a too frequent exercise of this right, the consuls alternated each month in taking charge of the administration when both were in the city, and when both were with the army they held the chief command on alternate days. Magistrates of higher rank enjoyed greater authority (*maior potestas*) than all those who ranked below them and as a rule could forbid or annul the actions of the latter. In this way the consuls, or the dictator, were able to exercise at least a negative control over the activities of all other magistrates. The unity which was given to the administration by this theory of *maior potestas* was increased by the presence of the Senate, a council whose influence over the magistracy grew in proportion as the consulate lost in power and independence through the creation of new offices. All magistrates were said to have *potestas;* but only the dictator, consuls, and praetor had *imperium*. Consequently, they were the only ones who could exercise military command, summon the people to an assembly for elective or legislative purposes on their own authority, and try civil and criminal cases of more than trivial importance. All magistrates, however, had the power to enforce obedience to their orders by coercive means, such as the arrest of persons who refused obedience. The high degree of power and the relative freedom of action enjoyed by the magistrates, who were immune to prosecution while in office, are outstanding features of the Roman constitution; and the respect for public authority which they implied is one of the characteristics of early Roman society.

IV. THE PLEBEIAN STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY

The Causes of the Struggle. The expansion of the magistracy and the development of the Centuriate Assembly were accompanied by and closely connected with the persistent effort made by the plebeians to secure for themselves admission to all the offices and privileges that at the beginning of the Republic were monopolized by the patricians. Their demands were vigorously opposed by the latter, whose position was sustained by tradition, by their control of the organs of government, by individual and class prestige, and by the support of their numerous clients. But among the plebeians there was an ever increasing number whose fortunes ranked with those of the patricians and who refused to be excluded from the government. These furnished the leaders among the plebs. A factor of greater importance, however, than the presence of this element in determining the final outcome of the struggle was the demand made upon the military resources of the state by the numerous foreign wars. The plebeian soldiers shared equally

with the patricians in the dangers of the field, and equality of political rights could not long be withheld from them. As their services were essential to the state, the patrician senators were farsighted enough to make concessions to their demands whenever a refusal would have led to civil war. We have seen already how the requirement of military service from the citizens on the basis of property qualifications led to the formation of an assembly of the people in which the voting power was distributed on the same principle. But though the formation of the Centuriate Assembly must be regarded as a severe blow to the patrician aristocracy, it by no means gave adequate voice to the grievances of the poorer plebs. In particular was this true of the city plebs, who had already taken measures for self-protection before it came into being. In the later stages of the struggle, a great cause of discontent on the part of the plebs was the indebtedness of the poorer landholders, caused in great part by their enforced absence from their lands upon military service and the burden of the *tributum* or property tax levied for military purposes. Their condition was rendered the more intolerable because of the operation of the harsh laws of debt, which permitted the creditor to seize the person of the debtor and to sell him into slavery.

Evidence that discontent was rife at Rome may be found in the tradition of three unsuccessful attempts to set up a tyranny, that is, to seize power by unconstitutional means, made by Spurius Cassius (478), Spurius Maelius (431), and Marcus Manlius (376), patricians who figure in later tradition as popular champions.

The Tribunes of the Plebs and the Plebeian Assembly. The first success won by the plebeians was in securing protection against unjust or oppressive acts on the part of the patrician magistrates. In 471 (466) B.C., they forced the patricians to acquiesce in the appointment of four tribunes of the plebs, officers who had the right to extend protection to all who sought their aid, even against the magistrate in the exercise of his functions.[5] The tribunes received power to make effective use of this right from an oath taken by the plebeians that they would treat as accursed and put to death without trial any person who disregarded the tribune's veto or violated the sanctity of his person. The character of the tribunate and the basis of its power reveal it as the result of a revolutionary movement and as existing in defiance of the patricians. The tribunes, whose name indicates that they were tribal officers, were elected in an assembly in which the voting

[5] Another, but apparently later, Roman tradition placed the establishment of the tribunate in 494, when two tribunes were elected, and merely attributes an increase in their number to 471. These tribunes of the plebs are to be distinguished carefully from the military tribunes with consular power discussed on p. 73.

units were tribes; and the number of the tribunes (four) suggests that this assembly was at first composed of the citizens of the four city regions or tribes and that it was the city plebs who were responsible for the establishment of the tribunate.[6]

Since this meeting of the plebeians lacked the official recognition of the patricians and did not include the whole citizen body, it was not considered a regular assembly of the Roman people (*comitia*) but only a mass meeting or "council" of the plebs (*concilium plebis*).

The Codification of the Law. About the middle of the fifth century B.C. the Romans, following the example set by the Greek city-states some two centuries earlier in a corresponding stage of political and social development, drew up and published a code of law. There can be little doubt that this codification was influenced by the codes which had long been in use in the Greek cities of Italy with which the Romans had contact, but the tale that a Roman commission was sent to Athens to study the laws of Solon is merely a good example of the inventiveness of Roman historical writers.

The task of codifying the law was entrusted to a commission of ten magistrates called decemvirs who took the place of the consuls for the year 450 (443) B.C. According to later accounts, this commission had not completed its task at the end of a year and was succeeded by a second board of ten. But there is good reason to believe that this second decemvirate is fictitious, and the work of the original commission seems to have been completed by the consuls of the following year. The code which was compiled in this fashion was set up in public on twelve wooden tablets and for that reason was known as the Law of the Twelve Tables. Attempts have been made to attribute the code to much later dates; but even though its language may have been revised subsequently, there is no good reason to question the time of its original publication.

Only scattered quotations from the Twelve Tables have survived; but these, supplemented by references in later writers, suffice to give us a general idea of the character and content of the code. The Twelve Tables were in no sense a constitution but simply a compilation of the customary civil and criminal law, with rules for legal procedure and certain social regulations, as, for example, restrictions upon elaborate funeral rites. Though primitive in many respects, the code was characterized by a simplicity and logical arrangement which qualified it to serve as the basis of a more highly developed legal system. It was held in great respect by the Roman jurists of later centuries. The Twelve Tables sanctioned the arrest and imprison-

[6] This is supported by the limitation of the tribune's right of intercession to the city and the region within one mile beyond the *pomerium*.

ment of defaulting debtors by their creditors and the right of the latter to sell them into slavery in default of other means of recovering the debt. They also gave legal force to the patrician refusal to recognize the legitimacy of intermarriage between the orders. In spite of these illiberal provisions, the publication of the code was of decided advantage to the plebeians for the law was now known to all and not, as heretofore, only to members of the patrician order.[7]

The Reorganization of the Tribunate of the Plebs. The publication of the code of the Twelve Tables coincided with constitutional changes which show that the time was one of internal strife that was settled only by certain concessions to plebeian demands. Although not all of the changes attributed by some later writers to this date really occurred then, and although the circumstances surrounding the whole crisis remain hidden from us, it seems quite clear that the chief reforms concerned the tribunate of the plebs and the plebeian assembly.

The tribunate was enlarged from four to ten members elected annually in an assembly made up of the citizens enrolled in all the tribes, which then numbered twenty. Coincident with their increase in members, the tribunes acquired a permanent and regular place in the Roman constitution. They were not recognized as magistrates in the strict sense of the word because they were considered to represent the plebeians only; but their authority was unchallenged, and they ranked as public officials who enjoyed *potestas* but not *imperium.*

The Development of the Assembly of the Tribes. The plebeian assembly also acquired an official status. It was no longer merely a Council of the Plebs but a real assembly, in which the voting units were the tribes and not curiae or centuries. We cannot say definitely that patricians were excluded from the earlier plebeian assembly or even from the later one. But at any rate it is extremely doubtful that they ever sought to participate in it, for they would be hopelessly outvoted since the vote of each tribe was determined by a simple majority of its members who attended any meeting. The Tribal Assembly (*comitia tributa*) was summoned and presided over by the tribunes of the plebs. Under their presidency, it elected not only tribunes but the plebeian aediles also. It was inevitable that the tribunes

[7] An important provision guaranteed that no law should be passed affecting the life or status of a citizen except by the "greatest" assembly. This has been interpreted as referring to the Centuriate Assembly and, if so, would date the organization of that body somewhat earlier than other evidence indicates. But the absence of any explicit mention of the centuries makes such an explanation suspect, and the probability is that at this time the "greatest" assembly was a meeting of the thirty Curiae under the presidency of a magistrate with *imperium* in contrast to an assembly called by the Pontifex Maximus or even the Tribal Assembly that came into existence at the time of the codification of the law.

should use this assembly to secure an expression of opinion upon matters of common interest to the plebs, and so it began to acquire legislative functions. Its resolutions, however, did not have the force of laws unless they received the subsequent approval of the Senate. Enactments passed in this way were called plebiscites (*plebi scita*) [8] in contrast to the laws (*leges*) passed by an assembly under the presidency of a magistrate with *imperium*. In the course of the fourth century the consuls began to make use of the Tribal Assembly for legislative purposes. It was in many ways more convenient to summon for the transaction of public business than the Centuriate Assembly, which met outside the *pomerium* and had a more cumbersome voting system. Laws passed in this way under consular auspices required, like plebiscites, the approval of the Senate before they could be enforced. Some modern writers maintain that there were really two assemblies of the tribes; one presided over by the tribunes and called by the older name of Council of the Plebs, from which patricians were excluded, the other presided over by the consuls or other magistrates with *imperium* and known as the Assembly of the Tribes (*comitia tributa*), to which patricians were admitted. But the use of these terms by Roman historians indicates that there was no real distinction between the two assemblies, and the one or two passages which would support such an opinion are late and appear to be the product of legalistic definition rather than the reflection of actual practice. There is no doubt, however, that the term *Council of the Plebs* continued in use for a long time with reference to the Tribal Assembly.

The Canuleian Marriage Law. It will be recalled that the Law of the Twelve Tables affirmed the illegitimacy of marriages between patricians and plebeians. This was a mark of social inferiority strongly resented by the plebs. At the same time it came to be a practical disadvantage to the patricians in view of their declining numbers, which made it desirable for them to contract marriages for their sons and daughters with the wealthier plebeian families. It is not surprising then to find that this disability was removed by the Canuleian Marriage Law attributed to 445 (437) B.C.

The Plebs and the Higher Magistracies. It could not be expected that the plebeians would rest content with holding the quaestorship and aedileship, when the monopoly of the magistracies with *imperium* still gave the patricians control of army commands, of the administration of justice, and of the public policy in general. But here the patricians tenaciously maintained their prerogatives throughout the whole of the fifth century. It was not until 400 (396) B.C. that plebeians were elected to the highest magistracy and then as military tribunes with consular power. In this

[8] From the opening formula of such resolutions — *plebi scitum*, "resolved by the plebs"

and the following year, and again in 396 (392) B.C., if we can trust the traditional lists, plebeians constituted a majority of the board of consular tribunes, then six in number. The explanation of this sudden but temporary domination of the military tribunate by plebeian representatives is probably to be found in the contemporary military reforms, which gave greater voice to the plebeians in the Centuriate Assembly (see pp. 68–72), and in the vicissitudes of the current war with Veii, which forced the patricians to acquiesce in the conferment of the *imperium* upon plebeians of proven military capacity. After the conquest of Veii, the patricians reasserted their control of the chief magistracy. On only three more occasions before 366 (362) B.C. were the plebeians able to secure the election of one of their number to the consular tribunate; and only once (379 B.C.), when they had three out of six members, did they succeed in gaining more than one seat in the college.

The struggle for control of the chief magistracy is reflected in the tradition of an anarchy in Rome, that is, a period for which no magistrates with *imperium* were recorded in the official list, presumably because those who held office did not obtain it in a constitutional manner. How long this condition persisted is uncertain, although the probabilities are that it did not exceed one year and that the writers who made it of longer duration did so in order to fill in a gap in their chronology. At any rate, the anarchy must be placed between 375 and 370 B.C.

With the definitive restoration of the consulship in 366 (362) B.C.,[9] the right of the plebeians to hold that office was formally recognized, and one of the consuls of 366 was a plebeian. To the year 367 (363) B.C. tradition assigned several laws called Licinian-Sextian from their authors, the plebeian tribunes Lucius Sextius (consul in 366) and Gaius Licinius. One of these is said to have prescribed that at least one consul in each year should be a plebeian. The rule was observed between 366 and 355 B.C., but between 355 and 342 there were seven occasions when both consuls were patricians. After 342 B.C., however, this does not seem to have occurred again, and it was believed by some that a law passed at that date made it possible for both consuls to be plebeians but not patricians. Although this is possible, it was not until 172 B.C. that the consulship was held by two plebeians.

After their admission to the consulship the plebeians could not be debarred from the other higher magistracies. They gained the dictatorship in 356, the censorship in 351, and the praetorship in 337. The curule aedileship also was opened to them and was held by patricians and plebeians in alternate years.

[9] See p. 73.

The Plebs and the Senate. Since the custom was early established that ex-consuls, and later ex-praetors, should be enrolled in the Senate, with the opening of these offices to the plebs the latter began to have an ever increasing representation in that body. As distinguished from the *patres* or patrician senators, the plebeians were called *conscripti,* "the enrolled," and this distinction was preserved in the official formula *patres conscripti* used in addressing the Senate. In the fusion of the leading plebeians with the patricians in the Senate we have the origin of a new aristocracy in the Roman state: the senatorial aristocracy or nobility (*nobilitas*) of office holders. This consisted of a large group of influential patrician and plebeian families which, for some time at least, was continuously quickened and revivified by the accession of prominent plebeians who entered the Senate by way of the magistracies. From 366 to 265 B.C., about ninety consulships were held by members of thirty-six plebeian *gentes,* which may be considered in this way to have attained the hallmark of nobility. Thus the Senate, by opening its ranks to the leaders of the plebs, contrived to emerge from the struggle with its prestige and influence increased rather than impaired.

The Censorship of Appius Claudius, 312 B.C. One of the censors who entered office in 312 B.C. was the patrician Appius Claudius, who was responsible for the construction of the Via Appia[10] and the Aqua Appia, Rome's first aqueduct, which have perpetuated his name. Apparently the program of Appius, who completely dominated his colleague, met with considerable opposition from the members of his own class on account of the expense involved, and he therefore turned to the plebeians for support. Since the censors had recently received the authority to make up the roll of the Senate, Appius took this opportunity of introducing many plebeians into that body and among them some sons of freedmen, that is, of emancipated slaves who had become Roman citizens. But it was said that the consuls ignored the list prepared by Appius and summoned the Senate on the basis of the previous membership. Another democratic measure attributed to Appius was the granting of permission to the residents of the city to be enrolled in whatever tribe they might choose and to have their property registered wherever they might wish. This would enhance the voting power of the urban citizens, who would no longer be restricted to the four city tribes but could also be spread among the rural tribes. But the censors of 304 are said to have restricted the city plebs once more to the urban tribe. In spite of these rebuffs, Appius continued for a long time as one of the most influential figures in the public life of Rome, attaining the consulship twice and being also praetor and dictator.

[10] See p. 54.

A sequel to the censorship of Appius Claudius was the aedileship of Gnaeus Flavius. Flavius was the son of a freedman and a clerk in the service of the curule aediles. Through the influence of Appius, he himself was elected to the curule aedileship as the first Roman to obtain that office, whose father had been a slave. To Flavius was attributed the publication of a handbook explaining the methods of procedure in the courts for the benefit of those who wished to assert or defend their rights.

The Plebs and the Priesthood. The last stronghold of patrician privilege was the priesthood. Until the close of the fourth century, the only office of a religious character which had been opened to the plebeians was that of the board in charge of public sacred books, which also regulated the state religious ceremonies. In 368 (364) B.C., the membership of this board was increased from two to ten (called *decemviri sacris faciundis*), half of whom were to be plebeians. But in 300 B.C. the plebs gained access to the higher priesthoods by virtue of the Ogulnian Law, which increased the number of pontiffs by four and that of the augurs by five and required the new places in each college to be filled with plebeians. Henceforth it was impossible for the patricians to make use of religious law and practice to hamper the political activity of the plebs.

The Valerian Law on Appeals, 300 B.C. One of the characteristic features of the early Roman constitution was the power possessed by magistrates with *imperium* to enforce obedience to their orders by various penalties, of which scourging and execution were the most severe. In the year 300 B.C., a Valerian Law restricted the magistrates' right of coercion by forbidding the execution or scourging of anyone who had appealed, presumably to an assembly as provided in the Law of the Twelve Tables. Similar Valerian Laws were assigned by Roman writers to the years 509 and 449 B.C.; but if they are historic, it is difficult to see the necessity for the law of 300. In any case the right of appeal could only be exercised within the limits of the *pomerium* or possibly one mile beyond: it was not valid against the power of the magistrate outside these limits where military authority prevailed.[11]

The Hortensian Law, 287 B.C. The end of the struggle between the orders came in 287 B.C. as the result of an economic crisis which had far-reaching political repercussions. Throughout the fourth century, the problem of debts owed by the Roman peasants had become more and more acute, and the traditions contain references to several attempts to alleviate the burdens of the debtors. It is probable that overpopulation and soil deterioration in Latium had something to do with these conditions; but

[11] The sphere in which the *imperium* was subject to appeal was called *domi*, "at home"; that in which it was unrestricted was known as *militiae*, "on service."

they were greatly aggravated by the introduction of Rome's first system of coinage about 330 B.C., which had an unsettling effect, as elsewhere, upon market values in a society used to trading largely by barter and which at the same time made it easier to obtain loans and to calculate interest thereon. But perhaps the chief cause of indebtedness at this time was the demand for military service made upon the poorer landholders. The pay which these received was little more than enough to meet the cost of their food, which they had to buy for themselves; and though they might share at times in spoils of war, their frequent absence from their farms made it hard for them to raise crops sufficient to support their families or to supplement their harvests by wages earned as farm laborers. Tenant farmers would be especially hard hit. At any rate, demands for relief followed the conclusion of the long Samnite Wars. But the Senate, which represented the interests of the creditor class, repeatedly refused to approve remedial legislation proposed by the tribunes and passed in the Tribal Assembly. The obstinacy of the Senate forced the plebeians to take drastic action. The plebeian soldiers under arms marched off to the Janiculum Hill across the Tiber and threatened to secede from the Roman state.[12] In the face of this threat, the Senate yielded and appointed Quintus Hortensius, a plebeian, as dictator to settle the controversy. He succeeded in alleviating the distress of the debtors, although we do not know exactly what his solution of the problem was, and then passed the Hortensian Law, which provided that for the future all measures voted in the Tribal Assembly should become law without either previous or subsequent approval in the Senate.

The Constitution after 287 B.C. As a result of the Hortensian Law the Tribal Assembly acquired greater legislative independence than the Assembly of the Centuries. It tended to become more and more the legislative assembly *par excellence,* while the Assembly of the Centuries remained the senior elective assembly. For legislative purposes the Assembly of the Tribes could be convened by a magistrate with *imperium* or by a tribune; for the election of the plebeian tribunes and aediles it had to be summoned by a tribune; while to elect the quaestors, curule aediles, and, eventually, twenty-four military tribunes for the annual levy, it must be called together by a magistrate. For all purposes the Assembly of the Centuries had to be convened and presided over by a magistrate. It elected the consuls, praetors, and censors. It must be kept in mind that these were both primary assemblies, that each comprised the whole body of Roman citizens, but that they differed essentially in the organization of the voting groups.

[12] Earlier secessions of the plebs were ascribed to 495 and 449 B.C., but these seem to be fictitious anticipations of that of 287.

As we have seen, the wealthier classes dominated the Assembly of the Centuries; but in the Assembly of the Tribes, which was the more democratic body, a simple majority determined the vote of each tribe.

The Increased Importance of the Tribunate. The influence of the tribunes was greatly enhanced by the Hortensian Law, as well as by various privileges which they had already acquired by 287 or gained shortly after that date. The more important of these powers were the right to sit in the Senate, to address, and even to convene that body, and the right to prosecute any magistrate before the Assembly of the Tribes. The first of these powers was an extension of the tribunician veto, whereby this was given to a proposal under discussion in the Senate rather than upon a magistrate's attempt to execute it after it had taken the form of a law or a senatorial decree. To permit the tribunes to interpose their veto at this stage, they had to be allowed to hear the debates in the Sénate. At first they did so from their bench, which they set at the door of the meeting place, but finally they were permitted to enter the council hall itself. The power of prosecution made the tribunes the guardians of the interests of the state against any misconduct on the part of a magistrate. From this time on the tribunes have practically the status of magistrates of the Roman people.

The struggle of the orders left its mark on the Roman constitution in providing Rome with a double set of organs of government. The tribunate and Assembly of the Tribes arose as purely plebeian institutions, but they came to be incorporated in the governmental organization of the state along with the magistracies and the assemblies, which from the time of their organization had been institutions of the whole Roman people.

After 287 B.C. all political distinctions between patricians and plebeians disappeared. Although social prestige still clung to the old patrician families, intermarriage with plebeians weakened even this distinction, and the sole remnants of the former patrician prerogatives were the exclusive rights to certain of the older priesthoods of no political significance and to the curule aedileship in alternate years. In form, at least, the constitution was a democracy with the sovereign power vested in the popular assemblies. But in practice, the coalition of the leading plebeian families with the patricians nullified in large measure the power of the assemblies and gave to the government a decidedly aristocratic character.

V. THE ROMAN MILITARY SYSTEM

Upon the history of no people has the character of its military institutions exercised a more profound effect than upon that of Rome. The Roman military system rested upon the universal obligation of the male citizens

to render military service, but the degree to which this obligation was enforced varied greatly at different periods. For the mobilization of the man-power of the state was dependent upon the type of equipment, methods of fighting, and organization of tactical units in vogue at various times, as well as upon the ability of the state to equip its troops and the strength of the martial spirit of the people.

The Army of the Monarchy and Early Republic. We have had occasion already to refer to various stages in the development of the Roman military system and their relation to contemporary political conditions. On the basis of archaeological evidence supported by tradition, we have pictured the army of the regal period as similar to that of the neighboring Etruscan cities and resembling in general the early Greek armies depicted in the Homeric poems. It was the levy (*legio*) of the folk called out by tribes and curies, but the leading role was played by the nobility, who were superior in equipment and training to the poorer citizens. The nobles rode to battle in chariots or on horseback and hence were known as *celeres,* "mobile troops," or *equites,* "horsemen"; but they usually fought on foot. The rest of the citizens served as ordinary infantry and were called *pedites,* or "foot-soldiers." As we have seen, the armies of the early Republic were of the same type, except that the use of chariots had been given up.

The Organization of the Phalanx. Under Greek influence in the latter part of the fifth century the Romans adopted the system of recruitment on the basis of property and remodelled their tactical organization so as to make better use of their infantry.[13] At first one and eventually three higher property classes supplied heavy-armed infantry; two lower property classes furnished light troops. On the battlefield the centuries or companies of heavy infantry were united in the phalanx. From this time the strength of the Roman army rested in its infantry, and the cavalry became less and less important. The relation of this new system of recruitment and tactical organization to the creation of the censorship and the formation of the Centuriate Assembly have been discussed previously.

The introduction of pay for the troops in the field at the time of the siege of Veii both lessened to some degree the economic burden which service entailed upon the poorer soldiers and enabled the Romans to undertake campaigns of longer duration, even such as involved winter operations.

The Manipular Legion. How long the phalanx organization was maintained we do not know: at any rate it did not survive the Samnite wars. In its place appeared the legionary formation, in which the largest units were the legions of about 4,200 infantry, divided into maniples of 120 (or 60) men, each capable of maneuvering independently. This arrangement

[13] See pp. 69–70.

admitted of increased flexibility of movement in broken country and of the adoption of the *pilum,* or javelin, as a missile weapon. Both the javelin and the *scutum,* or oblong shield, were typical Samnite weapons, and the Romans had a tradition to the effect that they had adopted them in imitation of the Samnites. While reorganizing their infantry, the Romans strengthened the *equites* and developed them into a more efficient cavalry force, although they came to rely more and more upon the mounted troops of their federate allies.

Apparently property qualifications no longer counted for much in the army organization, as the men now were assigned to their places in the ranks on the basis of age and experience, and the state furnished the necessary weapons to those who did not provide their own. By the third century, all able-bodied men holding property valued at 4,000 asses[14] were regularly called upon for military service. The others were liable to naval service, but only in cases of great need were they enrolled in the legions. Ordinarily, the service required amounted to sixteen campaigns in the infantry and ten in the cavalry. The field army was raised from those between seventeen and forty-six years of age: those forty-six and over were liable only for garrison duty in the city. The regular annual levy consisted of four legions, besides 1,800 cavalry. This number could be increased at need, and the Roman forces in the field were supplemented by at least an equal number in the contingents from the Italian allies.

Roman Discipline. The Roman army was thus a national levy: a militia. It was commanded by the consuls, the annually elected presidents of the state. Yet it avoided the characteristic weaknesses of militia troops, for the frequency of the Roman wars and the length of the period of liability for service assured the presence of a large quota of veterans in each levy and maintained a high standard of military efficiency. Furthermore, the consuls, if not always good generals, were generally experienced soldiers, for a record of ten campaigns was required of the candidate for public office. Likewise their subordinates, the military tribunes, were veterans, some having seen five and others ten years' service. But the factor that contributed above all else to the success of the Roman armies was their iron discipline. The consular *imperium* gave its holder absolute power over the lives of the soldiers in the field, and death was the penalty for neglect of duty, disobedience, or cowardice. The most striking proof of the discipline of the Roman armies is that after every march they were required to construct a fortified camp, laid out according to fixed rules and protected by a ditch, a wall of earth, and a palisade for which they carried the stakes. No matter how strenuous their labors had been, they never

[14] At this time the as was a copper coin of 2 oz. in weight.

neglected this task, in striking contrast to the Greek citizen armies which could not be induced to construct works of this kind. The fortified camp rendered the Romans safe from surprise attacks, allowed them to choose their own time for joining battle, and gave them a secure refuge after a defeat. It played a very large part in the operations of the Roman armies, especially such as were conducted in hostile territory. Characterized as it was by the same subordination of the individual to the common interest and respect for public authority which were such marked features of Rome's political life, her military system proved itself definitely superior to that of the other peoples of Italy and was the chief single factor in her conquest of the peninsula.

CHAPTER VII. SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The Household. The cornerstone of the Roman social structure was the household (*familia*). That is to say, the state was an association of households, and it was the individual's position in a household that determined his status in the early community. The Roman household was a larger unit than our family. It comprised the father or head of the household (*pater familias*), his wife, his sons with their wives and children, if they had such, his unmarried daughters, and the household slaves.

The Patria Potestas. The *pater familias* possessed authority over all other members of the household. His power over the free members was called *patria potestas,* "paternal authority"; over the slaves it was *dominium,* "lordship." This paternal authority was in theory unrestricted and gave the father the right to inflict the death penalty upon those under his power. But, in practice, the exercise of the *patria potestas* was limited by custom and by the habit of consulting the older male members of the household before any important action was taken. There is a strong parallel between the power of the *pater familias* over his dependents and that of the magistrates over the citizens.

The household estate (*res familiaris*) was administered by the head of the household. At the death of a *pater familias* his sons in turn became the head of *familiae,* dividing the estate. The mother and unmarried daughters, if surviving, now passed into the power of a son or the next nearest male relative of the deceased. Although the Roman women were thus continually in the position of wards, they nevertheless took a prominent part in the life of the household and did not live the restricted and secluded lives of the women of Athens and the Greek cities of Asia.

Membership in the household was reckoned only through male descent, for daughters when they married passed out of the power of the head of their own household into that of the head of the household to which their husbands belonged.

In spite of the apparent severity of family discipline due to the exercise of the *patria potestas,* there is ample evidence that Roman domestic life not only permitted but fostered the development of genuinely affectionate relations between parents and children.

Education. There was no system of public education, and such instruction as was given to the Roman youth was regularly imparted by fathers to their sons. It consisted of training in manly sports, such as running, swimming, boxing, wrestling, and the use of arms; of instruction in habits of cleanliness and good conduct; of practical training in agricultural pursuits; in a knowledge of the traditions of the state and the legends of the Roman heroes; and in an acquaintance with the conduct of public business through attendance at places where this was transacted.

At the age of eighteen the young Roman entered upon a new footing in his relation to the state. He was now liable to military service and qualified to attend the public assemblies. In these respects he was emancipated from the paternal authority. If he subsequently was elected to a magistracy, his father obeyed him like any other citizen, although he might make use of his *patria potestas* to influence his son's action in political matters.

The discipline and respect for authority which was acquired in the family life was carried with him by the Roman into his public relations, and this sense of duty was perhaps the strongest quality in the Roman character. It was supplemented by the characteristic Roman seriousness (*gravitas*), developed under the stress of the long struggles for existence waged by the early Roman state. For the Romans the highest virtue was piety (*pietas*), which meant the dutiful performance of all one's obligations, to the gods, to one's kinsmen, and to the state. And it was towards the state in particular that a Roman was expected to exhibit loyalty and devotion. Friends, relatives, life itself, must all be sacrificed for the good of the state. The lives of the statesmen and generals of the early Republic furnished a series of examples of patriotism in its various aspects which were regarded as worthy of imitation by succeeding generations. Brutus the Elder, one of the traditional first consuls, who caused his own sons to be executed for treason; the Decii, who in three successive generations were said to have deliberately sacrificed their lives to save Roman armies; Manlius Torquatus, the consul who executed his son for a breach of military discipline; Manius Curius, who preferred poverty to wealth won by betraying his country—these and numerous others served to exemplify the standards of conduct which a Roman youth was taught to admire and which did much to supply the lack of any real moral standards in Roman religion.

In spite of the fact that the Romans were a serious, hardheaded, practical people, it must not be thought that Roman life was lacking in opportunities

for relaxation and enjoyment. The festivals, public and private, were occasions of entertainment and merrymaking. This is true in particular of the "Great Games," celebrated after the harvest, and of the Saturnalia at the end of the winter sowing in December.

The Respect for Tradition. We have already referred to the conservatism of the Romans and have seen how this characteristic was affected by their religious beliefs. It was further strengthened by the respect paid to parental authority and by the absence of intellectual training. In public affairs this conservatism was shown by the influence of ancestral custom—the *mos maiorum.* In the Roman government this became a very potent factor, since the Roman constitution was not a single comprehensive document but consisted of a number of separate enactments supplemented by custom and precedent and interpreted in the light thereof.

Household Life. In this period Roman household architecture shows but a slight advance from prehistoric times. The main part of each house was a large hall or room with an open hearth. This room, from its smoke-blackened appearance, was called the *atrium.* The *atrium* was the center of domestic life and served as a common work, reception, and dining room for the master and his servants. Food was simple, the main item in the daily menu being cakes or porridge of wheat or oatmeal. This was supplemented by beans and other vegetables. Bread was a later addition. Meat was not a staple article of diet but was enjoyed upon occasions of festival and sacrifice. For fruits there were pears, apples, grapes, and figs, while olive oil took the place of butter. Wine, usually mixed with water, was the regular beverage. As far as possible each household supplied its own needs. The farm and pastures provided food and drink, and clothing was largely home-made. Extras could be secured by barter in the markets which were held every eighth day. In Rome, where there was a large landless population which could not furnish its own necessities, the cattle and vegetable markets were of great importance. Here also flourished the craftsmen and shopkeepers who provided manufactured articles of necessity or luxury.

Economic Conditions. For two and a half centuries after the establishment of the Republic the Romans remained almost exclusively an agrarian people. The encouragement given to trade and commerce under the later monarchy was replaced by an indifference which is clearly expressed in the terms of two treaties between Rome and Carthage which have been preserved. In the earlier of these attributed to 508 or 507 B.C. there is no restriction placed upon the access of Carthaginian traders to the territory of Rome and that of her Latin allies, but reciprocal rights were not granted to the Romans in the Carthaginian Empire. The only Carthaginian ports thrown open as freely to the Romans and their allies as to other merchants

were those in Sicily; in Africa and Sardinia they could trade solely under supervision; and they must not sail further west[1] than a specified point on the African coast. By the terms of the second treaty, which probably should be dated in 348 B.C., the Carthaginians retained their privileges in Rome and Latium, but the Romans accepted a limit on their freedom of navigation along the coast of Spain as well as of Africa. They also lost the right to trade in Sardinia and in Africa outside of Carthage, although Sicily remained open to them as before.

The Law of the Twelve Tables likewise presents a picture of a society which is primarily agrarian in character. Not only is there private ownership of land, but the rights and obligations of landholders are clearly understood and enforced. By contrast, the law of contract is in a very undeveloped state. The laws which regulated the rates of interest also reflect the view of an agrarian people. By the Twelve Tables the annual rate was fixed at 8 1/3 per cent, and a usurer who exceeded this limit was liable to fourfold damages, whereas a thief was obliged to restore only twice the value of the stolen property. The same rate was said to have been re-established in 357 B.C., apparently owing to neglect of the older law, and ten years later it was reduced to 4 1/6 per cent. In 342 B.C., apparently, all loans at interest were forbidden, but this restriction did not long remain in force. Enslavement for debt and imprisonment of a debtor by his creditor, which had been permitted by the Twelve Tables, were abolished in 326 B.C. This measure was a great relief to the poorer citizens but must have been regarded as a severe blow by those who had sufficient capital to make loans.

Still another proof of Roman indifference to commercial activities is to be found in the slowness which the government showed in developing a system of coinage. With the expansion of Roman territory, Rome itself inevitably became a market of considerable importance; and it can hardly be doubted that the greater portion of the city plebs were merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans of various sorts. But the external trade of Rome was carried on by foreigners. It was the agrarian and not the commercial and industrial class which profited most from the Roman conquests in Italy. With the founding of colonies and the opening up of large sections of public land for individual settlement, the number of landholders increased greatly. Not only so, but the aristocracy, which held aloof from mercantile pursuits, leased large sections of the public land for purposes of cultivation or stock raising. As a result of this practice, the senatorial order gradually developed into a class of agricultural capitalists. If the

[1] So the ordinary interpretation. But the text says "beyond," and perhaps we should understand "south" instead of "west," which would mean exclusion from Phoenician harbors in Tunisia and Tripoli.

Licinian-Sextian law, which placed a limit upon the size of holdings of public land, really was passed in 366 (362) B.C., as some Roman writers believed, it would seem that agricultural capitalism had become a menace before the middle of the fourth century. But the size of the holdings permitted by this law (500 *ingera* or about 310 acres) seem wholly out of proportion to the limited extent of the Roman public land at that time, and this and other reasons make it extremely doubtful if it should be assigned to so early a date.

Slavery was a well established institution, but as yet it does not seem to have been an economic factor of great importance. Most of the slaves were prisoners of war who had not been exchanged for Roman captives or ransomed by their own state. As the early wars were waged chiefly with neighboring Italian peoples, these slaves were of the same general stock as the Romans themselves. Hence it is not surprising that, when a slave was set free with proper formalities, he was admitted to Roman citizenship. These *liberti,* as they were called, became clients of their former masters; but the old hereditary clientage had disappeared by the third century, and a much looser relationship had taken its place, in which most of the client's obligations to his patron were based upon some form of contract. Freedmen citizens were not eligible for public office, but this restriction did not apply to their descendants.[2]

The Development of a System of Coinage. We have had occasion already to emphasize the lack of interest in commercial activities displayed by the circles which controlled the government of the early Roman Republic. This was the chief reason why the Romans were so slow in feeling the need of a coinage of their own, although they were in constant contact with Etruscans, Greeks, and Carthaginians, all of whom had gone over to a money economy. But though they did not have a coinage, the Romans had adopted certain uniform standards of value which could be used in both public and private business transactions. Their word for money, *pecunia,*[3] points to a time when values were reckoned in cattle and these constituted a recognized medium of exchange as among the Greeks and other agricultural and pastoral peoples on a similar cultural level. During the fifth century this primitive system was still employed but had largely given way to a simpler kind of "money" which had come into use long before with an increasing supply of metals. This was in the form of lumps of bronze which could be broken into pieces of varying size (*aes rude*). Since these lumps were not stamped with the mark of the state as a guarantee of their weight and purity, they were weighed at each transaction. The standard unit of weight was

[2] See p. 83.

[3] From *pecus,* a flock or herd.

the pound of twelve ounces. But not everyone could keep large quantities of bronze on hand, and in the second half of the fifth century a law was passed rating one ox or ten sheep as the equivalent of one hundred pounds of bronze in the payment of fines. This must have corresponded closely to the current market price.

The first true Roman coinage was issued in the form of bronze pieces weighing a pound or fractions of a pound. The pound piece was known as "heavy bronze" (*aes grave*) or the "pound as" (*as libralis*). Until recently it has generally been agreed that this issue should be dated about 330 B.C., but now some scholars are in favor of placing it as late as 289 B.C.[4] Although there are strong arguments in favor of the later date, it is hard to see how Rome could have done without a regular coinage after her admission of commercial cities like Capua and Cumae to the rights of citizenship. During the period 300 to 270 B.C. the Romans seem to have made use also of silver and bronze coins minted in Campanian cities on a South Italian standard for their troops who were operating in central and southern Italy, although these were not considered to form a state coinage. The first truly Roman silver coinage appeared in 269 B.C.[5] with the issuing of pieces passing at the market rate of ten and five asses respectively, but without definite marks of value. In 217 B.C. the Roman coinage was changed from a bronze to a silver basis. From that time the standard silver coin was the *denarius,* equivalent to an Attic drachma (about twenty cents), and valued at ten asses. The *as* itself had been reduced in weight to two ounces to correspond to the increased price of copper. A smaller silver piece worth two and one-half asses was called the *sestertius.* This new Roman coinage rapidly superseded all those of the Roman allies in Italy and became standard throughout the peninsula.

The Background of Roman Literature. Although the art of writing was introduced into Rome through Etruria as early as the sixth century B.C., it can hardly be said that the Romans had developed a true literature even by the time of the unification of Italy under their domination. In this they resembled their closest neighbors, the Etruscans and Oscan-speaking Sabellians. It is true that many things were committed to writing in Rome, but they were of a technical or professional and not a literary character. Among them we may enumerate public documents and records of various sorts, such as laws, treaties, lists of magistrates, commentaries of the consuls, census lists, and the annual notices of important events compiled by the pontiffs. There were also religious works, including ritual ordinances,

[4] This is the date of the first appointment of the three commissioners in charge of the mint at Rome.

[5] Or, less probably, 187 B.C.

the books of the pontiffs and augurs, and hymns used in the worship of the gods. Of a different character were the inscriptions placed below the wax masks of family ancestors in the houses of the nobles, the funeral orations held in their honor, and songs sung to celebrate their exploits. Dramatic literature was foreshadowed by the presentation of Etruscan stage performances and Oscan farces (*fabulae Atellanae*) in Rome in the fourth century B.C. on the occasion of public festivals. But the former were limited to dancing and music, and the latter consisted chiefly of coarsely humorous improvisations. There were also crude forms of popular versification, the so-called Fescennine and Saturnian verses, of a mocking and joking character, composed to be sung at weddings and in triumphal processions. About the beginning of the third century Greek influences began to have an effect upon the development of literary forms. Greek meters were adopted in popular verse, and the first Roman book of a literary character, the *Sententiae* (*Proverbs*) of Appius Claudius the Censor, was composed in verses on a Greek model. The same writer published a speech which he had delivered before the Senate in 279 B.C. in opposing the conclusion of a treaty of peace with King Pyrrhus.

Legal Progress. For the period which we have been considering the Law of the Twelve Tables remained the law of the state, with only slight modifications introduced by statutes or interpretations. Primitive though it was in many respects, this code shows that the Romans had already made considerable progress in the development of private law. The separation between law and religion was almost complete, and the right of a person who had been wronged to take private vengeance upon the wrongdoer had been superseded by the state regulation of the penalties to be paid by the guilty party. But self-help had not entirely disappeared, and in private suits the plaintiff was authorized personally to bring the defendant before the magistrate or to arrest him if he was a defaulting debtor. As we might expect in a community where the knowledge of writing was by no means common, the spoken words of a contract attested by witnesses and not a written copy were given legal validity. One great weakness in the code was the limited means provided for defence of rights and enforcement of obligations. A remedy was found in the development of additional forms of prosecution or "actions at law" (*legis actiones*), which, as we have seen, were published by Gnaeus Flavius about 304 B.C.[6] In these actions both parties had to make use of set phrases, and the slightest verbal error caused the one who made the mistake to lose his suit.

[6] P. 83.

II. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Roman Conceptions of Deity. By the opening of the republican period Roman religion was a composite of beliefs and ceremonies drawn from various sources and reflecting the past political and cultural experience of the Roman people. The basic stratum was what we may call the Roman element, that is, religious ideas which the Romans held in common with the Latins and other closely related Italic peoples. As early as the sixth century this element was overlaid and permeated with influences derived from Etruscan and Greek sources.

Although traces of a belief in magic and of the worship of natural objects and animals or of gods conceived in animal form survived from earlier stages in Roman religious experience, the basis of what we may call the specifically Roman religious ideas is found in "animism." Animism is the belief in a large number of spiritual beings more powerful than man, who reveal themselves in the phenomena and processes of the natural world. These spirits were thought of as incalculable, impersonal forces, and the power exhibited by any of them in its activities was called a *numen* (plural *numina*). In time, such *numina* came to be thought of as emanating from divinities who were regarded as personalities with definite characteristics and names. These were the "gods," *dei*, who belong to the more advanced stage of religious development called "deism."

Since the primitive Roman gods developed in this way from the spirits of an earlier age, we can understand why for a long time the Romans worshipped them without images or temples. Each god, however, was regarded usually as residing in a certain locality, and there only could his worship be carried on. These early gods lacked human attributes; their power was admitted, but they inspired no personal devotion. Before being subjected to religious ideas originating among peoples at a higher culture level, the Romans had not developed any unified and co-ordinated view of the divine powers and their relation to man and the universe, and they had not taken any great steps towards the creation of religious myths. Roman theology consisted almost entirely in the knowledge of the individual gods and their special powers and of the ceremonial acts to avert their ill will or obtain their favor.

The Importance of Ritual. The Romans, while recognizing their dependence upon divine powers, considered that their relation to them was of the nature of a contract. If man observed all proper ritual in his worship, the god was bound to act propitiously; if the god granted man's desire he must be rewarded with an offering. If man failed in his duty, the god pun-

ished him; if the god refused to hearken, man was not bound to continue his worship. Thus Roman religion consisted essentially in the performance of ritual, wherein the correctness of the performance was the chief factor. This is illustrated by the use of the Latin word *religio,* our "religion." At first this seems to have meant the general feeling of fear experienced by men in the presence of natural phenomena which they do not understand. Then it came to mean the obligation to perform certain acts suggested by this feeling of awe, that is, religious duties.

But since the power of the gods could affect the community as well as the individual, it was necessary for the state to observe its obligations towards them with the same scrupulous care as did its citizens. The knowledge of these obligations and how they were to be performed constituted the sacred law of Rome, which became a very important part of the public law. This sacred law was guarded by the priesthood, and here we have the source of the power of the pontiffs in the Roman state. The pontiffs not only preserved the sacred traditions and customs but they also added to them by interpretation and the establishment of new precedents. The pontiffs themselves performed or supervised the performance of all public acts of a purely religious nature and likewise prescribed the ritual to be observed by the magistrate in initiating public political acts.

On the other hand, the power of the augurs rested upon the belief that the gods issued their warnings to men through natural signs and that it was possible to discover the attitude of the gods towards any contemplated human action by the observation of natural phenomena. In so far as the state was concerned, the augurs were the guardians of the science of the interpretation of such signs or auspices. The magistrate initiating any important public act had to take the auspices, and if the augurs declared any flaw therein or held that any unfavorable omen had occurred during the performance of the said act, they could suspend the magistrate's action or render it invalid.

So we see that the Roman priests were not intermediaries between the individual Roman and his gods but rather, as has been pointed out before, officers in charge of one branch of the public administration. They were responsible for the due observance of the public religious acts, just as the head of the household supervised the performance of the family cult. Thus Roman religion was essentially social in character and marked by the absence of individualism. Prophecy and private divination were discouraged.

The Cult of the Household. It is in the cult of the household that we can best see the true Roman religious ideas. The chief divinities of the household were: Janus, the spirit of the doorway; Vesta, the spirit of the

fire on the hearth; the Penates, the guardian spirits of the store-chamber; the Lar Familiaris, which we may perhaps regard as the spirit of the cultivated land transplanted within the house to be the guardian of the family fortune; and the Genius or guardian spirit of the life of the family as a whole, later associated with the head of the household as his spiritual double. Besides these powers there were many others which were considered to be in control of the manifold aspects of the life of the household and its individual members, including birth, marriage, and death. Although the male head of the household may be regarded as its priest, the worship of certain of the powers revered within the house was carried out by his wife and daughters.

The historic Romans maintained the two burial rites of inhumation and cremation. They believed that the spirits of the deceased went down to the underworld, to the realm of the gods below (*di inferi*). Thence, at certain times of the year, they returned to visit the earth, and upon these occasions there were celebrated the festivals of commemoration and propitiation which served to keep alive the memory of the ancestors and to ward off any baneful influences which they might otherwise exercise upon the fortunes of their descendants.

The Cult of the Farm. As early Rome was essentially an agricultural community, most of its divinities and festivals had to do with the various phases of agricultural life. Festivals of the sowing, the harvest, the vineyard, and the like, were annually celebrated in common, at fixed seasons, by the households of the various *pagi*.

The State Cult. Our earliest knowledge of the public or state cult of Rome is derived from the calendar of the annually recurring public festivals, which in its earliest form dates from the beginnings of Rome of the Four Regions. At this stage the state religion was that of an essentially agricultural community and consisted mainly in the performance of certain of the rites of the household and of the farm by or for the people as a whole. The state cults of Vesta and the Penates, as well as the festival of the Ambarvalia, the annual solemn purification of the fields, were of this nature. But, in addition, the state religion included the worship of a number of divinities whose personalities and powers were conceived of with greater distinctness than those venerated in the house and in the fields. Some of these had originally been the gods of certain clans (*gentes*) whose cult had been taken over by the state. The chief place among the state gods was held originally by the triad, Mars, Jupiter, and Quirinus; but by the time of the dedication of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill (508 B.C.) these had given way to a new triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Jupiter Optimus Maximus, called also Capitolinus from his

place of worship, was originally a god of the sky but, adorned with other attributes, was finally revered as the chief protecting divinity of the Roman state. Juno was the female counterpart of Jupiter and was the great patron goddess of women. Minerva, as we have seen, was the patroness of craftsmen. Mars, originally a god of agriculture as well as of war, became in the state cult of the Republic essentially the patron deity of warlike, "martial," activities and gave his name to the military training ground of Rome, the *Campus Martius* or Field of Mars.

Foreign Influences. Already in the earliest calendar of the state festivals we find the worship of gods of foreign origin whose cult had been adopted officially by the Roman community. Some of these are obviously Etruscan; others, though partly disguised by Etruscan and Latin names, belong to the earliest circle of the gods of Greece. Such are Ceres, the Greek Demeter, and Liber, the Greek Dionysos, both earth deities closely connected with the practice of agriculture. In the latter part of the sixth century, under the influence of the Etruscan kings, there was a fresh influx of Greek divinities drawn from the ranks of the Homeric gods. Among these were Apollo, Minerva = Athena, and Diana = Artemis. Greek religious influences were fostered greatly by the acquisition of the Sibylline Books, a collection of oracles brought from Cumae to Rome towards the close of the regal period, placed under the care of a priestly commission, and consulted by the pontiffs in times of public emergency. To the Etruscans the Romans owed the introduction of temples and statues in divine worship, although here the Etruscans themselves probably were indebted to the Greeks. And since the association of the cult of Juno and Minerva with that of Jupiter originated in Etruria, it was only to be expected that the temple of these gods begun by the last of the Roman kings but dedicated at the beginning of the Republic should have been built in Etruscan style and decorated with the work of Etruscan artists. But Greek artists were called in to adorn the temple on the Aventine erected in 493 B.C., in accordance with a Sibylline oracle, for the cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, that is, the Greek Demeter, Dionysos, and Kore. This marks the beginning of the predominance of Greek influences in religious art and architecture. In the fifth century, temples were also provided for the worship of other Greek gods which had been established at an earlier date; for Mercury (= Hermes) in 495 B.C., Castor in 484 B.C., and somewhat belatedly for Apollo in 431 B.C. With the adoption of Greek sculptural forms for Roman gods came the acceptance of Greek mythology, which served to enrich the growing circle of Roman religious ideas. Roman deities came to be identified with the nearest Greek equivalents and to receive the corresponding myths and forms of artistic representation.

Throughout the greater part of the fifth and the fourth centuries the Romans remained immune to any new religious currents coming from Etruria or Greek Italy. This was due probably to the political decline and cultural stagnation of the Etruscans and the weakening of the Greeks under the pressure of the Sabellian expansion. It was not until 291 B.C. that a new Greek cult was established officially at Rome with the erection of a temple to Aesculapius (Asklepios), the god of healing, whose worship was introduced directly from Epidaurus in the Greek peninsula. Here again we see the influence of the Sibylline books, which were said to have recommended this step as the means of checking a pestilence that was raging in Rome.

Religion and Morality. From the foregoing sketch it will be seen that the Roman religion did not have profound moral and elevating influences. The early Romans did not ask their gods to grant them spiritual but rather material blessings, not to make them good but to grant them health and wealth. Its hold upon the Roman people was chiefly due to the fact that it symbolized the unity of the various groups whose members participated in the same worship, *i.e.,* the unity of the family and the unity of the state. Nevertheless, the idea of obligation inherent in the Roman conception of the relation between gods and men and the stress laid upon the exact performance of ritual inevitably developed among the Romans a strong sense of duty, a moral factor of considerable value. Further, the power of precedent and tradition in their religion helped to develop and strengthen the conservatism so characteristic of the Roman people.

CHAPTER VIII. THE CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. THE FIRST PHASE—THE STRUGGLE WITH CARTHAGE: 264–201 B.C.

For the history of Roman expansion in the Mediterranean World during the period from 264 to 133 B.C. there is a sound chronology and an historical tradition which is both detailed and, in the main, dependable. Roman historical writing began about the close of the third century and from that time steadily increased in volume along with the development of literary taste and historical interest among educated classes in Rome. Not content with presenting annalistic narratives of the more remote past from the scanty materials at their disposal, Roman writers composed histories of their own times, for which they had more abundant and reliable information. Contemporary Greek historians also devoted considerable attention to Rome, particularly in its relation to the Greek world. Unfortunately for us, the works of most of the writers of this period have been lost, but the substance of their contributions has been preserved by historians of later date. The only one of the earlier writers whose work has survived to any considerable degree in its original form is the Greek Polybius, who was the foremost historical writer of his age. Brought to Rome as a political exile from Achaea in 167 B.C., he enjoyed the close friendship of some of the leading Romans of his day and gained a keen insight into Roman political life. He wrote an account of the establishment of Roman supremacy throughout the Mediterranean between 220 and 145 B.C., prefaced by a brief survey of the period 264 to 220 B.C. But only his first five books reaching to 216 B.C. have come down to us intact; of the rest nothing remains but excerpts. For other substantial accounts of the period we have to turn to writers of much later date. Of these, the most important is the Roman historian Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), whose narrative of the years 218 to 167 B.C., contained in books 21 to 45 of his great history of Rome, has been preserved in full. In the biographies written by Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch and in the historical works of the Greeks, Diodorus the Sicilian and Appian, there is a good deal of valuable information derived from the missing portions of Polybius and the lost works of other early writers.

I. CARTHAGE AND HER EMPIRE

Rome a World Power. With the unification of the Italian peninsula Rome entered upon a new era in her foreign relations. She was now one of the great powers of the Mediterranean world and was inevitably drawn into the vortex of world politics. She could no longer rest indifferent to what went on beyond the confines of Italy. She assumed new responsibilities, opened up new diplomatic relations, developed a new outlook and new ambitions. At this time the other first-class powers were, in the East, the three Hellenistic monarchies—Egypt, Syria, and Macedon—which had emerged from the ruins of the empire of Alexander the Great, and, in the West, the city-state of Carthage.

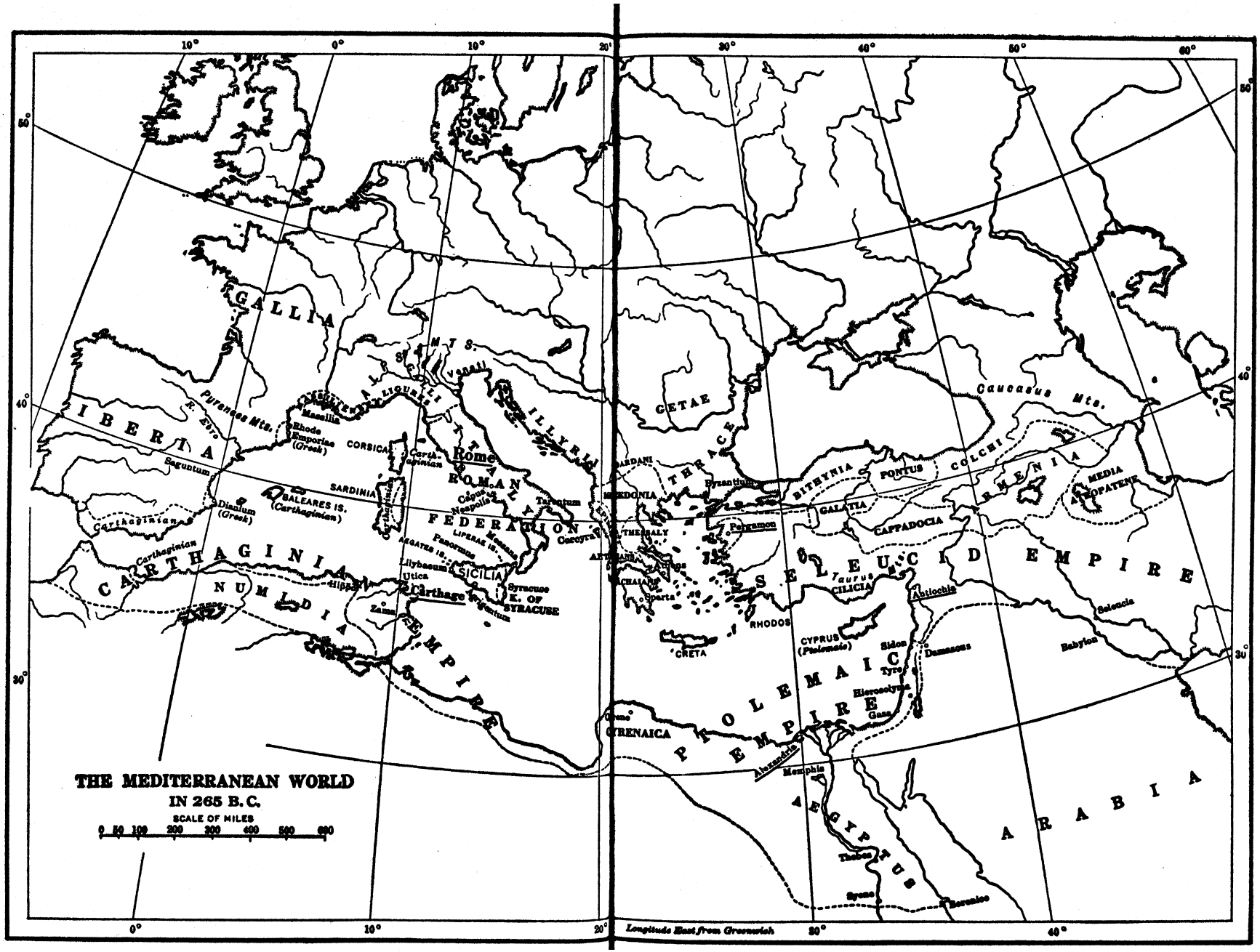
It was the position of this latter state as the dominant power in the western Mediterranean world from Sicily to the Strait of Gibraltar which caused it to be the determining factor in Rome's foreign policy throughout the remainder of the third century B.C.

The city of Carthage had been founded on the northern coast of Africa near modern Tunis, opposite the western end of the island of Sicily, as a colony of the Phoenician city of Tyre, towards the end of the ninth century B.C.[1] In the sixth century, when the cities of Phoenicia passed first under Babylonian domination and later were incorporated in the Persian Empire, their colonies, among them Carthage, severed political ties with their mother land and were forced to rely upon their own efforts to maintain themselves against the native peoples by whom they were surrounded.

The weakness of the other Phoenician settlements was the opportunity of Carthage. In the sixth and following centuries she brought them under her control and in addition founded new colonies of her own. She also extended her sway over the native Libyan population in the vicinity of Carthage. These Libyans were henceforth tributary and under the obligation of rendering military service to the Carthaginians; similar obligations rested upon the dependent Phoenician allies. In the third century the Carthaginian empire included the northern coast of Africa from the Gulf of Syrtis westwards beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, the southern and eastern coasts of Spain as far north as Cape Nao, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, with the exception of Messana in the extreme northeast, the Kingdom of Syracuse in the southeastern part of the island, and a few smaller Greek states that still maintained their independence. The smaller islands of the western Mediterranean were likewise under Carthaginian control.

At this time the government of Carthage itself was republican in form

[1] Possible dates are 825 and 814 B.C.



THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD
IN 265 B.C.

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600

and strongly aristocratic in tone. There was a primary Assembly for all Carthaginian citizens who could satisfy certain age and property requirements. This body annually elected the two chief magistrates called suffetes, and likewise the generals. For the former, qualifications of wealth and merit were prescribed. There was also a Senate, and a Council, whose organization and powers are uncertain. The Council, the smaller body, prepared the matters to be discussed in the Senate. The Senate was consulted by the suffetes on all matters and usually gave the final decision, although the Assembly was supposed to be consulted in case the Senate and suffetes disagreed. The suffetes exercised judicial, financial, and religious functions and presided over the Council and Senate. The Carthaginian aristocracy, like that of Venice, was a group of wealthy families whose fortunes, made in commercial ventures, were handed down for generations in the same houses. From this circle came the members of the Council and Senate, who directed the policy of the state. The aristocracy itself was split into factions, struggling to control the offices and through them the public policy, which they frequently subordinated to their own particular interests.

The prosperity of Carthage depended upon her empire and the maintenance of a commercial monopoly in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the north and south of the Strait of Gibraltar. This policy of commercial exclusiveness had caused Carthage to oppose Greek colonial expansion in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily and had led to treaties which placed definite limits upon the trading ventures of the Romans and their allies and of the Greeks from Massilia and her colonies in France and northern Spain.

Such a policy could only be maintained by a strong naval power, and, in fact, Carthage was the undisputed mistress of the seas west of the Straits of Messana. The Carthaginians were expert shipbuilders, and their powerful fleet was manned by highly trained crews of citizen rowers and sailors. Unlike Rome, Carthage had no organized national army but relied upon an army of mercenaries recruited from all quarters of the Mediterranean, among such warlike peoples as the Gauls, Spaniards, Libyans, and Greeks. Although brave and skilful fighters, these, like all troops of the type, were liable to become dispirited and mutinous under continued reverses or when faced by shortage of pay and plunder.

Such was the state with which Rome was now brought face to face by the conquest of South Italy and which was the first power she was to challenge in a war for dominion beyond the peninsula. As we have seen, Rome had long ere this come into contact with this great maritime people.[2]

[2] To the Romans the Carthaginians were known as *Poeni*, *i.e.*, Phoenicians, whence comes the adjective "Punic," used in such phrases as the "Punic Wars."

Two treaties, one perhaps dating from the close of the sixth century and the other from 348 B.C., regulated commercial intercourse between the two states and their respective subjects and allies. A third, concluded in 279, had provided for military co-operation against Pyrrhus, but this alliance had ceased after the defeat of the latter; and with the removal of the common enemy a feeling of coolness or mutual suspicion seems to have arisen between the erstwhile allies.

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR: 264–241 B.C.

The Origins of the War. The first war between Rome and Carthage arose out of the political situation in the island of Sicily. There the town of Messana was occupied by the Mamertini, a band of Campanian mercenaries, who had been in the service of Syracuse but who had deserted and seized this town about 284 B.C. Because of their perpetual acts of brigandage, they were a menace to their neighbors, the Syracusans. The latter, now under an energetic ruler, Hiero, who had assumed the title of king, in 265 succeeded in blockading Messana; and its ultimate capture seemed certain. In despair the Mamertini at first invoked the aid of the commander of a Carthaginian fleet that was near by, and he contrived to introduce a garrison into the town since Carthage looked with jealousy upon any extension of Syracusan territory. In spite of this assistance, the Mamertini had no desire to become subject to Carthage and sent an embassy to Rome with a request for admission to the ranks of the Roman allies. The Roman Senate realized that to grant this request might well lead to war with Carthage, but it also recognized that the Carthaginia occupation of Messana would give Carthage control of the Strait of Messana and constitute a perpetual threat against southern Italy and the use of the strait by Roman and Italian shipping. The more conservative members of the Senate may well have feared that a war would bring to the front new men of talent from the ranks of the plebeians who would attain the higher magistracies and make their way into the Senate, thus enlarging the circle of the plebeian senatorial aristocracy. But this very prospect may have appealed to those who advocated interference in Sicily regardless of the consequences. The strength of these conflicting considerations made the Senate unwilling to assume responsibility for a decision, and the matter was referred to an assembly, probably that of the Centuries. Although the people, we are told, were war-weary and had no enthusiasm for another conflict, they were persuaded by their leaders to approve the alliance with the Mamertini because of its advantages, which may have been represented as constituting a guarantee against any attack upon South Italy. It may

also be that the people, less farsighted than the Senate and overconfident because of their victorious wars in Italy, did not appreciate the danger or difficulties of a possible conflict with the Carthaginians.

A consular army of two legions was levied to relieve Messana, and an advance force made its way into the harbor in spite of the Carthaginian fleet present in the strait. Thereupon the Mamertini coerced the Carthaginian garrison into withdrawing from the town. At Carthage, the government decided to recover Messana if possible. An army was sent for that purpose into Sicily, Hiero of Syracuse was won over to a Carthaginian alliance, and both parties joined in blockading the city. But the main force of the Romans contrived to cross over from Regium to Messana, and its commander after some futile negotiations attacked and defeated Hiero and the Carthaginians in turn. Messana was saved, but Rome was now at war with both Carthage and Syracuse.

The War in Sicily, First Phase, 263–256 B.C. In the next year the Romans sent a large army, possibly 40,000 citizen and allied troops, into Sicily to press the war against Hiero. Their initial attacks were so successful that the king became alarmed, and, since he was given the opportunity of making peace upon payment of an indemnity of 100 talents in silver, he abandoned the Carthaginians and concluded an alliance for fifteen years with Rome.[3] Aided by Hiero, the Romans now besieged the strongly fortified city of Agrigentum, a Greek town on the south coast of the island, which sided with Carthage and had received a Carthaginian garrison. When Agrigentum fell in 262 B.C., the Romans determined to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily once and for all.

Roman operations in Sicily, however, could be conducted only at considerable risk, and the coasts of Italy remained exposed to continued raids as long as Carthage had undisputed control of the sea. Consequently the Romans decided to build a fleet that would put an end to the Carthaginian naval supremacy. Taking as their model a stranded warship and probably aided by the excellent Syracusan naval architects, they constructed 120 vessels, of which 100 were of the type called quinquiremes,[4] the regular first-class battleship of the day. The complement of each quinquireme was 300 rowers and 120 fighting men. With this armament, and some vessels from the Roman allies, the consul, Gaius Duilius, put to sea in 260 B.C. and engaged the superior Carthaginian fleet off Mylae on the north coast of Sicily. Although the Carthaginian seamen were superior to the Roman

[3] The talent was worth about $1080. This alliance was renewed on a permanent basis in 248 B.C.

[4] The name is the Latin translation of the Greek *pentere*, a vessel propelled by large oars each manned by five rowers with probably a single bank of oars on each side rather than one with five banks of oars to the side as was formerly believed.

and could maneuver their ships more speedily and skilfully, the Romans offset this advantage by employing a device at one time in use among the Greeks. Whenever a hostile ship came close enough to ram or board a Roman, the latter dropped a crane armed with long spikes upon the opponent's deck. By grappling the enemy in this way, they enabled the legionaries who were serving as marines to board the Carthaginian ships and capture them in hand-to-hand fighting. The Roman victory was as decisive as it was unexpected. As a result they were able to occupy Corsica and make an assault upon Sardinia in the next year; and, since they found it impossible to force a decision in Sicily, they were in a favorable position for attacking Carthage in its own African territory.

The Roman Invasion of Africa: 256–255 B.C. Another naval victory, off Ecnomus, on the south coast of Sicily, in 256 B.C. cleared the way for the successful landing of an army under the consul Marcus Atilius Regulus. He defeated the Carthaginians in battle and reduced them to such extremities that they sought to make peace. But the terms which Regulus proposed were so harsh that in desperation they decided to resume hostilities. At this juncture there arrived at Carthage, with other mercenaries, a Spartan soldier of fortune, Xantippus, who reorganized the Carthaginian army. Early in the next year he offered battle, and by the skilful use of cavalry and war elephants he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Romans and took Regulus prisoner. A Roman fleet rescued the remnants of the expedition but was almost totally lost in a storm off the southern Sicilian coast.

The War in Sicily, Second Phase, 254–241 B.C. The Romans again concentrated their efforts against the Carthaginian strongholds in Sicily, which they attacked from land and sea. In 254 they took the important city of Panormus, and the Carthaginians were soon confined to the western extremity of the island. There, however, they successfully maintained themselves in Drepana and Lilybaeum. Meantime the Romans encountered a series of disasters on the sea. In 253 they lost a number of ships on the voyage from Lilybaeum to Rome, in 250 the consul Publius Clodius suffered a severe defeat in a naval battle at Drepana, and in the next year a third fleet was destroyed by a storm off Phintias in Sicily.

In 247 a new Carthaginian general, Hamilcar Barca, took command in Sicily and infused fresh life into the Carthaginian forces. From the citadel of Hercte first, and later from Eryx, he continually harassed the Romans not only in Sicily but even on the coast of Italy. Finally, in 242 B.C., when their public treasury was too exhausted to build another fleet, the Romans by private subscription equipped 200 vessels, which undertook the blockade of Lilybaeum and Drepana. A Carthaginian relief expedition was destroyed

off the Aegates Islands, and it was impossible for their forces, now completely cut off in Sicily, to prolong the struggle. Carthage was compelled to conclude peace in 241 B.C.

Peace and Its Consequences. Carthage surrendered to Rome her remaining possessions in Sicily, with the islands between Sicily and Italy, besides agreeing to pay an indemnity of 3,200 talents (about $3,500,000) in twenty years. For the Romans the long struggle had been very costly. At sea alone they and their allies had lost in the neighborhood of 500 ships and 200,000 men. But again, as in the war with Pyrrhus, the Roman military system had proven its worth against a mercenary army, and the excellence of the Roman soldiery had more than compensated for the weakness in the custom of annually changing commanders. Moreover, the military federation which Rome had created in Italy had stood the test of a long and weary war, without any disloyalty being manifest among her allies. On the other hand, the losses of Carthage had been even more heavy; and, most serious of all, her sea power was broken, and Rome controlled the western Mediterranean.

Weakened as she was after the contest with Rome, Carthage immediately thereafter became involved in a life-and-death struggle with her mercenary troops. These, upon their return from Sicily, made demands upon the state for the payment of rewards promised them by their general, Hamilcar. When these were refused, they mutinied and, joining with the native Libyans and the inhabitants of the subject Phoenician cities (Libyphoenicians), entered upon a war for the destruction of Carthage. After a struggle of more than three years, in which the most shocking barbarities were practised on either side and in which they were brought face to face with utter ruin, the Carthaginians under the leadership of Hamilcar Barca stamped out the revolt (238 B.C.).

While the war was raging, the Romans had shown open sympathy with Carthage. They had furnished the city with supplies, which they prevented their allies from selling to the rebels, and had even permitted the Carthaginians to recruit troops in Italy. And, when the Carthaginian garrison in Sardinia revolted and asked the Romans to take over the island, they had refused to do so. But after the struggle in Africa came to an end, the Roman attitude changed. A Carthaginian force sent to recover Sardinia in 239 B.C. mutinied and joined the rebellious garrison. Hard-pressed by the native population, the mutineers sent another appeal for Roman intervention. The Roman Senate reversed its former attitude and made preparations to occupy the island. Carthage protested and proceeded to fit out a new expedition against the mutineers. The Romans chose to interpret this as an act of hostility and declared war. It is difficult to account for the

Roman change of policy. Perhaps they did not wish the Carthaginian recovery to proceed too far and mistrusted the ambitions and influence of their old enemy Hamilcar. Perhaps also the Roman Senate had come to feel the natural unity of Italy and the adjacent islands and was determined to prevent the occupation of the latter by any foreign power. Carthage could not think of accepting the challenge and bought peace at the price of Sardinia, Corsica, and a penalty of 1,200 talents ($1,500,000), but this unjustifiable act of the Romans rankled sore in the memory of her citizens. As a result of the acquisition of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, the Tyrrhenian Sea became a Roman lake.

III. THE ILLYRIAN AND GALLIC WARS: 229–219 B.C.

The First Illyrian War: 229–228 B.C. In assuming control of the relations of her allies with foreign states, Rome had assumed responsibility for protecting their interests; and it was the somewhat reluctant fulfillment of this obligation which brought the Roman arms to the eastern shores of the Adriatic.

Under a king named Agron an extensive but loosely organized state had been formed among the Illyrians, a semibarbarous people inhabiting the Adriatic coast to the north of Epirus. These Illyrians were allied with the kingdom of Macedonia and sided with the latter in its wars with Epirus and the Aetolian and Achaean Confederacies. In 231 Agron died and was succeeded by his queen Teuta, who continued his policy of attacking the cities on the west coast of Greece and practising piracy on a large scale in the Adriatic and Ionian seas. Among those who suffered thereby were the south Italian cities, which in 230 B.C. as the result of fresh and more serious outrages appealed to Rome for redress. Thereupon the Romans demanded satisfaction from Teuta; and, upon having their demands contemptuously rejected, they declared war.

In the summer of 229 B.C. the Romans attacked the Illyrians with a fleet and an army of such strength that the enemy could offer but little resistance and in the next year was forced to sue for peace. Queen Teuta had to give up her recent conquests in Epirus (Albania) as well as the Greek cities which she had seized on the coast of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, to bind herself not to send any armed vessels south of her own territory in Illyria, and to pay a war indemnity to Rome. Apart from the island of Pharos and some adjacent territory in Illyria which was made an independent principality under the Greek adventurer, Demetrius of Pharos, who had taken the side of Rome in the war, the territory surrendered by Teuta became a Roman protectorate. The several states concerned, which included the Greek

cities of Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Apollonia, retained their local autonomy and were neither subject to tribute nor formally accepted as Roman allies. Nevertheless, they relied upon Rome for their defence, and Rome assumed complete control of their political relations with their neighbors.

The fact that Rome first crossed the Adriatic to prosecute a war against the Illyrians placed her in hostility to their ally, Macedonia, the greatest of the Greek states. And although Macedonia had been unable to offer aid to the Illyrians because of dynastic troubles that had followed the death of King Demetrius (229 B.C.), it regarded with jealous suspicion Rome's success and the establishment of a Roman sphere of influence east of the Adriatic. Conversely, the war had established friendly relations between Rome and the foes of Macedon, the Aetolian and Achaean Confederacies, which rejoiced in the suppression of Illyrian piracy. The way was thus paved for the participation of Rome, as a partisan of the anti-Macedonian faction, in the struggles which had so long divided the Greek world.

The Second Illyrian War: 220–219 B.C. The revival of Macedonian influence led indirectly to Rome's second Illyrian war. The alliance of Antigonus Doson, the new king of Macedonia, with the Achaean Confederacy and his conquest of Sparta (222 B.C.) united almost the whole of Greece under Macedonian suzerainty. Thereupon Demetrius, the despot whom Rome had established as ruler in his native Pharos but who had already gone over to Macedonia, attacked some of the peoples and cities under Roman protection and led a piratical squadron into Greek waters (220 B.C.). Rome, now threatened with a second Carthaginian War, acted with energy. Macedonia, under Philip V, the successor of Antigonus Doson, was involved in a war with the Aetolians and their allies. Deprived of support from this quarter, Demetrius was speedily driven to take refuge in flight. His subjects surrendered, and Rome took possession of his chief fortresses, Pharos and Dimillos. Rome retained her protectorate on the eastern shore of the Adriatic across from the heel of the Italian peninsula, which gave her the command of the Strait of Otranto. Although the Romans made no effort to exploit their victory at the expense of Macedonia, Philip regarded their Illyrian protectorate as a menace and made preparations for ousting them from what he considered to be the natural outlet of his country upon the Adriatic Sea.

War with the Gauls in North Italy: 225–222 B.C. In the interval between these Illyrian wars Rome became involved in a serious conflict with the Gallic tribes settled in the Po valley. For about half a century this people had lived at peace with Rome, ceasing their raids into the peninsula and becoming a prosperous agricultural and pastoral people. It is claimed that they became alarmed at the Roman assignment of the public land on their

southern borders, called the Ager Gallicus, to individual colonists in 233 B.C. and that this caused them to take up arms. However, this territory had been Roman since 283 B.C., and its settlement could hardly have been interpreted as an hostile act. It is more probable that the cause of the new Gallic invasion was the coming of fresh swarms from across the Alps, which some of the Cisalpine Gauls, who had forgotten the defeats of half a century earlier, perhaps invited, and certainly joined, for the sake of plunder. As early as 236 B.C. such a band of Transalpines had been brought in by the chieftains of the Boii to aid them in an attack upon Ariminum. But owing to dissensions among the Boii themselves this project came to naught, and no further inroad into Roman territory was attempted until 225 B.C.

In that year a coalition of four of the Cisalpine tribes, reinforced by large numbers of adventurers called Gaesati (spearmen) from beyond the Alps, prepared to invade the peninsula. Both the Romans and their allies were seriously alarmed for the memory of the Roman defeat at the Allia (387 B.C.) had never been effaced. Rome called for a special military census of the whole federation. The returns, according to Polybius, showed over 700,000 infantry and 70,000 cavalry, of whom the Romans accounted for 250,000 foot and 23,000 horse, while the rest belonged to the Latin and federate allies. Two consular armies, each over 50,000 strong, took the field. In addition the Cenomani, one of the tribes of Gauls north of the Po, and the Veneti, joined the Romans and supplied 20,000 more troops. Expecting the Gauls to advance southward through Umbria, the Romans stationed one consul with his army near Ariminum to block their path. The defence of Etruria was entrusted to a smaller force; and the other consul was sent to Sardinia, possibly in fear of a Carthaginian descent upon that island.

Avoiding the army at Ariminum, the Gauls crossed the Apennines into Etruria, plundered the country, and defeated the army which had been left to guard this region. But the consul from Ariminum hastened to the rescue, the army in Sardinia was recalled, and the Gauls began to withdraw northwards to place their spoils in safety. The Romans followed, and as the army from Sardinia landed to the north of the foe and cut off their retreat, the latter were surrounded and brought to bay at Telamon. They were annihilated in a desperate struggle won by the superiority of the Roman tactics and generalship. One of the Roman consuls fell on the field of battle.

Italy was saved, but the Romans decided to follow up their victory by a conquest of the lands of the Boii and the Insubres, both as a penalty for their conduct and a guarantee against future invasions of this sort. In three hard-fought campaigns the Romans, although they failed to exterminate or dispossess these peoples, reduced them to subjection, forcing them to surrender part of their territory and to pay tribute. But the Romans did not

conquer without suffering heavy losses, and their ultimate success was to a considerable degree due to the co-operation of the Cenomani.

Between 221 and 219 B.C., the Romans extended their sphere of domination around the head of the Adriatic as far as the peninsula of Histria by the conquest of some small peoples who dwelt to the east of the Veneti. Thus, with the exception of Liguria and the upper valley of the Po, all Italy to the south of the Alps was brought within the sphere of Roman influence. The Latin colonies Placentia and Cremona were founded in the territory taken from the Insubres to secure the Roman authority in this region, but Hannibal's invasion of 218 B.C. found most of the Cisalpine Gauls ready to revolt against the Roman yoke.

IV. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR: 218–202 B.C.

Carthaginian Expansion in Spain. Almost immediately after the loss of Sardinia and Corsica a new field for Carthaginian expansion was opened in Spain. In this venture the initiative was taken by Hamilcar Barca, the victor in the mercenary war, who saw in this quarter an opportunity for repairing the fortunes of his state and compensating her for the loss of her insular possessions. Carthaginian interest in Spain dated from the latter part of the sixth century B.C., when Carthage conquered the native realm of Tartessus on the southern coast and closed the Strait of Gibraltar to the ships of other peoples. The older Phoenician settlements in this region, such as Gades, became subject to Carthage, as did some of the neighboring Iberian tribes. From her Spanish territory, Carthage obtained great quantities of silver, copper, and iron, besides agricultural products and fish. Tin from England and gold and ivory from the west coast of Africa were brought to the Mediterranean by the sailors of Gades, who made regular voyages in Atlantic waters. But this early Carthaginian empire was overthrown by the old-time rivals of Carthage, the Greeks of Massilia, in concert with some of the Iberians. Gades, however, and the control of the strait remained in Carthaginian hands.

In 237 B.C., Hamilcar, then commander of Libya, crossed over into Spain, where he found the Phoenician subjects of Carthage hard pressed by the attacks of the native Iberian peoples. By skilful generalship and able diplomacy he extended the Carthaginian dominion over many of the Spanish tribes and built up a strong army, devoted to himself and his family. Roman tradition accused Hamilcar of nursing an undying hatred towards Rome and interpreted his Spanish conquests as part of a carefully laid plan to develop the military strength of Carthage to a point where she could avenge her defeats of the First Punic War. His actions, however, do not seem to

indicate that he planned any resumption of the conflict with the victorious foe. In fact, a Roman mission sent in 231 B.C. to investigate his actions returned satisfied with the explanation that he was merely seeking new resources from which Carthage could pay off her indemnity to Rome.

When Hamilcar was drowned during the siege of a Spanish town in 229 B.C., he was succeeded in his command by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who carried on his predecessor's program. It was Hasdrubal who founded the town of New Carthage (Carthagena) to serve as the center of Carthaginian influence in Spain. Although Hamilcar may have begun his Spanish campaigns without express authorization from the Carthaginian Senate, his policy there, and that of Hasdrubal as well, had the continuous support of a substantial majority in that body. The annual revenue of from 2,000 to 3,000 talents ($2,400,000 to $3,600,000) derived from the Spanish silver mines may have been a potent factor in inducing the Carthaginians to acquiesce in the almost regal position that the Barcidae enjoyed in Spain.

But the Carthaginian advance in Spain aroused the alarm of the Greeks of Massilia, and of their colonies in Spain, Emporiae and Rhode, whose commercial interests and independence were thereby endangered. The Massiliots had long been in alliance with Rome—they were said to have contributed to the ransom which the Romans paid to the Gauls in 387 B.C.—and there seems little doubt that they secured the intervention of Rome at this time on their behalf. In 226 B.C. the Romans sent an embassy to Hasdrubal and concluded a treaty with him which prohibited him from waging war to the north of the river Ebro but allowed him a free hand to the south even at the expense of the interests of Massilia. The terms of the treaty do not indicate that Rome was at all disquieted over the consolidation of Carthaginian power in the Spanish peninsula, and Hasdrubal on his part did nothing to provoke hostilities. At this time the Romans were too much alarmed by the gathering storm of the Gallic invasion to concern themselves very seriously with the remote Iberian peninsula.

The Roman Alliance with Saguntum. A possible cause of future friction lay in the Roman alliance with the Spanish port of Saguntum, a town which lay to the south of the Ebro. It is uncertain whether this alliance preceded or followed the treaty with Hasdrubal, but it was probably concluded in answer to a request from the Saguntines addressed to the Roman Senate. At any rate, Rome's action in this matter does not seem to have been regarded as a violation of the terms of the treaty.

Hannibal and Rome. Upon the assassination of Hasdrubal in 221 B.C., Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, then in his twenty-sixth year, was appointed to the command in Spain. Soon after he assumed control, hostilities broke out between Saguntum and a Spanish people in the Carthaginian alliance who

gave aid to certain Saguntine political exiles. The Romans had recently interfered in the internal politics of Saguntum and helped to bring an anti-Carthaginian faction into power there, and now in fear of Carthaginian interference, the Saguntines appealed to Rome for protection. A Roman commission appeared before Hannibal in 219 B.C. and reminded him of the existence of the alliance. Hannibal avoided an immediate conflict by referring the commission to Carthage. But, relying upon the army which his predecessors and he himself had developed in Spain and upon the resources of the Carthaginian dominions there, and fearing that the Romans were looking for an excuse to force the Carthaginians out of Spain as they had out of Sardinia, he now resolved to take a step which would inevitably lead to war with Rome, namely, to attack Saguntum, and so he appealed to the Carthaginian Senate for freedom of action.

Having obtained the desired backing from his government, Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum in 219 B.C. and captured it after a blockade of eight months. The Roman Senate after considerable delay now seems to have decided that the Carthaginian power in Spain constituted a menace to themselves and was resolved not to pass over the destruction of their ally. Accordingly in 218 B.C. a second Roman embassy appeared at Carthage to demand the surrender of Hannibal and his staff as the price of averting war with Rome. The supporters of Hannibal were in the majority, and the Carthaginian Senate accepted the responsibility for the act of their general, whatever its consequences might be. The Roman ambassador replied with the declaration of war.

The most fateful result of the First Punic War had been the destruction of the maritime supremacy of Carthage. She never subsequently thought of contesting Rome's dominion on the sea, and consequently, while extending her empire in Spain and Africa, she had neglected to rebuild her navy. This fact was to be of decisive importance in the coming struggle. Rome, relying upon it, planned an offensive war. One army, under the consul Publius Cornelius Scipio, was to proceed to Spain, supported by the fleet of Massilia, and to detain Hannibal there, while a second army, under the other consul, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, was assembled in Sicily to embark for Africa.

But the Romans had not taken into account the military genius of Hannibal, whose audacious plan of carrying the war into Italy upset their calculations. Realizing that he could not transport his army to Italy by sea, he was prepared to cross the Pyrenees, traverse southern Gaul, and, crossing the Alps, descend upon Italy from the north. Among the Gauls of the Po valley he hoped to find recruits for his army; and he expected that, once he was in Italy, the Roman allies would seize this opportunity of recovering their

independence. Deprived of their support, Rome would have to yield. His ultimate object was not the destruction of Rome but the breaking up of the Roman federation in Italy and the reduction of the Roman state to the limits attained in 340 B.C. This purpose is apparent from the plan of campaign which he followed after his arrival in Italy.

The Invasion of Italy. Hannibal's preparations were more advanced than those of the Romans and, early in the spring of 218 B.C., he set out from New Carthage for the Pyrenees. Forcing a passage there, he left the passes under guard and resumed his march with a picked army of Spaniards and Numidians. His brother Hasdrubal was left in Spain to collect reinforcements and follow with them. Hannibal arrived at the Rhone and crossed it by the time that Scipio reached Massilia on his way to Spain. The latter, failing to force Hannibal to give battle on the banks of the Rhone, returned in person to Italy but decided to send his army, under the command of his brother, to Spain, a decision which had the most serious consequences for Carthage. Meanwhile Hannibal continued his march and, overcoming the opposition of the peoples whose territory he traversed, as well as the more serious obstacles of bad roads, dangerous passes, cold, and hunger, crossed the Alps and descended into the plain of North Italy in the autumn of 218, after a march of five months.[5] His army, perhaps originally 40,000 strong, was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. Practically all his elephants had perished.

Hannibal at once found support and an opportunity to rest his weary troops among the Insubres and the Boii, the later of whom had already taken up arms against the Romans. At the news of his arrival in Italy, Sempronius was at once recalled from Sicily; but Scipio, who had anticipated him, ventured to attack Hannibal with the forces under his command. He was beaten in a skirmish at the river Ticinus, and Hannibal was able to cross the Po. Upon the arrival of Sempronius, both consuls attacked the Carthaginians at the Trebia, only to receive a crushing defeat (December, 218 B.C.)

Hannibal wintered in north Italy and in the spring, with an army raised to 50,000 by the addition of Celtic recruits, prepared to invade the peninsula. The Romans divided their forces, stationing one consul at Ariminum and the other at Arretium in Etruria. Hannibal chose to cross the Apennines and the marshes of Etruria, where he surprised and annihilated the army of the consul Flaminius at the Trasimene Lake (217 B.C.). Flaminius himself was among the slain. This victory was soon followed by another, in

[5] Authorities differ as to the pass which Hannibal used in crossing the Alps, arguing variously for the Little St. Bernard, Mont Genèvre, or Mont Cenis. Polybius, our best authority, seems to indicate Mont Cenis.

which the cavalry of the army of the second consul was cut to pieces. Hannibal began his attempt to detach the Italians from the Roman alliance by releasing his Italian prisoners to carry word to their cities that he had come to set them free. Thereupon he marched into Samnium, ravaging the Roman territory as he went.

The Romans in great consternation chose a dictator, Quintus Fabius Maximus. Fabius recognized the superiority of Hannibal's generalship and of the Carthaginian cavalry and consequently refused to be drawn into a general engagement. But he followed the enemy closely and continually threatened an attack, so that Hannibal could not divide his forces for purposes of raiding and foraging. Still he was able to penetrate into Campania and thence to recross the mountains into Apulia, where he decided to establish winter quarters. The strategy of Fabius, who received the nickname of Cunctator—the Delayer—had not prevented the enemy from securing supplies and devastating wide areas and grew so irksome to the Romans that they violated all precedent in appointing Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse and an advocate of aggressive tactics, as a second dictator. But when the latter risked an engagement, he was badly beaten, and only prompt assistance from Fabius saved his army from destruction.

Cannae: 216 B.C. Next spring found the Romans and Carthaginians facing each other in Apulia. The Romans were led by the new consuls, Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Terentius Varro, who were authorized to risk a decisive battle in order to protect the territory of Rome's allies. This change of strategy brought on the battle of Cannae, one of the greatest battles of antiquity and the bloodiest of all Roman defeats. Here the Roman forces, set by tradition at close to 80,000 men, but probably nearer 50,000, were almost annihilated by the numerically inferior Carthaginians. At Cannae the military genius of Hannibal was displayed at its height, and his masterly tactics on this occasion have found admirers and imitators among the great commanders of all subsequent ages. Knowing that the Romans would try to crush his troops by a frontal attack, he drew up his infantry with their center of Gauls and Spaniards thrown well forward. Under pressure of the Roman assault, these troops gave ground while the wings where the Libyan infantry were posted held firm until the line was like a crescent with the Romans crowded between its encircling horns. In the meantime the Carthaginian cavalry had routed the Roman horsemen on both flanks and turning back from pursuit attacked the legions from the rear. Surrounded on all sides and thrown into confusion, the Romans were cut down where they stood. Only some 10,000 succeeded in forcing their way out of the trap. The consequences of the battle were serious. For the first time Rome's allies showed grave signs of disloyalty. In Apulia

and in Bruttium Hannibal found many adherents; ambassadors from Philip of Macedon appeared at his headquarters, the prelude to an alliance in the next year; Syracuse also, where Hiero, the friend of Rome, had just died, wavered and finally went over to Carthage; and, most serious of all, Capua opened its gates to Hannibal.

Still the courage of the Romans never wavered. They at once levied a new force to replace the army destroyed at Cannae. The central Italian allies, the Greek cities in the South, and the Latins remained true to their allegiance; and the fortified towns of the latter proved to be the pillars of the Roman strength. For Hannibal, owing to the smallness of his army and the necessity of maintaining it in a hostile country, had to be continually on the march and could not undertake siege operations, for which he also lacked engines of war. Thus the Romans, avoiding pitched battles, were able to attempt the systematic reduction of the towns which had yielded to Hannibal and to hamper seriously the provisioning of his forces. At the same time they still held command of the sea, kept up their offensive in Spain, and held their ground against Carthaginian attacks in Sicily and Sardinia.

The Roman Recovery. In 213 the Romans were able to invest Syracuse. The Syracusans with the aid of engines of war designed by the physicist Archimedes resisted desperately; but Marcellus, the Roman general, pressed the siege vigorously, and treachery caused the city to fall (212 B.C.). Syracuse was sacked, its art treasures carried off to Rome, and for the future it was subject and tributary to Rome. And in Italy, although the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was surprised and killed and Hannibal was able to occupy the cities of Tarentum (without its citadel), Heraclea, and Thurii, he could not prevent the Romans from laying siege to Capua. The next year he thought to force them to raise the blockade by a sudden incursion into Latium, where he appeared before the walls of Rome. But Rome was garrisoned, the army besieging Capua was not recalled, and Hannibal's march was in vain. Capua was starved into submission, its nobility put to the sword, its territory confiscated, and its municipal organization dissolved (211 B.C.).

Upon concluding his alliance with Hannibal, Philip of Macedon hastened to attack the Roman possessions in Illyria. Here he met with some successes but failed to take Corcyra or Apollonia, which were saved by the Roman fleet. Furthermore, Rome's command of the sea prevented his lending any effective aid to his ally in Italy. Before long the Romans were able to induce the Aetolians to make an alliance with them and attack Macedonia. Thereupon other enemies of Philip, among them Sparta and King Attalus of Pergamon, joined in the war on the side of Rome. The Achaean Con-

federacy, however, supported Philip. The coalition against the latter was so strong that he had to cease his attacks upon Roman territory, and Rome could be content with supporting her Greek allies with a small fleet, while she devoted her energies to the other theaters of war.

The Scipios in Spain: 218–209 B.C. The fall of Capua came at a moment most opportune for the Romans, since they had immediate need to send reinforcements to Spain. Thither, as we have seen, they had sent an army in 218 B.C. under Gnaeus Scipio, who obtained a foothold north of the Ebro. In the next year he was joined by his brother Publius Cornelius. Thereupon the Romans crossed the Ebro and invaded the Carthaginian dominions to the south. A revolt of the Numidian prince Syphax caused the recall of Hasdrubal to Africa, and the Romans were able to capture Saguntum and induce many Spanish tribes to desert the Carthaginian cause. But upon the return of Hasdrubal and the arrival of reinforcements from Carthage, the Carthaginian commanders united their forces and crushed the two Roman armies one after the other (211 B.C.). Both the Scipios fell in battle, and the Carthaginians recovered all their territory south of the Ebro.

Undismayed by these disasters, the Romans determined to continue their efforts to conquer Spain because of its importance as a recruiting ground for the Carthaginian armies and because the continuance of the war there prevented reinforcements being sent to Hannibal in Italy. The fall of Capua and the fortunate turn of events in Sicily enabled them to release fresh troops for service in Spain; and in 210 B.C., being dissatisfied with the cautious strategy of the propraetor Nero, then commanding north of the Ebro, the Senate determined to send out a commander who would continue the aggressive tactics of the Scipios. As the most suitable person they fixed on Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of the like-named consul who had fallen in 211. However, although he had won fame already as a military tribune, he was only in his twenty-fifth year and, having filled no magistracy except the aedileship, was technically disqualified from exercising the *imperium*. Therefore, his appointment was made the subject of a special law in the Centuriat Assembly, which nominated him to the command in Spain with the rank of a proconsul. This is the first authentic instance of the conferment of the *imperium* upon a private citizen.

Seeing that the armies of his opponents were divided in widely separated winter quarters, Scipio took the offensive, crossed the Ebro, and by a daring stroke seized the chief Carthaginian base—New Carthage (209 B.C.). Here he found vast stores of supplies and, more important still, the hostages from the Spanish peoples subject to Carthage. His liberation of these and his generous treatment of the Spaniards in general was in such striking

contrast with the oppressive measures of the Carthaginians that he rapidly won over to his support both the enemies and the adherents of the latter. In preparation for future campaigns he drilled his troops in intricate maneuvers and rearmed them with the finely tempered Spanish sword adapted for cutting as well as thrusting in place of the shorter Roman sword used solely for thrusting.

Hasdrubal's March to Italy: 208–207 B.C. Meanwhile in Italy the Romans proceeded steadily with the reduction of the strongholds in the hands of Hannibal. Tarentum was recovered in 210, and although Hannibal defeated and slew the consuls Gnaeus Fulvius (210) and Marcus Marcellus (208), his forces were so diminished that his maintaining himself in Italy depended upon the arrival of strong reinforcements. Since his arrival he had received but insignificant additions to his army from Carthage, whose energies had been directed to the other theaters of war. Up to this time also the Roman activities in Spain had prevented any Carthaginian troops leaving that country. But after the fall of New Carthage and the subsequent successes of Scipio, Hasdrubal, despairing of the situation there, determined to march to the support of his brother by the same route which the latter had taken. Scipio endeavored to prevent his departure, but although Hasdrubal was defeated in battle he and the majority of his men eluded the Romans and crossed the Pyrenees (208 B.C.).

The next spring he arrived among the Gauls to the south of the Alps. Reinforced by them, he marched into the peninsula to join forces with Hannibal. For the Romans it was of supreme importance to prevent this. They therefore divided their forces; the consul Gaius Claudius faced Hannibal in Apulia, while Marcus Livius went to intercept Hasdrubal. Through the capture of messengers sent by the latter, Claudius learned of his position, and, leaving part of his army to detain Hannibal, he withdrew the rest without his enemy's knowledge and joined his colleague Livius. Together they attacked Hasdrubal at the Metaurus; his army was cut to pieces, and he himself was slain. With this battle the doom of Hannibal's plans was sealed, and with them the doom of Carthage. Hannibal himself recognized that all was lost and withdrew into the mountains of Bruttium. Although in 205 B.C. Hannibal's other brother Mago succeeded in landing another army in Liguria, he failed to accomplish anything of importance and was recalled in 203 B.C.

The End of the War in Spain and Greece. For the first time in the war the Romans could breathe freely and look forward with confidence to the issue. In the two years (207–206 B.C.) following the departure of Hasdrubal, Scipio completed the conquest of what remained to Carthage in Spain. In 205 B.C. he returned to Rome to enter upon the consulship and thereupon

went to Sicily to make preparations for the invasion of Africa, since the Romans were now able to carry out their plan of 218 B.C. which Hannibal had then interrupted. At this moment, too, the Romans found themselves free from any embarrassment from the side of Macedonia. In Greece the war had dragged on without any decided advantage for either side until 207 B.C., when the temporary withdrawal of the Roman fleet enabled Philip and the Achaean Confederacy to win such successes that their opponents listened to the intervention of the neutral states and made peace (206 B.C.). In the next year the Romans also came to terms with Philip.

The Campaign in Africa: 204–202 B.C. In 204 B.C. Scipio transported his army to Africa. At first, however, he was able to do nothing before the combined forces of the Carthaginians and the Numidian chief, Syphax, who had renewed his alliance with them. But in the following year he routed both armies so decisively that he was able to capture and depose Syphax and to set up in his place a rival chieftain, Masinissa, whose adherence to the Romans brought them a welcome superiority in cavalry. The Carthaginians now sought to make peace. An armistice was granted them; Hannibal and all Carthaginian forces were recalled from Italy, and the preliminary terms of peace were drawn up (203 B.C.). Hannibal left Italy with the remnant of his veterans after a campaign which had established his reputation as one of the world's greatest masters of the art of war. For nearly fifteen years he had maintained himself in the enemy's country with greatly inferior forces, and now after inflicting many severe defeats and never losing a battle he was forced to withdraw because of lack of resources, not because of the superior generalship of his foes. Before leaving Italian soil he set up a record of his exploits in the temple of Hera Lacinia in Bruttium, which survived to be read by the historian Polybius.

An almost incredible feeling of overconfidence seems to have been aroused in Carthage by the arrival of Hannibal. The Carthaginians broke the armistice by attacking some Roman transports and refused to meet Scipio's demand for an explanation. Thereupon hostilities were resumed. At Zama the two greatest generals the war had developed met in its final battle. Scipio tried to apply the tactics of encirclement which he had learned from Hannibal but adapted to the Roman military formations. But Hannibal had anticipated such a maneuver and checkmated it by a proper disposition of his own forces. In spite of this, the mutiny of the Carthaginian mercenaries at a critical moment in the battle and the timely return of the Roman and Numidian cavalry from the pursuit of the routed Carthaginian horse resulted in a complete victory for Scipio.

Peace: 201 B.C. For Carthage all hope of resistance was over, and she had to accept the Roman terms. These were: the surrender of all territory except

the city of Carthage and the surrounding country in Africa, an indemnity of 10,000 talents ($12,000,000), the surrender of all vessels of war except ten triremes, and of all war elephants, and the obligation to refrain from carrying on war outside of Africa or even in Africa unless with Rome's consent. The Numidians were united in a strong state on the Carthaginian borders, under the Roman ally Masinissa. Scipió returned to Rome to triumph "over the Carthaginians and Hannibal" and to receive, from the scene of his victory, the name of Africanus.

V. THE EFFECT OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR UPON ITALY

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire left Rome mistress of the western Mediterranean and by far the greatest power of the time. But this victory had only been attained after a tremendous struggle, the greatest probably that the ancient world ever witnessed, a struggle which called forth in Rome the patriotic virtues of courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice to a degree that aroused the admiration of subsequent generations, which drained her resources of men and treasure, and which left ineffaceable scars upon the soil of Italy.

One of the main factors in deciding the issue was the Roman command of the sea, which Carthage never felt able to challenge seriously. Another was the larger citizen body of Rome and the friendly relations between herself and her federate allies. This, with the system of universal military service, gave her a citizen soldiery which in morale and numbers was superior to the armies of Carthage. As long as Hannibal was in Italy, Rome kept from year to year upwards of 100,000 men in the field. Once only, after the battle of Cannae when she had to arm 8,000 slaves who were promised freedom as a reward for faithful service, was she unable to replace her losses by the regular system of recruiting. On the other hand, Carthage had to raise her forces from mercenaries or from subject allies. As her resources dwindled, the former became even more difficult to obtain, while the demands made upon the latter caused revolts that cost much effort to subdue. It required the personality of a Hannibal to develop an *esprit de corps* and discipline such as characterized his army in Italy. A third factor was the absence in the Roman commanders of the personal rivalries and lack of co-operation which so greatly hampered the Carthaginians in Spain and in Sicily. Still one must not be led into the error of supposing that the Carthaginians did not display tenacity and patriotism to a very high degree. The senatorial class especially distinguished itself by courage and ability, and there are no evidences of factional strife hampering the conduct of the war. The Romans overcame the disadvantage of the annual change of commanders-in-chief by the use of

the proconsulship and propractorship often long prorogued, whereby officers of ability year after year retained the command of the same armies. This system enabled them to develop such able generals as Marcellus and the Scipios.

The cost of maintaining her fleet and her armies taxed the financial resources of Rome to the utmost and at times the government had to resort to extraordinary measures to secure the sinews of war. In 216 B.C., a loan of money and supplies for the army in Sicily was sought and obtained from Hiero of Syracuse. The next year, in order to maintain the armies in Spain, it was necessary to appeal to the patriotism and generosity of several companies of contractors, who agreed to furnish supplies at their own expense upon promise of repayment as soon as the treasury was again in funds. In 214 B.C., when there was pressing need to fit out a naval force to meet the rebellion in Sicily, a special "liturgy" or public obligation was laid on the higher propertied classes who had to furnish the cost of rowers out of their private resources. Four years later, the senators made a voluntary contribution of gold and silver for a similar purpose. In 209 B.C. the government had to make use of the reserve fund which had been accumulating in the treasury for thirty years from the returns of the 5 per cent tax on the value of manumitted slaves. This fund, known as the "sacred treasury," then amounted to 4,000 pounds of gold. When Scipio was making his preparations for his African campaign, the state was unable to furnish him with the necessary levies and ships; so with official approval he had to appeal for volunteers and for donations of money and material.

An additional burden was the increased cost of the necessities of life and the danger of a grain famine, caused by the disturbed conditions in Italy and Sicily and the withdrawal of so many men from agricultural occupations. In 210 B.C. the situation was relieved only by an urgent appeal to Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt, from whom grain had to be purchased at three times the usual price. However, this crisis passed with the pacification of Sicily in the next year.

Furthermore, a heavy tribute had been levied upon the man-power of the Roman state. The census list of citizens eligible for military service fell from about 280,000 at the beginning of the war to 237,000 in 209; and the federate allies must have suffered at least as heavily. In 210 B.C., twelve of the Latin colonies refused to supply their quotas of troops, giving as an excuse the exhaustion of their man-power. The greatest losses fell upon the southern part of the peninsula. There, year after year, the fields had been laid waste and the villages devastated by the opposing armies, until the rural population had almost entirely disappeared, the land had become a wilderness, and the more prosperous cities had fallen into decay. From the effects of these ravages southern Italy never recovered.

CHAPTER IX. THE CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. THE SECOND PHASE —ROME AND THE GREEK EAST: 200–167 B.C.

I. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST IN 200 B.C.

In the thirty-five years which followed the battle of Zama, Rome attained the same dominant position in the eastern Mediterranean which she had won in the West as a result of the First and Second Punic Wars. The explanation of Roman interference in the East and the rapid extension of her authority there lies in the political situation which existed in the Hellenistic world at the close of the third century B.C. To understand this situation it is necessary to survey briefly the character and policy of the more important Hellenistic states: Egypt, the Seleucid empire, and Macedonia.

Egypt. The kingdom of Egypt, ruled by the Macedonian dynasty of the Ptolemies, comprised the ancient kingdom of Egypt in the Nile valley, Cyrene, the coast of Syria, Cyprus, and a number of cities on the shores and islands of the Aegean Sea. In Egypt the Ptolemies ruled as foreigners over the subject native population. They maintained their authority by a small mercenary army recruited chiefly from Macedonians and Greeks, and by a strongly centralized administration, of which the offices were in Greek hands. As the ruler was the sole proprietor of the land of Egypt, the native Egyptians, the majority of whom were peasants who gained their livelihood by tilling the rich soil of the Nile valley, were for the most part tenants of the crown; and the restrictions and obligations to which they were subject rendered their status little better than that of serfs. A highly developed but oppressive system of taxation and government monopolies, largely an inheritance from previous dynasties, enabled the Ptolemies to wring from their subjects the revenues with which they maintained a brilliant court life at their capital, Alexandria, and financed their imperial policy.

After 276 B.C. the aim of this policy has been to secure Egyptian domination in the Aegean, among the states of Southern Greece, and in Phoenicia, whose value lay in the forests of the Lebanon mountains. To carry it into effect the Ptolemies were obliged to support a navy which would give them the command of the sea in the eastern Mediterranean. However, the occupa-

tion of its outlying possessions brought Egypt into perpetual conflict with Macedonia and the Seleucid empire, whose rulers made continued efforts to oust the Ptolemies from the Aegean and from the Syrian coast.

The destruction of the Egyptian fleet by the Macedonians in 242 B.C. put an end to the naval supremacy of the Ptolemies but did not force them to relinquish their territory in Syria and the Aegean. In 217 B.C., under pressure of an invasion by a Seleucid army, the Egyptian government was forced to call to arms a portion of the native population. With this aid the enemy was defeated, and the immediate danger averted, but realization of their military importance led to demands on the part of the native Egyptians for greater privileges and so to racial difficulties which permanently weakened the position of the dynasty. This internal strife rendered the Ptolemies helpless to protect their foreign possessions or even to defend Egypt itself against future attacks.

The Seleucid Empire. The empire of the Seleucids, known to the Romans as Syria, with its capital at Antioch on the Orontes, was by far the largest of the Hellenistic monarchies in extent and population, and in wealth it ranked next to Egypt. It stretched from the Aegean to the borders of India and included the southern part of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, and northern Syria. But the very size of this kingdom was a source of weakness, because of the distances which separated its various provinces and the heterogeneous racial elements which it embraced. The power of the dynasty was upheld, as in Egypt, by a mercenary army, and also by the Greek cities which had been founded in large numbers by Alexander the Great and his successors. These islands of Greek culture, however, did not succeed to any great extent in Hellenizing the native populations, which remained in a state of subjection, indifferent or hostile to their conquerors. Furthermore the strength of the Seleucid empire was sapped by repeated revolts in its eastern provinces and dissensions between the members of the dynasty itself.

These disintegrating forces effected a temporary disruption of the Empire about 220 B.C., but the situation was retrieved by an able and energetic ruler, Antiochus III. After crushing the revolting governors of Media, Persia, and Asia Minor, Antiochus, in a series of successful campaigns (212–204 B.C.) which established his authority as far as the borders of India and gained for him the surname of "the Great," recovered the eastern districts lost by his predecessors.

Macedonia. The kingdom of Macedonia, ruled by the house of the Antigonids, was the smallest of the three in extent, population, and resources, but possessed an internal strength and solidarity lacking in the others. For in Macedonia, the Antigonids, by preserving the traditional character of the patriarchal monarchy, kept alive the national spirit of the Macedonians and

made them loyal to the dynasty. They also retained a military system which fostered the traditions of the times of Philip II and Alexander and which, since the Macedonian people had not lost its martial character, furnished a small but efficient national army. Outside of Macedonia, the Antigonids held sway over Thessaly and the eastern part of Greece as far south as the Isthmus of Corinth. Their attempts to dominate the whole of southern Greece were thwarted by the opposition of the Aetolian and Achaean Confederacies, which received considerable support from the Ptolemies. Nevertheless rivalries among the Greek states brought the Achaeans over to the Macedonian side, and in 222 B.C. Macedonia united most of central Greece and the Peloponnesus in a league under her suzerainty. This position was maintained by Philip V in spite of the attacks of the Aetolians, Pergamon, and Rhodes during Rome's First Macedonian War (215–206 B.C.).

In addition to these three great monarchies, we should note as powers of some importance the Confederacies just mentioned, of which that of the Aetolians was on the northern side of the Gulf of Corinth and that of the Achaeans to the south of the same Gulf; the kingdom of Pergamon; and the island republic of Rhodes. Pergamon on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor, lying between Macedonia and the Seleucid empire, felt apprehensive of any increase in strength on the part of its more powerful neighbors, while Rhodes, at that time the commercial center of the Aegean and possessed of a considerable navy, was inclined to share the apprehensions of Pergamon.

The Crisis of 202 B.C. The death of Ptolemy IV in 203 B.C. placed upon the throne of Egypt an infant who was under the control of corrupt and incapable advisors. Accordingly Antiochus III, encouraged by his recent triumphs, judged it a favorable moment to renew his attempt to wrest from Egypt its Syrian provinces. At the same time Philip V of Macedonia, actuated by a desire to balance the successes of Antiochus by conquests of his own, unexpectedly attacked and occupied several cities under Aetolian protection on the coast of Thrace and certain islands in the Aegean (202 B.C.). Later writers claimed that Antiochus and Philip had entered into an alliance for the partition of the Ptolemaic empire or at least the territories of the Ptolemies outside of Africa, but it is very doubtful if such an agreement really existed. Philip received an Egyptian embassy which requested his aid against Antiochus and sought his daughter in marriage for the young king of Egypt. Furthermore, Philip seems to have abstained from attacking Ptolemaic possessions in the Aegean before 200 B.C. In 201 B.C. Philip's activities in the Aegean brought him into conflict with Attalus I of Pergamon and the Rhodians, who, being unable to check his operations, appealed to Rome for support. However, although the action of Philip's allies in Greece had involved him in hostilities with Athens, it does not seem that

the Athenians joined in the appeal to the Roman Senate. It was this step taken by Pergamon and Rhodes that brought about Roman intervention in the Greek East and led to Rome's Second Macedonian War.

II. THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR: 200–196 B.C.

Rome's Eastern Policy to 210 B.C. Down to the year 201 B.C. Rome can hardly be said to have had any definite eastern policy. Diplomatic intercourse with Egypt had followed the visit of an Egyptian embassy to Rome as early as 273 B.C., but this had had no political consequences. Since that date she had come into conflict with the Illyrians and with Macedonia and had established a small protectorate across the Adriatic, but in so doing her actions had been spasmodic and had been brought about by the attacks of the Illyrians and Macedonians upon her allies or herself and were not the result of any aggressive policy of her own. The interests and outlook of Rome's agrarian aristocracy did not include Hellas and the Greek East. How really indifferent the Senate was towards Greek affairs and how little dread it entertained of danger from this quarter are shown by the favorable terms of peace granted to Philip V at the close of the First Macedonian War. In fact, this peace had resulted in a breach between the Romans and the Aetolians on mutual charges of lack of co-operation, while the rest of Greece had been antagonized by the brutality with which the Romans had treated the Greek cities which they had captured in the recent war. Apparently, however, the Romans still looked upon themselves as allies of Pergamon, as well as of the Illyrians and some small states in southern Greece. That the Roman attitude of indifference towards Greece continued throughout the year 202 B.C. is shown by the brusque refusal of the Senate in that year to listen to the appeal of the Aetolians for protection against the aggressions of Philip and by the slight attention which it paid to Egyptian representations concerning the designs of Antiochus made somewhat earlier

Roman Intervention: 200 B.C. However, the charges of Attalus I, King of Pergamon, and the Rhodians that Philip and Antiochus had banded themselves together in an alliance for the partition of the Egyptian Empire aroused the Senate from its lethargic attitude toward Hellenic affairs and inspired it with fear of danger to Roman interests. With the memory of the recent struggle with Hannibal fresh in their minds, the senators were obsessed with the possibility of another invasion of Italy and came to believe that the present campaign of Philip was a prelude to a future attack on Rome, in which he might have the support of Antiochus. Accordingly they decided to act with the greatest possible celerity and crush Philip before he became more powerful. As a pretext for a declaration of war against him,

they were prepared to charge him with an unprovoked attack upon the territory of their ally Attalus, although in fact Attalus had been the aggressor and Philip had serupulously refrained from attacking any Roman allies in the Greek world. But, in spite of the decision of the Senate, the Roman people as a whole shrank from embarking upon another war so soon after the close of the desperate conflict with Carthage. At first the Centuriate Assembly voted against the proposal, and at a second meeting was induced to sanction it only when it was represented to them that they would have to face another invasion of Italy if they did not anticipate Philip's action. When the Assembly finally had given its approval, one of the Roman ambassadors whom the Senate had already sent to Greece to threaten Philip and encourage his opponents presented a formal ultimatum to the king, who was at that time engaged in the siege of Abydos on the Hellespont. The Romans demanded that he should abstain from attacking any of the cities of the Greeks or the possessions of Ptolemy V and should submit to arbitration his disputes with Attalus and the Rhodians. Upon his rejection of these demands the war opened. In accordance with their instructions the ambassadors then visited Antiochus in Syria, nominally to intercede with him on behalf of Egypt but in reality to assure him of the good will of Rome so that he might not abandon his Syrian campaign and unite his forces with those of Philip in Macedonia.

The Defeat of Philip. Late in 200 B.C. a Roman army under the consul Sulpicius crossed into Illyricum and endeavored to penetrate into Macedonia. Both in this and in the succeeding year, however, the Romans, although aided by the forces of the Aetolian Confederacy, Pergamon, Rhodes, and Athens, were unable to inflict any decisive defeat upon Philip or to invade his kingdom.

With the arrival of one of the consuls of 198, Titus Flamininus, the situation speedily changed. The Achaean Confederacy was won over to the side of Rome, and Flamininus succeeded in forcing Philip to evacuate his position in Epirus and to withdraw into Thessaly. In the following winter negotiations for peace were opened; but these led to nothing, for the Romans demanded the evacuation of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, three fortresses known as "the fetters of Greece," and Philip refused to make this concession.

The next year military operations were resumed with both armies in Thessaly. Early in the summer a battle was fought on a ridge of hills called Cynoscephalae (the Dogs' Heads), where the Romans won a complete victory. Although the Aetolians rendered valuable assistance in this engagement, the Macedonian defeat was due primarily to the superior flexibility of the Roman legionary formation over the phalanx. Philip fled to Macedonia and sued for peace. The Aetolians and his enemies in Greece sought

his utter destruction, but Flamininus realized the importance of Macedonia to the Greek world as a bulwark against the Celtic peoples of the lower Danube and would not support their demands. The terms fixed by the Roman Senate were: the autonomy of the Hellenes, the evacuation of the Macedonian possessions in Greece, in the Aegean, and in Illyricum, an indemnity of 1,000 talents ($1,200,000), and the surrender of nearly all his warships. These conditions Philip was obliged to accept (196 B.C.). Soon afterwards he became a Roman ally.

The Proclamation of Flamininus: 196 B.C. At the Isthmian games of the same year Flamininus proclaimed the complete autonomy of the peoples who had been subject to Macedonia. The announcement provoked a tremendous outburst of enthusiasm among most of the Greek states. After spending some time in carrying this proclamation into effect and in settling the claims of various states, Flamininus returned to Italy in 194, leaving the Greeks to make what use they would of their freedom. There is no doubt that at this time many of the leading statesmen in Rome, like Flamininus, had been brought under the spell of Greek culture and were definitely philhellenic in their foreign policy. Nevertheless, they were not prepared to forego all the fruits of their victory in the late war. They wanted security from attack in the East and hence looked upon Greece as a sphere of Roman influence which they hoped would be compatible with Greek freedom. It was the expectation of the Senate that the states of Hellas liberated from Macedonian hegemony would prove loyal allies of Rome and form a bulwark against any hostile action on the part of Philip or Antiochus.

III. THE WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT AND THE AETOLIANS: 192–189 B.C.

The Causes of Friction. Even before Flamininus and his army had withdrawn from Greece, the activities of Antiochus had awakened the mistrust of the Roman Senate and threatened to lead to hostilities. The Syrian king had completed the conquest of Lower Syria in 198; and then, profiting by the difficulties in which Philip of Macedon was involved, he turned his attention towards Asia Minor and Thrace with the hope of recovering the possessions once held by his ancestor, Seleucus I, in these quarters. The Romans were at the time too much occupied to oppose him, and, outwardly, he professed to be the friend of Rome and to be limiting his activities to the re-establishing of his empire in its former extent. Eventually, in 196 B.C., he crossed over into Europe and proceeded to establish himself in Thrace, upon which he had an ancestral claim. Thereupon, the Romans tried to induce him to withdraw, but in this they were unsuccessful. Two years later

Antiochus himself opened negotiations with the Senate in order to secure Roman recognition of his claims to Thrace and to certain cities in Asia Minor which, relying upon Roman support, refused to acknowledge his overlordship. But he was unsuccessful since the Romans regarded his presence in Thrace as a constant threat to their interests in Greece. Since Antiochus, although harboring no designs against Rome, was yet unwilling to be forced out of his European possessions, he decided to support the anti-Roman elements in Greece in order to bring pressure upon Rome to yield the points at issue. Accordingly, he willingly received deputations from the Aetolians, who were the leading opponents of Rome among the Greeks.

The Aetolians, who had been Rome's allies in the war just concluded and who greatly exaggerated the importance of their services, were disgruntled because the kingdom of Macedonia had not been entirely dismembered and they had been restrained from enlarging the territory of the Confederacy at the expense of their neighbors. In short, they wished to take the place formerly held by Macedonia among the Greek states. Accustomed to regard war as a legitimate source of revenue, they did not easily reconcile themselves to Rome's preservation of peace in Hellas. Ever since the battle of Cynoscephalae they had striven to undermine Roman influence among the Greeks, and now they sought to draw Antiochus into conflict with Rome.

War in Greece and Asia Minor. In 192 B.C. they brought matters to a head by unexpectedly attacking some of the Roman supporters in Greece and seizing the fortress of Demetrias, which they offered to the king, to whom they also made an unauthorized promise of aid from Macedonia. Thereupon, trusting in the support promised by the Aetolians, Antiochus sailed to Greece with an advance force of 10,000 men, and upon his arrival the Aetolians elected him as their commander in chief. It so happened that Hannibal, who in 196 B.C. had been forced to flee his native city owing to the machinations of his enemies and the Romans, was then at the court of Antiochus, where he had taken refuge. He advised his protector to invade the Italian peninsula, but Antiochus rejected the advice, probably with wisdom, for such a course would have required him to win the control of the sea, which was a task beyond his resources. But when, throughout his whole campaign, he neglected to make any serious use of the services of the greatest commander of the age, he committed a most serious blunder. Had Hannibal led the forces of Antiochus, the task of the Romans would not have been so simple.

In 191 B.C. a Roman army under the consul Acilius Glabrio appeared in Greece and attacked and defeated the forces of Antiochus at Thermopylae. The king fled to Asia. Contrary to his hopes he had found but little support

in Greece. Philip of Macedon and the Achaean Confederacy adhered to the Romans, and the Aetolians were rendered helpless by an invasion of their own country. Furthermore, the Rhodians and Eumenes, the new king of Pergamon, joined their navies to the Roman fleet.

As Antiochus would not hearken to the terms of peace laid down by the Romans, the latter resolved upon the invasion of Asia Minor. Two naval battles, won by the aid of Rhodes and Pergamon, secured the control of the Aegean, and in 190 B.C. a Roman force crossed the Hellespont. For its commander the Senate had wished to designate Scipio Africanus, the greatest of the Roman generals. As, however, he had recently been consul he was now ineligible for that office. The obstacle of the law was accordingly circumvented by the election of his brother Lucius to the consulate and his assignment to this command, and by the appointment of Publius to accompany him apparently in the capacity of a legate. This arrangement permitted Publius to assume the practical direction of the campaign.

One decisive victory over Antiochus at Magnesia in the autumn of 190 B.C. brought him to terms. He agreed to surrender all territory to the north of the Taurus mountains and west of Pamphylia, to give up his war elephants, to surrender all but ten of his ships of war, to pay an indemnity of 15,000 talents ($18,000,000) in twelve annual instalments, and to abstain from attacking the allies of Rome. Still, unlike Carthage, he was at liberty to defend himself if attacked. Peace upon these conditions was formally ratified in 188 B.C. The Romans then proceeded to establish order in Asia Minor. The territories of their friends, Rhodes and Pergamon, were materially increased, while the enemies of the latter, the Celts of Galatia, were defeated and forced to pay a heavy indemnity. Rome retained no territory in Asia but left the country divided among a number of small states whose mutual jealousies rendered impossible the rise of a strong power which could venture to set aside the Roman arrangements.

The Romans had demanded from Antiochus the surrender of Hannibal, but Antiochus connived at his escape. Hannibal took refuge with Prusias, the king of Bithynia. In 186 B.C., Prusias made war upon Rome's ally, Eumenes of Pergamon, and appointed Hannibal as one of his commanders. Hannibal won a naval victory, but Rome intervened on behalf of Eumenes, and Prusias had to make peace. Again the Romans insisted upon the surrender of Hannibal, and Prusias was not in a position to refuse their demand. Rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, Hannibal took poison. He died in 182 B.C., about a year later than Scipio Africanus the Elder, his conqueror at Zama.

The Subjugation of the Aetolians: 189 B.C. The Roman campaign of 191 against the Aetolians had caused the latter, who were also attacked by

Philip of Macedon, to seek terms. However, as the Romans demanded an unconditional surrender, the Aetolians decided to continue the struggle. In the next year no energetic measures were taken against them, but in 189 the consul Fulvius Nobilior pressed the war vigorously and besieged their chief stronghold, Ambracia. But since the obstinate resistance of its defenders defied all his efforts and since the Athenians were trying to act as mediators in bringing the war to a close, the Romans abandoned their demand for an unconditional surrender, and peace was made on the following conditions. The Aetolian Confederacy gave up all territory captured by its enemies during the war and entered into a permanent alliance with Rome, but on an unequal footing with the obligation to support Rome against all her enemies. Ambracia was surrendered and sacked, and the Romans occupied the pirate nest of Cephallenia.

IV. THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR: 171–167 B.C.

Rome and the Greek States. Although by her alliance with the Aetolians Rome had planted herself permanently on Greek soil and in the war with Antiochus had claimed to exercise a sort of protectorate over the Greek world, the Senate as yet gave no indication of reversing the policy of Flamininus, and the Greek states remained the friends of Rome in the enjoyment of political independence. It was not long, however, before these friendly relations became seriously strained and Rome was induced to embark upon a policy of interference in Greek affairs which ultimately put an end to the apparent freedom of Hellas. The fundamental cause of this change was that while Rome interpreted Greek freedom to mean liberty of action provided that the wishes and arrangements of Rome were respected, the Greeks understood it to mean the perfect freedom of sovereign communities and resented bitterly any infringement of their rights. Keeping in mind these conflicting points of view, it is easy to see how difficulties were bound to arise, which would inevitably be settled according to the wishes of the stronger power.

The chief specific causes for the change in the Roman policy are to be found in the troubles of the Achaean Confederacy and the reviving ambitions of Macedonia. The Confederacy included many city-states which had been compelled to join it and which sought to regain their independence. This the Confederacy was determined to prevent. One such community was Sparta, and the policy of the Achaeans towards it in the matter of the restoration of Spartan exiles led to the Spartans appealing to Rome. The Roman decision wounded the susceptibilities of the Confederacy without settling the problem, and the tendency of the Achaeans to stand upon their rights

provoked the anger of the Romans. Within the Confederacy there developed a pro-Roman party ready to submit to Roman dictatorship, and a national party determined to assert their right to freedom of action. From 180 B.C. the Romans deliberately fostered the aristocratic factions throughout the cities of Greece, feeling that they were the more stable element and more in harmony with the policy of the Senate. As a consequence the democratic factions began to look for outside support and cast their eyes towards Macedonia.

Philip V of Macedon considered that the assistance which he had furnished to Rome in the Syrian War was proof of his loyalty and warranted the annexation of the territory he had overrun in that conflict. But the Senate was not inclined to allow the power of Macedonia to attain dangerous proportions, and he was forced to forego his claims. Henceforth he was the bitter foe of the Romans. He devoted himself to the development of the military resources of his kingdom with the ultimate view of challenging once again Rome's authority in Greece. At his death in 179 B.C. he left an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 men and a treasure of 6,000 talents ($7,200,000). His son and successor Perseus inherited his father's anti-Roman policy and entered into relations with the foes of Rome everywhere in Greece.

The Roman Attack on Perseus. The Senate, however, was kept well aware of his schemes by his enemies in Greece, especially Eumenes III, King of Pergamon, the successor of Attalus I. Therefore it determined to forestall the completion of his plans and force him into war. In 172 B.C. a Roman commission visited Perseus and required of him concessions which meant the extinction of his independence. Upon his refusal to comply with their demands, the commissioners returned home, and Rome declared war. Now, when success depended upon energetic action, Perseus sought to avoid the issue and tried to placate the Romans, but in vain. In 171 B.C. a Roman force landed in Greece and made its way to Thessaly. But in the compaigns of this and the following year the Roman commanders were too incapable and their troops too undisciplined to make any headway. Nor did Perseus show ability to take advantage of his opportunities. Furthermore, by his parsimony he lost the chance to win valuable aid from the Dardanians, Gesatae, and Celts on his borders. Finally, in 168, the Romans found an able general in the consul Aemilius Paulus, who restored the morale of the Roman soldiers and won a complete victory over Perseus in the battle of Pydna. Perseus took refuge in flight but soon was obliged to give himself up. He was taken to Rome, where he was treated with ignominy and died in captivity. The Macedonian kingdom was at an end; its territory was divided into four autonomous republics, which were forbidden mutual privileges of *commercium* and *conubium;* a yearly tribute of 100 talents was imposed upon

them; the royal mines and domains became the property of the Roman state, and for a time the gold and silver mines were shut down.

The Roman Settlement in the East. Having disposed of Macedonia, the Romans turned their attention to the other Greek states with the intention of rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies. Everywhere death or exile awaited the leaders of the anti-Roman party, many of whose names became known from the seizure of the papers of Perseus. Although the Achaeans had given no positive proof of disloyalty, 1,000 of their leading men, among them the historian Polybius, were carried off to Italy nominally to be given the chance of clearing themselves before the Senate but really to be kept as hostages in Italy for the future conduct of the Confederacy.

The Rhodians, because they had endeavored to secure a peaceful settlement between Rome and Perseus, were forced to surrender their possessions in Asia Minor; and a ruinous blow was dealt to their commercial prosperity by the establishment of a free port at the island of Delos. Eumenes of Pergamon, whose actions had aroused suspicion of his loyalty to Rome, was subjected to humiliating treatment, although he preserved his kingdom intact. Far worse was the fate of Epirus. There seventy towns were sacked and their inhabitants to the number of 150,000 carried off into slavery.

Henceforth it was clear that Rome was the real sovereign in the eastern Mediterranean and that her friends and allies enjoyed only local autonomy, while they were expected to be obedient to the orders of Rome. This is well illustrated by the anecdote of the circle of Popilius. During the Third Macedonian War, Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, King of Syria, had invaded Egypt. After the battle of Pydna a Roman ambassador, Gaius Popilius by name, was sent to make him withdraw. Popilius met Antiochus before Alexandria and delivered the Senate's message. The king asked for time for consideration; but the Roman, drawing a circle around him in the sand, bade him answer before he left the spot. Antiochus yielded and evacuated Egypt.

The spoils of this war with Macedonia brought an enormous booty into the Roman treasury, and after 167 B.C. the war tax on property—the *tributum civium Romanorum*—ceased to be levied. The income of the empire enabled the government to relieve Roman citizens of all direct taxation.

V. CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY AND SPAIN

During the Macedonian and Syrian Wars the Romans were busy strengthening and extending their hold upon northern Italy and Spain.

The Pacification of Northern Italy. Cisalpine Gaul, which had been largely lost to the Romans since Hannibal's invasion, was recovered by wars with the Insubres and Boii between 198 and 191 B.C. The great military

highway, the *via Flaminia*, built from Rome to Ariminum in 220 B.C., was extended under the name of the *via Aemilia* to Placentia by way of Bononia in 187 B.C.; another, the *via Cassia* (171 B.C.), linked Rome and the Po valley by way of Etruria. New fortresses were established; Bononia (189 B.C.) and Aquileia (181 B.C.) as Latin colonies; Parma and Mutina (183 B.C.) as colonies of Roman citizens. In this way Roman authority was firmly established and the way prepared for the rapid Latinization of the land between the Apennines and the Alps.

In the same period falls the subjugation of the Ligurians, whose border raids had proved a source of annoyance. In successive campaigns, lasting until 172 B.C., the Romans gradually extended their sway over the various Ligurian tribes until they reached the territory of Massilia in southern Gaul. In the process of pacification, 40,000 Ligurians were transplanted from their homes to vacant public lands in South Italy. A Latin colony was founded at Luca (180 B.C.) and one of Roman citizens at Luna (177 B.C.). Between 181 and 176 B.C. occurred a rebellion of the Sardinian tribes which led to the thorough subjugation of that island.

Spain. The territory acquired from Carthage in Spain was organized into two provinces, called Hither and Farther Spain, in 197 B.C. But the allied and subject Spanish tribes were not yet reconciled to the presence of the Romans, and serious revolts broke out. One of these was subdued by Marcus Porcius Cato in 196 B.C., another by Lucius Aemilius Paulus between 191 and 189 B.C., and a third by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 179 and 178 B.C. The settlement effected by Gracchus secured peace for many years. In Spain were founded Rome's first colonies beyond the borders of Italy. Italica, near Seville, was settled in 206 B.C., and Carteia in 171 B.C.—both as Latin colonies.

CHAPTER X. THE NEW IMPERIALISM: 167–133 B.C.

The Transformation of Roman Foreign Policy. The foreign relations of Rome from 167 to 133 B.C. fall into two distinct periods. In the earlier, Roman foreign policy is directed towards maintaining Roman domination throughout the Mediterranean by diplomatic means. War and annexation of territory are avoided as causing too great a drain upon the resources of the state and creating difficult administrative problems. In the later period this policy is abandoned for one more aggressively imperialistic, which does not hesitate to appeal to armed force and aims at the incorporation of conquered territory within the empire. This change of policy was due largely to the influence of that group in the Senate which was eager for foreign commands, the honors of a triumph, and the spoils of war, as well as that of the non-senatorial financial interests which sought to open up new fields for exploitation. It was also felt that the prestige of Rome had suffered at times by the disregard of the Senate's wishes expressed to states under Roman protection and that this situation could be remedied only by depriving the recalcitrant governments of their freedom of action. The new tendencies become apparent shortly before 150 B.C. They resulted in prolonged wars in Spain, the annexation of Carthage and Macedonia, the establishment of direct control over Greece, and the acquisition of territory in Asia Minor.

I. THE SPANISH WARS: 154–133 B.C.

The Revolts of the Celtiberians and the Lusitanians: 154–139 B.C. In 154 B.C. revolts broke out in both Hither and Farther Spain. A series of long and bloody campaigns ensued, which were prolonged by the incapacity, cruelty, and faithlessness of the Roman commanders and caused a heavy drain upon the military resources of Italy. The chief opponents of the Romans were the Celtiberians of Hither, and the Lusitanians of Farther, Spain. The desperate character of these wars made service in Spain very unpopular, and levies for the campaigns of 151 and 144 B.C. were raised with difficulty. In 150 B.C. the proconsul Galba treacherously massacred thousands of Lusi-

tanians with whom he had made a treaty. For this he was brought to trial by Cato but was acquitted.

The massacre led to a renewed outbreak under Viriathus, an able guerilla leader who defied the power of Rome for about eight years (147–139 B.C.). Forced eventually to yield, he was assassinated during an armistice by traitors suborned by the Roman commander. The complete subjugation of the Lusitanians soon followed.

The War with Numantia: 143–133 B.C. Meantime in 143 B.C., after an interval of some years, the war had broken out afresh in the nearer province, where the struggle centered about the town of Numantia. In 140 B.C. the Roman general Pompeius made peace upon easy terms with the Numantines but later repudiated it, and the Senate ignored his arrangements. Again in 138 B.C. the popular aversion to service in Spain became so strong that the tribunes intervened to protect certain persons and, when their intercession was disregarded by the consuls, they cast the latter into prison for a time. The next year witnessed the disgraceful surrender of the consul Mancinus and his army, comprising 20,000 Romans, to the Numantines. By concluding a treaty the consul saved the lives of his army. But the Roman Senate perfidiously rejected his sworn agreement, made him the scapegoat, and delivered him bound to the Numantines, who would have none of him.

At length, weary of defeats, the Romans re-elected to the consulship for 134 B.C. their tried general Scipio Aemilianus, the conqueror of Carthage (146 B.C.),[1] and appointed him as commander in Spain. His first task was to restore the discipline in his army. Then he opened the blockade of Numantia. After a siege of fifteen months the city was starved into submission and completely destroyed. A commission of ten senators reorganized the country, and Spain entered upon a long era of peace.

II. THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE: 149–146 B.C.

The Third Punic War: 149–146 B.C.—Its Causes. The treaty which ended the Second Punic War had forbidden the Carthaginians the right to make war outside of Africa, or within it without the consent of Rome. At the same time their enemy Masinissa had been established as a powerful prince on their borders. In such a situation future Roman intervention was inevitable. But for a generation Carthage was left in peace. A pro-Roman party was in control there and bent all its energies to the peaceful revival of Carthaginian commerce. And the Romans, after a period of suspicion which ended with the exile of Hannibal in 196 B.C., regarded Carthaginian prosperity without enmity. In the end, however, this prosperity led to the ruin

[1] See p. 136.

of the city, for it awakened the envy of the Senate and the financial interests of Rome, which became only too ready to seize upon any excuse for the destruction of their ancient rival.

The opportunity came through the action of Masinissa. This chieftain, knowing the restrictions imposed upon Carthage by her treaty with Rome and sensing the change in the Roman attitude towards that city after 167 B.C., revived old claims to Carthaginian territory. Carthage could only appeal to Rome for protection, but Roman commissions repeatedly sent to adjust the disputes decided in favor of Masinissa. A member of a commission which investigated Carthaginian complaints of frontier violations was the old Marcus Porcius Cato, who was still obsessed with the fear which Carthage had inspired in his youth and who returned from his mission filled with alarm at the wealth of the city, and henceforth he devoted all his energies to accomplish its overthrow. In the following years he concluded all his speeches in the Senate with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed."

Further friction with Masinissa occurred in 151 B.C. and resulted in hostilities in which Carthage suffered a disastrous defeat. The Romans at once prepared for war. Conscious of having overstepped their rights and fearful of Roman vengeance, the Carthaginians offered unconditional submission in the hope of obtaining pardon. The Senate assured them of their lives, property, and constitution, but required hostages and bade them execute the commands of the consuls who crossed over to Africa with an army and ordered the Carthaginians to surrender their arms and engines of war. The Carthaginians, desirous of appeasing the Romans at all costs, complied. Then came the ultimatum. They must abandon their city and settle at least ten miles from the sea coast. This was practically a death sentence to the ancient mercantile city. Seized with the fury of despair, the Carthaginians improvised weapons and, manning their walls, bade defiance to the Romans.

The Siege of Carthage: 149–146 B.C. For two years the Romans, owing to the incapacity of their commanders, accomplished little. Then disappointment and apprehension led the Roman people to demand as consul Scipio Aemilianus, who had already distinguished himself as a military tribune. He was only a candidate for the aedileship and legally ineligible for the consulate. But the restrictions upon his candidature were suspended by a law passed in the Tribal Assembly, and he was elected consul for 147 B.C. Another special law entrusted him with the conduct of the war in Africa. Scipio restored discipline in the Roman army, defeated the Carthaginians in the field, and energetically pressed the siege of the city. The besieged suffered frightfully from hunger, and their forces were greatly reduced. In the spring of 146 B.C. the Romans forced their way into the city and captured it after desperate fighting in the streets and houses. The survivors, about

50,000 in number, were sold into slavery, their city levelled to the ground, and its site declared accursed. Out of the Carthaginian territory the Romans created a new province, called Africa. The last act in the dramatic struggle between the two cities was ended.

III. THE ANNEXATION OF MACEDONIA AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ACHAEAN CONFEDERACY: 149–146 B.C.

The Fourth Macedonian War: 149–148 B.C. The mutual rivalries among the Greek states, which frequently evoked senatorial intervention, and the ill will occasioned by the harshness of the Romans towards the anti-Roman party everywhere caused a large faction among the Hellenes to be ready to seize the first favorable opportunity for freeing Greece from Roman suzerainty.

Relying upon this antagonism to Rome, a certain Andriscus, who claimed to be a son of Perseus, appeared in Macedonia in 149 B.C. and claimed the throne. He made himself master of the country and defeated the first Roman forces sent against him. However, he was crushed in the following year at Pydna by the praetor Metellus, and Macedonia was recovered. The four republics were not restored, but the whole country was organized as a Roman province (148 B.C.).

The War with the Achaeans. The Achaean Confederacy was one of the states where the feeling against Rome ran especially high. There the irksomeness of the Roman protectorate was heightened by the return of the survivors of the political exiles of 167 B.C., 300 in number. The anti-Roman party, supported by the extreme democratic elements in the cities, was in control of the Confederacy when border difficulties with Sparta broke out afresh in 149 B.C. The matter was referred to the Senate for settlement, but the Achaeans did not await its decision. They attacked and defeated Sparta, confident that the hands of the Romans were tied by the wars in Spain, Africa, and Macedonia.

The Roman Senate determined to punish the Confederacy by detaching certain important cities from its membership. But in 147 B.C. the Achaean assembly tempestuously refused to carry out the orders of the Roman ambassadors, in spite of the fact that the Macedonian revolt had been crushed. Their leaders, expecting no mercy from Rome, prepared for war, and they were joined by the Boeotians and other peoples of central Greece. Everywhere they were supported by the poorer classes in the cities, who saw hope for economic betterment in a social revolution. The next year the Achaeans again refused to comply with Roman advice, whereupon the Romans sent a fleet and an army against them under the consul Lucius Mummius. Metel-

lus, the conqueror of Macedonia, subdued central Greece, and Mummius routed the forces of the Confederacy at Leucopetra on the Isthmus (146 B.C.). Corinth was sacked and burnt, its treasures were carried off to Rome, and its inhabitants sold into slavery. Its land, like that of Carthage, was added to the Roman public domain. Like Alexander's destruction of Thebes, this was a warning which the other cities of Greece could not misinterpret. A senatorial commission dissolved the Achaean Confederacy as well as the similar political combinations of the Boeotians and Phocians. The cities of Greece entered into individual relations with Rome. Those which had stood on the side of Rome, as Athens and Sparta, retained their previous status as Roman allies; the rest were made subject and tributary. Greece was not organized as a province but was put under the supervision of the governor of Macedonia.

IV. THE ACQUISITION OF THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMON

The Province of Asia. In 133 B.C. died Attalus III, King of Pergamon, the last of his line. In his will he made the Roman people the heir to his kingdom, probably with the feeling that otherwise disputes over the succession would end in Roman interference and conquest. The Romans accepted the inheritance, but before they took possession a claimant appeared in the person of an illegitimate son of Eumenes II, one Aristonicus. He occupied part of the kingdom, defeated and killed the consul Crassus in 130 B.C., but was himself beaten and captured by the latter's successor Perperna.

Out of the kingdom of Pergamon there was then formed the Roman province of Asia (129 B.C.). The occupation of this country made Rome mistress of both shores of the Aegean and gave her a convenient bridgehead for an advance farther eastward. For the unfortunate subjects of Attalus incorporation with the Roman empire proved the reverse of the blessing he had anticipated as the struggles of rival political factions in Rome caused them to be the victims of a long period of maladministration and fiscal oppression.

CHAPTER XI. ROME, ITALY, AND THE EMPIRE: 264–133 B.C.

The conquest of the hegemony of the Mediterranean world entailed the most serious consequences for the Roman state itself. Indeed, the wars which form the subject of the preceding chapters were the ultimate cause of the crisis that led to the fall of the Roman Republic. In the present chapter it will be our task to trace the changes and indicate the problems that had their origin in these wars and the ensuing conquests. Such a survey may well be begun by considering the character of the Roman government during the epoch in question.

I. THE RULE OF THE SENATORIAL ARISTOCRACY

The Roman Constitution from 265 to 133 B.C. During this period of expansion there were few changes of importance in the political organization of the Roman state. The dictatorship had been discarded, although not abolished, before the close of the Hannibalic War, a step which was in harmony with the policy of the Senate which sought to prevent any official from attaining too independent a position. In 242 B.C. a second praetorship, the office of the *praetor peregrinus* or alien praetor, was established. The duty of this officer was to preside over the trial of disputes arising between foreigners or between Roman citizens and foreigners. Two additional praetorships were added in 227 and two more in 197 B.C., in order to provide provincial governors of praetorian rank. However, a further increase in the number of these magistrates was avoided by the use of proconsuls and propraetors as provincial governors after 148 B.C. In 241 B.C. the last two rural tribal districts were created, making thirty-five tribes in all. Hereafter when new settlements of Roman colonists were undertaken or new peoples admitted to citizenship, they were assigned to one or other of the old tribes, and membership therein became hereditary, irrespective of change of residence.

At some time subsequent to the creation of these last two tribes, very probably in the censorship of Gaius Flaminius in 220 B.C., a change was made in the organization of the Centuriate Assembly. The centuries were

distributed on the basis of the tribes, an equal number of centuries of juniors and seniors of each class being assigned to each tribe.[1] Although we are ignorant of its details, this reform was evidently democratic in its nature as it diminished the relative importance of the first class, deprived the equestrian centuries of the right of casting the first vote—a right henceforth exercised by a century chosen by lot for each meeting—and placed the control of the Assembly in the hands of a less wealthy group of rural landholders than before.

By the latter part of the second century B.C., however, the Roman primary assemblies had become antiquated as vehicles for the expression of the wishes of a majority of the Roman citizens, because with the spread of the citizen body throughout Italy, the maintenance of Roman garrisons in the provinces, and the settlement of many Romans there and elsewhere outside the peninsula, it was impossible for more than a minority of the electorate to attend the meetings of either Assembly. It was the failure of the Romans to devise some adequate substitute for this institution, adequate at best for a small city-state, which was largely responsible for the people's loss of their sovereign powers. As it was, the Centuriate Assembly came to be controlled by a very small proportion of the landed citizens, while the Tribal Assembly was dominated by the urban proletariat, a class absolutely unfitted to represent the Roman citizens as a whole.

The Governing Aristocracy. The victory of the commons in the patricio-plebeian struggle had broken the patrician monopoly of political power and provided the state with institutions which gave it the appearance of a democracy. Yet it never became such in fact; and, in spite of the recognition of the sovereign power of the people, the government continued after 287 B.C. to rest, as before, in the hands of an aristocracy. But this aristocracy itself was far different from the old patrician order. The patrician *gentes,* it is true, formed an important element therein and for a long time continued to supply a large proportion of the political leaders of Rome, besides enjoying great social prestige. But in addition to the patricians, the new aristocracy included a large group of plebeian families, some of which had taken the lead in the struggle for political equality while others were immigrants to Rome from municipalities which had received the franchise and in which they had belonged to the local aristocracies. By attaining public offices and subsequent enrollment in the Senate, this plebeian element had come to join the ranks of the older aristocracy. Thereafter, community of interest, cemented by frequent intermarriage and adoptions, tended to promote a

[1] Apparently the first class now had 35 centuries of juniors and 35 of seniors. Since the number of centuries assigned to the other four classes is uncertain, we do not know whether the total was kept at 193 or increased.

feeling of solidarity among all sections of the ruling class. However, as the patrician *gentes* were gradually dying out, the aristocracy as a whole came to assume an ever increasingly plebeian character. While all families which at any time had had an ancestor in the Senate belonged to the Roman aristocracy, there were within this group distinctions based upon the rank of the offices which these ancestors had held. The highest distinction was reserved for the narrow circle of those to whom the Roman applied the term nobles or nobility (*nobiles, nobilitas*). Strictly speaking, this mark of respect was applied only to the descendants of those who had once held the highest imperium, as consuls, dictators, or military tribunes with consular power.

The new aristocracy was at one and the same time an aristocracy of wealth and an aristocracy of office. In the course of the third century the enlarged group of senatorial families succeeded in creating for themselves a real, if not legal, monopoly of the magistracies and thus of the regular gateway to the senate chamber and so tended to become a closed caste. They were able to maintain this monopoly and prevent a further enlargement of their charmed circle partly because of the expense involved in holding the public offices, which were unsalaried, and partly because of the cost of conducting the election campaigns which became increasingly great as time went on. Besides this, the demands made upon the time of magistrates and senators deterred all but persons of considerable fortune from seeking office. Furthermore the candidate whose name was that of one of the families which for generations had guided the fortunes of Rome had an enormous advantage over one of unknown ancestry. Also the great development of voluntary clientage owing to changing economic conditions, the formation of far-reaching political alliances, and the personal canvassing of influential supporters were all on the side of a son of a wealthy and prominent house. Finally, the magistrate in charge of an assembly on the election day had the right to reject the candidature of a person of whom he disapproved. In the face of such obstacles it was but rarely that anyone not *persona grata* to the majority of the senators attained the quaestorship and so made his way into the Senate. Access to the consulship, the hallmark of nobility, was even more jealously guarded. Of the 108 consuls elected from 200 to 146 B.C., only some 8 belonged to families which had not held this office previously. It was only individuals of exceptional force and ability, like Cato the Elder and in later times Marius and Cicero, who could penetrate these barriers and reach the highest office in the state. Such a one was styled a *novus homo*, a "new man" or "parvenu." This, then, was the aristocracy from which the Senate was recruited and which, through the Senate, ruled the Roman world.

The Senate's Control of Legislation and Administration. From the passing of the Hortensian Law in 287 B.C. to the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C. the Senate exercised a practically unchallenged control over the government of the Roman state. For the Senate was able to guide or nullify the actions of the magistrates, the tribunate, and the assemblies—a condition made possible by the composition of the Senate, which, in addition to the ex-magistrates, included all those above the rank of quaestor actually in office, and by the peculiar organization and limitations of the Roman popular assemblies.

The higher magistrates were simply committees of senators elected by the assemblies. Their interests were those of the Senate as a whole, and constitutional practice required them to seek its advice upon all matters of importance. The Senate assigned to the consuls and praetors their spheres of duty and appointed promagistrates and allotted them their commands; and no contracts let by the censors were valid unless approved by the Senate. Except when the consuls were in the city, the Senate controlled all expenditures from the public treasury.

The chief weapon of the tribunes, their right of veto, which had been instituted as a check upon the power of the Senate and the magistrates, became an instrument whereby the Senate bridled the tribunate itself; for, owing to the fact that after 287 B.C. the plebeians came to constitute a large proportion of those in the senate chamber, it was not difficult for this body to secure the veto of some tribune upon any measures of which it disapproved, whether they originated with a consul or another tribune.

And, because the popular assemblies could vote only upon such measures or for such candidates as were submitted to them by the presiding magistrates, the Senate through its influence over magistrates and tribunes controlled both the legislative and elective activities of the comitia.

The Senate and the Public Policy. Since the Senate was a permanent body, easily assembled and regularly summoned by the consuls to discuss all matters of public concern, it was natural that the foreign policy of the state should be entirely in its hands—subject, of course, to the right of the Centuriate Assembly to sanction the making of war or peace—and hence the organization and government of Rome's foreign possessions became a senatorial prerogative. And, likewise, it fell to the Senate to deal with all sudden crises which constituted a menace to the welfare of the state, like the spread of the Bacchanalian associations, which was ended by a senatorial decree of 186 B.C. And, finally, the Senate claimed the right to proclaim a state of martial law by passing the so-called "last decree," the *Senatus Consultum ultimum,* which authorized the magistrates to use any means whatsoever to preserve the state and had the effect of a proclamation of martial law.

Thus in spite of the fact that the Greek historian and statesman, Polybius, who was an intimate of the governing circles in Rome about the middle of the second century B.C., in looking at the form of the Roman constitution could call it a nice balance between monarchy, represented by the consuls, aristocracy, represented by the Senate, and democracy, represented by the tribunate and assemblies, in actual practice the state was governed by the Senate. From what has been said, however, it will readily be seen that the Senate's power rested mainly upon custom and precedent and upon the prestige and influence of itself as a whole and its individual members, not upon powers guaranteed by law. It is true that the Senate was not always absolute master of the situation. Between 233 and 217 B.C., the popular leader Caius Flaminius, as tribune, consul, and censor, was able to carry out a democratic policy at variance with the Senate's wishes. It was Flaminius who brought about the subdivision of the Gallic Land[2] among poorer Roman citizens in spite of the opposition of the senators, but with his death the control of the Senate became firmer than ever.

The Senate and the Scipios. The fate of the great Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, illustrates how deeply the Senate as a whole resented the attempts of any single individual to hold a dominant position in the state. For about ten years after the close of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.), Scipio was able to secure the election to the consulship of his political friends, and the philhellenic policy of Rome during this period was due largely to his influence. He himself was elected to his second consulship for 194 B.C. But even in this period he received rebuffs, as when Hannibal, whom he favored, was driven from Carthage by a senatorial commission. Again, both Africanus and his brother Lucius were recalled from the East at the termination of the latter's consulship (end of 190 B.C.), although normally a successful general was continued in his command until his campaign was brought to a conclusion. The chief spokesman of the anti-Scipionic faction was Marcus Porcius Cato, a harsh and puritanical conservative, who was opposed to Roman intervention in Greece and to Hellenic influences in Roman life. In 190 B.C. there began a series of political prosecutions through which Cato and others sought to undermine the influence of the Scipionic circle by convicting some of its members of misconduct in public affairs and the latter tried in turn to discredit their opponents. Finally, in 187 B.C., Cato sponsored a demand that Lucius Scipio give an accounting to the Senate for a sum of 500 talents which King Antiochus III had paid to him as the first installment of the indemnity imposed upon him after his defeat at Magnesia. Africanus, who refused to admit that a commander was obliged to account for his disposal of the spoils

[2] See p. 110.

won by his army, promptly tore up his account books in the presence of the Senate. But his enemies claimed that the money in question could not be regarded as spoils of war. In 184 B.C., a tribune called upon Lucius to render an account to the Tribal Assembly, and only a personal appeal of Africanus to the people caused the prosecution to be dropped for the moment. At a later meeting of the Assembly, a heavy fine was imposed upon Lucius for peculation. When he refused to give security for payment, he was saved from imprisonment only by the intervention of a friendly tribune. Although the case was not pressed further, the influence of the Scipios was broken, and Africanus retired from public life until his death in 183 B.C.

The Race for Office. From the earliest times the Senate had been divided into a number of rival groups composed of allied families which sought to monopolize as far as possible the highest offices and honors in the gift of the state. Nevertheless, in spite of such rivalries, so long as Rome was hard-pressed by her enemies and while the issue of the struggle for world empire was still in doubt, the Senate displayed to a remarkable degree the qualities of self-sacrifice and steadfastness which so largely contributed to Rome's ultimate triumph, as well as great political adroitness in conducting the foreign relations of the state. But with the passing of all external dangers, personal ambition and class interest became more and more evident to the detriment of its patriotism and prestige. Office-holding, with the opportunities it offered for ruling over subject peoples and of commanding in profitable wars, became a ready means for securing for oneself and one's friends the wealth which was needed to maintain the new standard of luxurious living now affected by the ruling class of the imperial city. The higher magistracies seemed especially valuable to the senators since they were excluded by custom from banking and undertaking public contracts and were prohibited by a Claudian Law, passed in 218 B.C., from owning ships of sufficient carrying capacity to engage in overseas commerce. As a consequence the rivalry for office became extremely keen, and the customary canvassing for votes tended to degenerate into bribery both of individuals and of the voting masses. In the latter case it took the form of entertaining the public by the elaborate exhibition of lavish spectacles in the theater and the arena.

Attempts to Restrain Abuses. However, the sense of responsibility was still strong enough in the Senate as a whole to secure the passing of legislation designed to check this evil. The Villian law (*lex Villia annalis*) of 180 B.C. established a regular sequence for the holding of the magistracies. Henceforth the quaestorship had to be held before the praetorship, and the latter before the consulate. The aedileship was not made imperative, but was regularly sought after the quaestorship, because it involved the supervision of the public games and festivals and in this way gave a good opportu-

nity for ingratiating oneself with the populace. The tribunate was not considered as one of the regular magistracies, and the censorship, according to the custom previously established, followed the consulship. The minimum age of twenty-eight years was set for the holding of the quaestorship, and an interval of two years was required between successive magistracies. Somewhat later, about 151 B.C., re-elections to the same office were forbidden. In the years 181 and 159 B.C. laws were passed which established severe penalties for the bribery of electors. Another attempt to check the same abuse was the introduction of the secret ballot for voting in the assemblies. The Gabinian Law of 139 B.C. provided for the use of the ballot in elections, two years later the Cassian Law extended its use to trials in the *comitia,* and in 131 B.C. it was finally employed in the legislative assemblies.

But these laws accomplished no great results, as they dealt merely with the symptoms, and not with the cause, of the disorder. The Roman Senate, deteriorating in capacity and morale, was facing administrative, military, and social problems, which might well have been beyond its power to solve even in the days of its greatness. As we have indicated, the Senate's prestige rested largely upon its successful foreign policy; but its initial failures in the last wars with Macedonia and Carthage, and the long and bloody struggles in Spain had weakened its reputation, and its claim to control the public policy was challenged, from the middle of the second century B.C., by the new commercial and capitalist class.

Rome and Her Allies in Italy. On the whole, the Roman state respected the treaty rights of the allies, both Latin and federate; and we hear of but few occasions when any infringement of their local independence occurred as the result of governmental action from Rome. Such trespasses as occurred were isolated acts of Roman magistrates who exceeded their authority in making demands upon the officials of allied communities, particularly in the matter of supplies and entertainment when passing through allied territory, and in punishing them for failure to obey or for showing lack of respect. There is no question that the allies made a greater military contribution than the Romans to the conquest of the empire, but this was in proportion to their population; and in the levies of the second century the number of allied troops in relation to the Romans was kept in the ratio of two to one, which had been customary before the Hannibalic War. In fact, the burden of military service was assigned more equitably than before when, in 193 B.C., the old system of calling out the allies in the numbers fixed by their treaties with Rome was abandoned in favor of regulating the contingents of the respective states in accordance with the number of their male citizens from eighteen to forty-five years of age. As for the spoils of war, which as a rule were divided among the troops by their generals, except on

one particular occasion, the allied troops received the same share as their Roman comrades in arms. Nor is it certain, as sometimes claimed, that in the assignment of public lands for colonization, the allotments made to citizens of allied communities were proportionately smaller than before. Nevertheless, it was inevitable that the growth of the Roman imperial power should react adversely upon the status of the allies. In fact, if not in law, they tended to sink into a position of greater and greater inferiority. Not only did they have no share in the government of the empire, but they were not in a position to derive the same financial advantages as the Romans from the exploitation of the subject territories outside of Italy. This disadvantage must have been felt all the more keenly since the cultural Romanization of Italy was steadily if slowly taking place and the ultimate absorption of the whole population of the peninsula into the Roman citizen body was inevitable.

And yet before 133 B.C. there was no open demand for Roman citizenship raised by the allied communities. On the contrary, down to the middle of the second century they were more concerned about maintaining their independence than with being merged into the ranks of the ruling people. In 216 B.C., the Latin town of Praeneste refused an offer of Roman citizenship. When, in the period 187–168 B.C., we find that on several occasions Latins and other allies, who had migrated to Rome and been enrolled there as Roman citizens in accordance with a long-established privilege, were removed from the rolls and forced to return to their former communities and in particular a Claudian Law of 177 B.C. ejected those who had fraudulently attained citizen status, this must not be interpreted as revealing a jealous exclusiveness on the part of the Roman government but rather a compliance with the express desires of the allied states themselves. The progressive impoverishment of the class of small farmers throughout Italy in the second century had caused many of them to leave their homes and take refuge in Rome. As a result many of the allied states had suffered a decrease in population, particularly in the elements upon which they relied for their military strength. Accordingly, they protested to the Senate against the Roman absorption of their citizens and secured their restoration to their own census lists. From the foregoing it is clear that the governing classes in the allied states valued their independence above the attractions of Roman citizenship, although great numbers of their poorer compatriots were only too ready to seek the advantages enjoyed by members of the Roman body politic. Conversely, the Romans were not so conscious of their own superior position as to pursue a narrow policy of exclusiveness towards their allies. In 189 B.C. the Campanians, who had been deprived of their partial citizenship in 210 B.C., were restored to their former position; and in the next year

full citizenship was extended to the three communities, Fundi, Formiae, and Arpinum on the southern frontiers of Latium, which formerly had only limited rights. The censors of 169 B.C. were extremely negligent in enforcing the law against fraudulent usurpation of citizenship by the allies, and there was no diminution of the right of Latins to receive Roman status after having held a magistracy in their respective towns.

II. IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION

Subjects or Allies? The annexation of Sicily in 241 and of Sardinia and Corsica in 238 B.C. raised the question whether Rome should extend to her non-Italian conquests the same treatment accorded to the Italian peoples and include them within her military federation. This question was answered in the negative, and the status of federate allies was accorded only to such communities as had previously attained this relationship or merited it by zeal in the cause of Rome and whose territory did not form a part of the Roman dominions. All the rest were treated as subjects, not as allies, even though they might be called such, and enjoyed only such rights as the conquerors chose to leave them. The distinguishing mark of their condition was their obligation to pay a tax or tribute to Rome. Except on special occasions they were not called upon to render military service. This practice, once established, was extended to all other regions subsequently incorporated in the Roman empire.

The Provinces. At first the Romans tried to conduct the administration of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica through the regular city magistrates; but finding this unsatisfactory, in 227 B.C. they created two separate administrative districts—Sicily forming one, and the other two islands the second—called "provinces" from the word *provincia,* which in ordinary usage meant the sphere of duty assigned to a particular magistrate. And in fact special magistrates were assigned to them, two additional praetors being annually elected for this purpose. In like manner the Romans in 197 organized the provinces of Hither and Farther Spain, in 148 the province of Macedonia, in 146 that of Africa, and in 129 Asia. Subsequent conquests were treated in the same way. For the Spanish provinces two more praetorships were created, "with consular authority" because of the military importance of their posts. But for those afterwards organized no new magistracies were added, and the practice was established of appointing as governor an ex-consul or ex-praetor with the title of proconsul or propraetor. This change of policy is to be explained by the opposition of the nobility to creating new praetorships, which would increase the number of candidates annually available for the consulship, and to making the corresponding increase in

the quaestorships, which would enlarge the opportunities for "new men" to enter the Senate. And it must not be forgotten that those who held magistracies in the city would welcome the innovation because it increased their chances of obtaining a provincial command with all its opportunities for acquiring wealth. This new method of appointing provincial governors subsequently became the rule for all provinces under the republican régime. As a rule the Senate decided what provinces should be "consular" and what "praetorian," but the actual allocation among eligible candidates of each rank was determined by lot subject to the possibility of rearrangement among the appointees. Occasionally, one of the regular provinces was entrusted to a consul in office, and this could be done by special legislation in the Tribal Assembly.

Provincial Government. Although each province had its own peculiar features, in general all were organized and administered in the following way. A provincial charter (*lex provinciae*), drawn up on the ground by a commission of ten senators and ratified by the Senate, fixed the rights and obligations of the provincials. Each province was an aggregate of communities (*civitates*) enjoying city or tribal organization, which had no political bond of unity except in the representative of the Roman authority. There were three classes of these communities: the free and federate, the free and nontributary, and the tributary (*civitates liberae et foederatae, liberae et immunes, stipendiariae*). The first were few in number and although within the borders of a province did not really belong to it, as they were free allies of Rome whose status was assured by a permanent treaty with the Roman state. The second class, likewise not very numerous, enjoyed exemption from taxation by virtue of the provincial charter, and this privilege the Senate could revoke at will. The third group was by far the most numerous and furnished the taxes laid upon the province. As a rule each of the communities enjoyed its former constitution and laws, subject to the supervision of the Roman authorities.

Over this aggregate of communities stood the Roman governor and his staff. We have already seen how the governor was appointed and what was his rank among the Roman magistrates. His term of office was annual but might be extended for several years by prorogation or simple failure to appoint a successor. His duties were of a threefold nature: military, administrative, and judicial. He was in command of the Roman troops stationed in the province for the maintenance of order and the protection of the frontiers; he supervised the relations between the communities of his province and their internal administration, as well as the collection of the tribute; he presided over the trial of the more serious cases arising among provincials, over all cases between provincials and Romans or between

Roman citizens. Upon entering his province, the governor published an edict, usually modelled upon that of his predecessors or the praetor's edict at Rome, stating what legal principles he would enforce during his term of office. The province was divided into judicial circuits (*conventus*), and cases arising in each of these were tried in designated places at fixed times.

The governor was accompanied by a quaestor, who acted as his treasurer and received the provincial revenue from the tax collectors. His staff also comprised three *legati* or lieutenants, senators appointed by the Senate but usually nominated by himself, whose function it was to assist him with their counsel and act as his deputies when necessary. He also took with him a number of companions (*comites*), usually young men from the families of his friends, who were given this opportunity of gaining a knowledge of provincial government and who could be used in any official capacity. In addition, the governor brought his own retinue, comprising clerks and household servants. Although he received no salary, the governor was allowed a very handsome sum for the expenses of himself and his staff.

Provincial Taxation. The taxes levied upon the provinces were at first designed to pay the expenses of occupation and defence. Hence they bore the name *stipendium,* or soldiers' pay. The term *tributum* (tribute), used of the property tax imposed on Roman citizens, did not come into general use for the provincial revenues until a later epoch. As a rule the Romans accepted the tax system already in vogue in each district before their occupancy and exacted either a fixed annual sum from the province, as in Spain, Africa, and Macedonia, or one tenth (*decuma*) of the annual produce of the soil, as in Sicily and Asia. The tribute imposed by the Romans was not higher but usually lower than that exacted by the previous rulers. The public or royal lands, mines, and forests of the conquered state were incorporated in the Roman public domain, and the right to occupy or exploit them was leased to individuals or companies of contractors. Customs dues (*portoria*) were also collected in the harbors and on the frontiers of the provinces.

The methods of collecting the taxes varied from province to province and also with the different types of taxation. Normally, where the direct tax took the form of a fixed levy (the *stipendium* in a strict sense), the total sum was apportioned among the tributary communities, which raised their respective quotas by their own methods and turned them over to the provincial quaestor. But where this tax was a percentage of the annual crops, the Romans followed the custom which they had employed in Italy and which was common throughout the Mediterranean world; that is, they leased the right to collect the tax within specific areas to the private corporations of professional tax collectors (*publicani*) who made the highest bid for the privilege and made their profits from the excess of the amount which

they collected over that which they had contracted to turn over to the state. The same method was employed in collecting indirect taxes such as customs dues, and rentals and pasturage taxes for the use of public lands in the provinces. In Sicily the *decuma* was farmed out to local *publicani;* but in Asia, as we shall see,[3] its collection was reserved for a company of Romans. It is probable that Roman companies participated in the collection of this tithe elsewhere, and most probably they monopolized the indirect taxes and rentals in all the provinces. The Roman corporations of *publicani* were joint-stock companies, with central offices in Rome and agencies in the provinces in which they were interested. A general manager (*magister*) with a board of associates directed the offices in Rome, and provincial agencies were entrusted to the care of district managers. The company officials were all members of the equestrian order; their employees might be Romans of lower standing, Italians, provincials, freedmen, or slaves.

Oppression in the Provinces. It was inevitable that the system of collecting taxes through the *publicani* should become a source of oppression for the provincials, and in fact it proved to be the greatest evil in Roman imperial administration. Interested solely in making a profit from their speculation and having no share in the government of the empire which might give them some feeling of responsibility for the well-being of the subject peoples, they extorted upon various pretexts or even by threats of violence far more than the legitimate amount of taxation. It was the duty of the governor to check their rapacity, but from want of sympathy with the oppressed and unwillingness to offend the influential businessmen of Rome this duty was rarely performed. And even with the best of will, upright governors found it all but impossible to keep the taxgatherers under control. Government circles in Rome were prefectly cognizant of the situation but were slow and ineffective in applying remedies. As the historian Livy[4] expressed it: "Wherever there are publicani, public laws are disregarded and the allies have lost their freedom." Another cause of oppression was to be found in the activities of the Roman bankers and moneylenders (*negotiatores*) who swarmed all over the provinces and even in adjacent districts where they might still have some protection from Roman authority. They were particularly numerous in the Greek East, where the cities were in a state of chronic bankruptcy and where they could place loans at exorbitant rates of interest. The bankers were drawn from the same class of Roman society as the *publicani,* but in many cases they were agents of senators, who were prohibited from engaging directly in financial transactions of this nature. Consequently, when the *negotiatores* called upon the governors to

[3] Page 181.
[4] Bk. XLV, 18, 4.

help them collect outstanding debts, the latter frequently complied out of regard for their own political future. By placing soldiers at the disposal of the creditors or quartering troops upon delinquent communities, they forced the debtors to meet their obligations even if it meant their utter ruin.

A further source of misgovernment lay in the greed of the governor and his staff. The temptations of unrestricted power proved too great for the morality of the average Roman. It is true that there were not wanting Roman governors who maintained the highest traditions of Roman integrity in public office, but there were also only too many who abused their power to enrich themselves. While the shortness of his term of office prevented a good governor from thoroughly understanding the conditions of his province, it served to augment the criminal zeal with which an avaricious magistrate, often heavily indebted from the expenses of his election campaigns, sought to wring a fortune for the hapless provincials. Bribes, presents, illegal exactions, and open confiscations were the chief means of amassing wealth. In this the almost sovereign position of the governor, with his military command and abolute power of life and death over all persons in the province and his freedom from immediate senatorial control, guaranteed him a free hand.

Attempts to Repress Extortion. Since the control of provincial administration was vested by custom in the Senate, that body exercised a general supervision over the governor's conduct. Upon his return to Rome, it examined his accounts, his arrangements, and his claims to the honor of a triumph for his military exploits. Deputations from the provincial communities approached the Senate to complain of a governor's action or, often under pressure, to commend his conduct. Grievances on the part of a province might be championed by prominent Romans who were its hereditary patrons. At first complaints might be taken before the tribunals which tried damage suits or might be made the basis of prosecutions before the Tribal Assembly. But none of these methods proved effective in putting an end to the abuses. Finally, the mischief became so serious that in 149 B.C. the public conscience awoke to the wrong and ruin inflicted upon the provinces, and by a Calpurnian Law a standing court was instituted for the trial of suits for the recovery of damages from officials accused of extortion in the provinces (*quaestio rerum repetundarum*). This court was composed of fifty jurors drawn from the Senate and was presided over by a praetor. From its judgment there was no appeal. Its establishment marks an important innovation in Roman legal procedure in criminal cases, for hitherto all persons accused of serious crimes had either to be tried originally before an assembly of the people or

could appeal to it from a magistrate's judgment. It is possible also that the Senate was encouraged to undertake the organization of new provinces shortly after 149 because it believed that this court would serve as an adequate means of controlling the provincial governors. But it was useless to expect very much from such a tribunal. The cost of a long trial at Rome, the difficulty of securing testimony, the inadequacy of the penalty provided, which was limited to restitution of the damage inflicted, as well as the fear of vengeance from future governors, would deter the majority of sufferers from seeking reparation. Nor could an impartial verdict be expected from a jury of senators trying one of their own number for an offense which many of them regarded as their prerogative. And so till the end of the Republic the provincials suffered from the oppression of their governors, as well as from that of the tax-collectors.

III. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The epoch of Roman expansion between 264 and 133 B.C. was marked by important and almost revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of Rome and Italy. An inevitable result of the extension of Rome's political suzerainty over the Mediterranean world was that the population of Italy was brought into closer contact with lands of older culture and more advanced economic development in the Greek East. Thus the Romans and their Italian allies felt the impact of Hellenistic civilization in all its aspects and hastened to appropriate for themselves for good or ill whatever of its features appealed to them. Italian agriculture, in particular, benefited by the introduction of new varieties of fruit trees and garden crops, of improved farm implements and superior agricultural techniques. In order to meet the needs of empire, the Romans abandoned their coinage based on a bronze standard for one based on a silver standard,[5] such as was common among the Hellenistic states. The new Roman coinage not only speedily supplanted the products of other Italian mints but gradually won for itself a dominant position throughout the Mediterranean. In Italy, the most important developments of the period were the rise of large estates operated by slave labor, the decline of the free Italian peasantry, the growth of a numerous urban proletariat in Rome, the formation of a distinct Roman business and commercial class, and the introduction of a new scale of living among the well-to-do.

The Great Estates. Several causes contributed to the rapid growth of the great estates (called by the Romans *latifundia*) as the dominant factor in Italian agriculture. Among them were the Roman system of administer-

[5] See p. 94.

ing the public domain, the devastation of the rural districts of South Italy in the Hannibalic War, the inability of the small proprietors to maintain themselves in the face of the demands of military service and the competition of the *latifundia,* and the abundant supply of cheap slave labor provided by the numerous prisoners of war.

For centuries it had been the established practice that those portions of the public land which had not been assigned for colonization should be open to occupation by citizens of Rome or allied communities for purposes of cultivation or pasturage. In return for this privilege, the occupants were expected to pay a rental to the Roman treasury which amounted to one tenth of the produce in the case of field crops, one fifth in the case of fruits, and in that of pasture lands took the form of a tax based on the number of cattle or other animals grazed thereon. The amount of land available for occupation by private individuals was increased greatly as a result of Hannibal's campaign in Italy. In the southern part of the peninsula he had destroyed some four hundred communities, and the lands left depopulated and ownerless were taken over by the Roman state. In addition, the Romans punished the states which had gone over to Hannibal by the confiscation of a large portion of their territory, as a rule one third. The transplanting of 40,000 Ligurians from their native country to Samnium in 180 B.C. indicates how much waste land was at the disposal of the Roman government and may possibly be interpreted as an attempt to repeople this region. If so, except for attempts to colonize some of the coastal towns, it remained an isolated effort, and the bulk of the public land in the south continued to be free for individual exploitation.

Here, as elsewhere in Italy, those who profited most from this opportunity were the wealthier landholders, who could command the labor necessary to bring considerable areas under cultivation and possessed sufficient capital to stock the new farms or easily to acquire large flocks and herds to run at a profit on the pastures. The advantages which the landed aristocracy derived from the public land policy explains, in part at least, the opposition of the Senate to the division of the *ager Gallicus* for colonization in 233 B.C.[6] After the lapse of several generations, the occupants of public lands came to look upon them as family property. In many cases all records of the original conditions of tenure and of the boundaries of the particular plots had disappeared, and the rentals had ceased to be paid to the state.

By the second century B.C. new conditions had arisen which favored still further the rise of the *latifundia.* Ever since 218 B.C., members of the senatorial order had been prohibited by law from engaging directly in

[6] See p. 181.

commercial enterprises outside of Italy.[7] Since banking and contracting were considered beneath the dignity of a senator, while agriculture ranked as the most honorable gainful occupation, the governing class in Rome was practically compelled to invest in Italian land the new capital that it acquired from the conquest and administration of the empire. Not only did it seek to increase its holdings on the public land but also to buy up the farms of the smaller proprietors wherever possible. At the same time, the new trends in Italian agriculture which developed under the influence of Hellenistic practices favored the capitalist farmer at the expense of his peasant neighbor.

Possibly because of a decline in the yield of grain owing to soil erosion and too prolonged cultivation of a single staple crop, but certainly also owing to the new demands of the Roman market, new and more profitable crops were introduced. The grain fields gave way to vineyards, olive orchards, market gardens, and, particularly in South Italy, to extensive grazing ranches. Farming became much more businesslike than heretofore. It was carried on by improved methods, and both expenses and profits were calculated with great care. Production was no longer chiefly for domestic needs but definitely directed towards an outside market. This type of agriculture was already highly developed in the Near East, in Carthaginian Africa, and in Sicily; and it was from these regions that the Romans drew their lessons in the new farm economy. About 150 B.C., Cato the Censor wrote his book *On Agriculture,* a practical manual for the owner of a large estate; and some four years later the Roman Senate had translated into Latin the much more elaborate work of the Carthaginian Mago, of which a great deal must have been applicable to Italy although much probably had to do with conditions peculiar to Africa. The typical Italian *latifundia* were not very large when judged by American standards. Holdings of 100 and 240 *iugera* (66 and 158 acres) fall into this class, and they would not be considered more than average farms. But in ancient Italy where, owing to the absence of agricultural machinery, the normal size of a farm tilled by a single family was from 4 to 8 acres, they constituted substantial domains. And many of the great proprietors owned a number of these farms scattered in various parts of the peninsula. According to Cato, a farm of 100 *iugera* required the labor of 16 slaves, in addition to workers hired for specific tasks like harvesting an olive crop. It is easy to see how the Italian peasant, who had no other capital than his tools and the labor of himself and family, could not compete with the wealthy landholder. He could not afford to set out a vineyard or olive grove and wait the necessary number of years until it produced a profitable

[7] See p. 144.

crop. Nor could he provide the summer pasture in the hills and the winter pasture in the coastal lowlands that were needed for successful grazing.

For the development of the *latifundia,* an abundant supply of cheap labor was essential. Throughout the second century this was furnished by the great numbers of captives taken in the course of Rome's victorious wars, who flooded the slave markets of the Mediterranean. And when these failed to meet the demand, the deficit was made good by the piratical slave-raiders of the Greek East. It has been estimated that some 250,000 prisoners of war were brought to Italy as slaves between 200 and 150 B.C. In addition to the imported slaves, large numbers were bred on the estates to be a source of profit to their masters. So long as slaves could be procured cheaply, they were preferred to hired free labor because they were not liable to be drafted for military service and could be exploited ruthlessly without fear of the consequences. Cato's directions for handling slaves show that they were treated like cattle, and he callously recommended that they be turned out to starve when they were no longer fit for profitable work. On the plantations, for so we may call the *latifundia,* the slaves often worked in irons and at night were housed in underground prisons. The potential danger of the presence of large masses of slaves so brutally treated came to light in the First Sicilian Slave War, which broke out in 135 B.C. In this struggle some 70,000 slaves revolted and defied the Roman arms for a period of three years. At the same time there occurred minor revolts in Italy, which were suppressed with great severity.

The Decline of the Small Farmers. The spread of the *latifundia* was accompanied by a corresponding decline in the numbers of the peasant farmers throughout Italy. This was due in part to the fact that in certain areas the competition of the big estates made small farming unprofitable and that the great proprietors resorted to illegal means to oust the peasants from their holdings on the public land and seized every opportunity to buy up their private allotments. But a still more serious cause was the burden imposed upon the peasantry by the foreign wars of Rome. Since only citizens who had a property assessment of 4,000 asses were eligible to military service and since the great majority of them were engaged in agricultural pursuits, the Roman armies were recruited mainly from the rural population. And when the Roman wars were no longer fought on Italian soil but all over the Mediterranean area and when it became necessary to maintain garrisons in some of the provinces, the armies could no longer be disbanded in the autumn and reassembled for the summer campaigns so that the peasant soldiers could return to their farms to attend to at least part of the necessary agricultural tasks. Once in the ranks, the Roman soldier was kept away from his home for several years in

succession, to the inevitable detriment of his fields and his finances. These prolonged periods of military service with the chances of temporary profits from the spoils of war often unfitted men for the steady, laborious life of the farm. Many discharged soldiers, returning to farms which had been mortgaged for the support of their families and being unable or unwilling to gain a livelihood on their small holdings, were only too glad to sell out to their richer neighbors. There was no room for them as tenants on private land, and work as farm laborers was seasonal and very uncertain. Many of them drifted to Rome to swell the growing numbers of the idle mob; others migrated to Cisalpine Gaul, where new lands were still available for small farmers. Losses in war also made a heavy drain upon the Italian peasantry. This was particularly true of the disastrous Spanish campaigns between 154 and 133 B.C. The net result was that the census lists of Roman citizens of military age, which had shown a gradual recovery from the effects of the Second Punic War, recorded a steady decline between 164 and 136 B.C. Between these years the numbers sank from 337,000 to 317,000, indicating a loss of about 20,000, whereas the normal increase should have been at least 50,000. The falling-off is to be accounted for partly by the failure of those who had lost their lands to report for registration at the census. Under these conditions it became increasingly difficult to raise the necessary levies, and the tribunes intervened on several occasions to spare the peasants from the draft. The rural population among the Roman allies suffered in the same way as the Romans themselves, as is indicated by their migration to Rome on such a large scale that their native cities had to ask the Senate to force them to return to their homes.[8] A very serious military problem began to confront the Senate. Unless it was willing to adopt a nonaggressive foreign policy and give up its distant foreign possessions, it must continue to raise armies to prosecute wars of conquest and to garrison and defend the provinces. And these increasing military obligations had to be met by a population declining in manpower.

The Romans were not altogether blind to the consequences of the expansion of the great estates. As early as 367 (362) B.C., if we may believe the tradition recorded by Livy, they had placed a limit of 500 *iugera* (330 acres) upon the size of individual holdings and also restricted the number of animals which any one person might run on the public pastures. But the former restriction had soon become a dead letter, and the public pastures had been taken up by private occupants. Much later, possibly between 180 and 170 B.C., another law was passed which forbade anyone to hold more than 500 *iugera* of public land or to maintain more than 100

[8] See p. 146.

head of cattle or 500 head of smaller stock. Here the attempt to preserve the small farmer by checking the spread of the *latifundia* was combined with an effort to prevent the encroachment of grazing lands upon areas under cultivation. But the restrictions of the new law were openly disregarded, and the Senate felt both unwilling and unable to bring transgressors to account. Once occupied, public land was looked upon as an hereditary possession. In 173 B.C., the Senate authorized one of the consuls to fix the boundaries of public and private lands in Campania in order to check the encroachment of the latter upon the former. Nevertheless, in 162 B.C., it found the whole region in the hands of private possessors and succeeded in recovering only 50,000 *iugera* by actually buying it back from the occupants. Victory rested with the great proprietors. Nevertheless, the whole of Italy was not affected equally by the growth of the *latifundia*. In South Italy, Campania, Latium, and Etruria they dominated the scene, but in the highlands of Central Italy and Umbria the sturdy Italian peasants still held their own.

The Growth of the City Mob. Rome itself, as well as the Italian peninsula, underwent a profound transformation during the period of conquest that began with the First Punic War. As a result of this process, the City of the Seven Hills had become alike the political and the economic center of the Mediterranean world. By 133 B.C. it had a population of at least half a million, rivalling Alexandria and Antioch, the great Hellenistic capitals. Although not a great manufacturing city, Rome had always been important as a market, and now her streets were thronged with traders from all lands and with persons who could cater in any way to the wants and the appetites of an imperial city. There was a large proportion of slaves belonging to the mansions of the wealthy and of freedmen engaged in business for themselves or for their patrons. Hither flocked also the peasants who for various reasons had abandoned their agricultural pursuits to pick up a precarious living in the city or to depend upon the bounty of the patrons to whom they attached themselves in voluntary clientage, for there was no industrial development to absorb their labor and they knew no trade but agriculture.

The entertainments and largesses of food which characterized the public festivals and election campaigns both attracted this element and helped to support it in idleness. Owing to the slowness of transportation by land and its uncertainties by sea, the congestion of population in Rome made the problem of supplying the city with food one of great difficulty, since a rise in the price of grain or a delay in the arrival of the Sicilian wheat convoy would bring the proletariat to the verge of starvation. And upon the popular assemblies the presence of this unstable element had an un-

wholesome effect. The Assembly of the Tribes in particular was now dominated by residents of the city who were still registered in their rural tribes and could always attend the meetings, and its actions were bound to be determined by the particular interests and passions of this portion of the citizen body. Furthermore, non-citizens as well as citizens could frequent the *contiones* or mass meetings called to hear political addresses, and this afforded a ready means for evoking the mob spirit in the hope of over-awing the Comitia, which was only too ready to favor proposals which promised it some pecuniary advantage. This danger would not have been present if the Roman constitution had provided adequate means for policing the city. As it was, however, beyond the magistrates and their personal attendants, there were no persons authorized to maintain order in the city. And since the consuls lacked military authority within the *pomerium,* there were no armed forces at their disposal.

The Rise of the Business Class. The restrictions placed by law and custom upon the business activities of members of the senatorial order naturally led to the appearance of a prosperous business class outside of the governing aristocracy. Its rise was stimulated by the Roman practice of depending as much as possible upon individual initiative for the conduct of public business. This opened up a wide field of state contracts to persons who had some free capital and the necessary business enterprise. By the middle of the second century B.C., contracts were let for the construction of public works of various sorts, the operation of the Spanish and the reopened Macedonian mines, the collection of rentals from public lands in Italy and of harbor dues in Italy, Sicily, and Spain. Persons who undertook such contracts were called publicans (*publicani*). They did not have to be men of very great means because they were permitted to form joint stock companies with limited liability, although this was not legal in private business enterprises, and so could obtain the necessary capital from small as well as large shareholders. Banking, which included moneylending, was another profitable form of business activity both in Italy and in the provinces. We know that bankers paid interest on deposits, which indicates that they found ample opportunities to make successful investments. Although as yet Roman businessmen did not engage actively in foreign enterprises, they doubtless controlled a large share of the local trade of Rome. We may be sure that they were active in the shipping business, particularly in the transportation of the grain collected as taxes in Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa and transported to Rome. If there had been no profits for Romans in owning ships of seagoing capacity, senators would not have been forbidden to have such; and the inference is that the business class was interested in freeing itself from the competition of the still wealthier element in the

state. Industry did not as yet offer many opportunities for Roman businessmen. There was little manufacturing for export from Italy, and most of the necessary articles were produced locally. There was, however, a steady demand for arms and armor for the Roman armies and for agricultural implements of all sorts. But a large proportion of these articles were supplied by Etruria and the cities of Campania, so that their production was controlled mainly by Roman allies and not by the Romans themselves.

The Equestrian Order. The more prosperous members of the business class belonged to what was known as the equestrian order. This was made up of those who were registered in the 18 centuries of equites who voted in the Centuriate Assembly. They included the 1800 cavalrymen from 18 to 45 years of age who were supplied with horses at the public expense, others of the same age who were able to furnish their own horses, and men over 45 who were no longer eligible for active cavalry duty but still possessed the property qualification necessary for enrollment in the equestrian centuries. Among the juniors were included sons of senators who had not yet held a magistracy which made them eligible for the Senate. As soon as they attained such an office and in any event after the close of their 45th year, they were automatically dropped from the list of the equestrians. But with the increase in the number of landholders and businessmen, the proportion of members of senatorial families among the equestrians became continually smaller, so that the two orders came to represent different and often rival interests. In general, the equestrians supported an aggressive foreign policy with the ruthless exploitation of conquered peoples for the benefit of Roman capitalists.

The New Scale of Living. As we have had occasion to note in other connections, in the course of their campaigns in Sicily, Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor, the Romans came into close contact with a civilization older and higher than their own, where the art of living was practised with a refinement and elegance unknown in Latium. In this respect the conquerors showed themselves only too ready to learn from the conquered, and all the luxurious externals of culture were transplanted to Rome. But the old Periclean motto, "refinement without extravagance," did not appeal to the Romans, who, like typical *nouveaux riches,* vied with one another in the extravagant display of their wealth. The simple Roman house with its one large *atrium,* serving at once as kitchen, living room, and bed chamber, was completely transformed. The *atrium* became a pillared reception hall, special rooms were added for the various phases of domestic life, in the rear of the *atrium* arose a Greek peristyle courtyard, and the house was filled with costly sculptures and other works of art, plundered or purchased in the cities of Hellas. Banquets were served on silver plate and exhibited the

rarest and costliest dishes. The homes of the wealthy were thronged with retinues of slaves, each specially trained for some particular task; the looms of the East supplied garments of delicate texture. A wide gulf yawned between the life of the rich and the life of the poor.

Taxes on Luxuries. But the change did not come about without vigorous opposition from the champions of the old Roman simplicity of life, who saw in the new refinement and luxury a danger to Roman vigor and morality. The spokesman of the reactionaries was Cato the Elder, who in his censorship in 184 B.C. assessed articles of luxury and expensive slaves at ten times their market value and made them liable to taxation at an exceptionally high rate, in case the property tax should be levied. But such action was contrary to the spirit of the age; the next censors let his regulations fall into abeyance. Attempts to check the growth of luxury by legislation were equally futile. The Oppian Law restricting female extravagance in dress and ornaments, passed under stress of the need for conservation in 215 B.C., was repealed in 195; and subsequent attempts at sumptuary legislation in 181, 161, and 143 were equally in vain.

Recapitulation. In 133 B.C. the Roman state stood face to face with a series of problems which taken together formed an extremely critical situation. The economic basis of Roman society was unhealthy. Rome was now living largely from the exploitation of the provinces. The income derived from this source passed mainly into the hands of the office-holding aristocracy and, to a lesser degree, the business class. The lower classes profited little therefrom, and their condition had deteriorated steadily as the empire had expanded. The same was true of most of the Roman allies in Italy. A far-reaching economic reform was needed, which would do away with the idle proletariat by providing it with profitable occupations in industrial or commercial pursuits or by rendering agriculture again attractive to the small farmer. At the same time political reforms were urgently required. The popular assemblies and the magistrates, organs of government adapted to a city-state, were proving incompetent to grapple with the problems of imperial administration. Signs of dissatisfaction were appearing among the Latin and Italian allies. The military resources of the state were declining, while its military burdens were growing greater than ever. The threat of mob violence and famine hung over Rome itself. And this crisis had to be met at a time when the ruling class had begun to display unmistakable symptoms of a deteriorating public morality and the Senate and the equestrians were about to begin a struggle for the control of the government.

IV. CULTURAL PROGRESS

Greek Influences. In addition to creating new administrative problems and transforming the economic life of Italy, the expansion of Rome gave a tremendous impulse to its cultural development. The chief stimulus thereto was the close contact with Hellenic civilization. We have seen already how Rome had been subject to Greek influences both indirectly through Etruria and directly from the Greek cities of South Italy, but with the conquest of the latter and the occupation of Sicily, Greece, and part of Asia Minor these influences became infinitely more immediate and powerful. They were intensified by the number of Greeks who flocked to Rome as ambassadors, teachers, physicians, merchants, and artists, and by the multitude of educated Greek slaves employed in Roman households. As the Hellenic civilization was more ancient and had reached a higher stage than the Latin, it was inevitable that the latter should borrow largely from the former and consciously or unconsciously imitate it in many respects. In fact the intellectual life of Rome never attained the freedom and richness of that of Greece, upon which it was always dependent. In this domain, as Horace later phrased it, "Captive Greece took captive her rude conqueror."

New Tendencies in Roman Education. One very important consequence of the contact with Hellenism was that Roman education developed new forms and ideals. The upper classes were no longer content with the traditional limited outlook of a training based on familiarity with ancestral customs but in the course of the third and second centuries demanded an acquaintance with Greek literature, rhetoric, and philosophy. The appreciation of these studies was stimulated greatly by the visits to Rome of some of the most famous intellectual figures of the Hellenistic World, such as the Stoic philosopher Panaetius of Rhodes and Carneades, the founder of the New Academy at Athens, both of whom came to Rome on diplomatic missions. In general, the Hellenistic point of view that training in rhetoric and philosophy should equip a man to attain success in public and private life through the practice of virtue accorded well with the practical tendencies of Roman character and helped to develop a broader Roman conception of cultured citizenship expressed in the word humanity (*humanitas*). Among the chief patrons of Hellenism were men of the type of Scipio Africanus the Elder; notably Titus Flamininus, Aemilius Paulus, and Scipio Aemilianus, at whose house gathered the leading intellectuals of the day, including the Achaean historian Polybius. However, in spite of the genuine admiration for Greek achievement aroused by the study of the masterpieces

of Greek literature, the political ineptitude of their Greek contemporaries caused the Romans to regard them with a certain degree of contempt.

A knowledge of Greek now became an essential part of the equipment of every educated man, and the demand for instruction in that language and in the other elementary subjects requisite for advanced cultural studies led to the appearance of schools conducted by professional teachers. Nevertheless Roman practice remained hostile to any obligatory system of public education, and each parent directed his children's training as he saw fit. Consequently, the schools were privately conducted, for the most part under the patronage or even in the houses of men of prominence. The teachers were drawn mainly from educated slaves or freedmen, usually of Greek origin, and accordingly enjoyed little public esteem. To a certain degree those who conducted schools of rhetoric and philosophy shared in this lack of respect for they too were Greeks, although freemen and of a higher social standing. The new tendencies were vigorously opposed by the conservative Cato, who regarded Greek influences as demoralizing. Following the old Roman custom, he personally trained his sons and had no sympathy with a philhellenic policy in education or politics. And he was by no means alone in his opposition, for, in 161 B.C., the Senate passed a decree banishing from Rome all teachers of philosophy and rhetoric. But this reactionary policy was unavailing, and the decree soon became a dead letter. In the end even Cato had to yield so far as to learn Greek and study Greek literature.

Persistence of Older Customs and Ideals. In many respects the Romans remained faithful to their traditional ideals. They continued to lay more stress upon the educative value of practical experience and home environment than upon literary studies and kept up the practices which had had their origins in an earlier period. Among these was the custom of entrusting a young man to an older person of reputation, whom he should attend constantly and who should be his model in both public and private life. Another custom peculiar to Rome was that of the funeral procession and panegyric oration accorded to the distinguished members of each aristocratic family. In the funeral cortège death masks of the deceased's ancestors were worn by mourners who were clad in the robes of office they had worn and bore inscriptions recording their titles and honors. At the grave or before the funeral pyre an oration was delivered which set forth the glory of the dead and the services which he and his house had rendered to the state. By this reminder of the greatness of their ancestors the noble Roman youths were inspired to emulate their achievements and character.

The Rise of Roman Literature. It has been brought out already how little in the way of literature the native Roman genius had produced be-

fore the age of the Punic Wars. But the close contact with Hellenistic civilization which had such a powerful effect upon other aspects of Roman life created both a taste and a demand for literary works of various sorts. At first these developed in close imitation of Greek models; and as usual in the history of literature, poetry preceded prose.

The pioneer in the new movement was Livius Andronicus (*ca.* 284–204 B.C.), a Greek freedman from Tarentum, who translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin Saturnian verse to supply the want of a literary text for school use. In 240 B.C., at the request of the aediles, he translated a Greek tragedy and comedy for production at the public games in Rome. These were followed by numerous other translations and adaptations, as well as a hymn to the gods which he composed on the occasion of the invasion of Hasdrubal in 207 B.C. A contemporary of Andronicus, the Italian Cnaeus Naevius (*ca.* 270–199 B.C.), showed greater independence and versatility. Not only did he create new plays by combining plots taken from two Greek originals, but he also wrote plays with purely Roman subjects. Perhaps his most notable achievement, however, was an epic poem on the First Punic War, written in the native Saturnian meter. This probably gave inspiration to Quintus Ennius (239–169 B.C.), a Messapian who became a Roman citizen, to write a great narrative poem called the *Annals*, in which he recounted the history of Rome from its legendary beginnings until close to the time of his death. The *Annals* enjoyed great popularity in Rome through many generations, but of its eighteen books only six hundred lines have survived. For this epic, Ennius replaced the old Saturnian verse by the Latin hexameter which he himself developed in imitation of the Greek. Ennius was also distinguished as a tragic writer, and he produced other smaller works in which he brought current Greek philosophic ideas to the attention of the Roman public.

Dramatic literature developed rapidly under the demand for plays to be presented at the public festivals. The first Latin poet to devote himself entirely to the comic stage was the Umbrian, T. Maccius Plautus (*ca.* 254–184 B.C.), from whose pen twenty-one plays survive. He drew both plots and characters from the Greek comedy of manners; but his wit, like his language and meter, were genuinely Italian. Another interesting figure among the comedians of the second century was Caecilius Statius, a captive from the Gallic tribe of the Insubres, who copied Greek models closely but was noted for the ingenuity of his plots. Better known, however, is Terence (P. Terentius Afer, *ca.* 195–159 B.C.), who came as a slave from Africa to Rome, where he received his education and his freedom. Of lesser genius than Plautus, he shows in his six plays, all of which have survived, a similar dependence on Greek predecessors but a greater cleverness in his

plots, more careful development of his characters, and a much purer and more elegant Latin style. The chief tragedians were Pacuvius (*ca.* 220–*ca.* 130 B.C.) and Accius (170–*ca.* 86 B.C.). Both based their plays largely upon the works of the Athenian dramatists Sophocles and Euripides. In both comedy and tragedy Greek plots and characters were abandoned gradually for those of Roman origin, but tragedy rapidly declined in popularity for the Roman public was in general too uneducated to appreciate its worth and preferred pageants, comedies, mimes, and gladiatorial combats.

A distinctly Roman contribution to poetic literature was the satire, a poem devoted to the informal criticism of one or more subjects of human interest. Its creator was Gaius Lucilius (180–102 B.C.), a native of southern Latium but a Roman of equestrian rank. He called his poems "talks" (*sermones*), but they later received the popular name of satires because their colloquial language and the variety of their subjects recalled the native Italian medley of prose and verse, narrative and drama, known as the *satura.*

Latin prose developed more slowly. In fact, the first prose literary works of the period were written in Greek. Earliest among them was the history of Rome from its origins to the end of the Second Punic War compiled about 200 B.C. by Fabius Pictor, a member of the Roman Senate. His work was annalistic in form and was based upon the annals of the pontiffs and such other documentary records as were available, but it depended also upon oral tradition. Pictor chose to write in Greek, both because the only available historical models were in that language and because he wished Greeks to read his account of the growth of Roman power. Cincius Alimentus, a contemporary of Pictor, wrote another history of the same sort beginning with 729 B.C., also in Greek; and other annalists continued to use Greek during the first half of the second century B.C. But in the meantime, the first historical work in Latin prose was produced by Cato the Elder, here as elsewhere the foe of Hellenic influences. His *Origins,* an account of the beginnings of Rome and other Italian states and of the wars of Rome from 264 B.C. to 150 B.C., was a rambling, disconnected narrative interrupted by lengthy discussions of matters of various sorts. Although the *Origins* has perished, Cato's earlier work on agriculture has survived and is the oldest work in Latin prose to be preserved intact. After Cato, Latin became the language of the Roman historical writers. Many annalistic works were written by members of the aristocracy who from the first had adopted the writing of history as a task worthy of their attention. A beginning was also made with historical studies of a higher type, not merely chronological narratives but analysis and interpretation as well. Such was the history of the Second Punic War by Coelius Antipater. Closely

related to historical studies was the publication of personal memoirs and collections of letters, which had its beginning in this period. There was also a small amount of more specialized and scientific writing, including works on constitutional law, astronomy, and natural history.

Jurisprudence. In the field of legal writing we find a specific achievement of the Roman genius, affected but little by Greek influences. Roman legal literature was an outgrowth of the need for the interpretation by competent persons of the law as laid down in the code of the Twelve Tables and other enactments. At first, this interpretation took the form of advice given by the pontiffs to magistrates or private individuals who sought their aid in determining the law as applied to definite cases. Tiberius Coruncanius, who became the first plebeian pontifex maximus in 253 B.C., apparently began the practice of admitting to his discussions of legal problems any persons who were interested in improving their knowledge of the law. His example was followed by others who did not belong to the pontifical college. In this way there grew up in the governing class at Rome a group of legal specialists called *iuris prudentes* or *iuris consulti,* "men learned in the law." They did not limit themselves to giving oral discussions and advice but soon began to write books on various aspects of the law. One of the earliest of these legal writers, who may be regarded as the founder of Roman juristic literature was Sextus Aelius Paetus, consul in 198 B.C., whose ability won him the nickname of Catus, "the shrewd." He published a work which later generations regarded as "the cradle of the law." It contained three parts; one devoted to an exposition of the law of the Twelve Tables, the second to its interpretation, and the third to the methods of legal procedure. Paetus was followed by a long line of juristic writers, among whom were Cato the Censor and his son, whose fame as a lawyer excelled that of his father. It must be remembered that the jurisconsults were not professional lawyers in the modern sense. They were members of the senatorial order who from time to time held various public offices. They did not practice law as a business and took no fees for their services but pursued the study of the law because of its importance in the conduct of their official tasks and the high esteem in which legal knowledge was held in Roman society. Through their interpretations, which shaped the decisions of magistrates and judges, the jurisconsults exercised a great influence upon the way in which Roman law was understood and enforced.

The Praetor's Edict. The most important line of development in Roman law was through the edicts issued by the annual magistrates, especially those whose duties were largely of a judicial character, as the city praetor and the praetor for the aliens in Rome and the provincial governors. Of these the chief was the edict of the city praetor who administered the law

for Roman citizens throughout Italy. At the beginning of his term of office the praetor stated in his edict the principles which he would observe in enforcing the laws and the conditions under which he would admit prosecutions for redress of grievances. In this way both new legal principles and new remedies were introduced into the law by virtue of the praetor's magisterial authority without resort to legislation. Thus, as a later Roman jurist expressed it, the purpose of the edict was "to aid, supplement, and correct" the civil law. A noticeable improvement was made in methods of procedure. Partly in addition to, and partly in place of, the old actions at law which were limited in number and unalterable in language, the praetor issued formulas suited to the individual cases brought before him. That is to say, he laid the claim of the plaintiff before the judge in a formal statement and instructed the judge to render his decision according as the evidence supported or contradicted the condition so set forth. The formulary procedure proved so flexible and efficient that the Aebutian Law, passed some time in the latter half of the second century B.C., formally approved it and paved the way for the disappearance of the old actions at law. In general, the praetor's edict served the interests of equity in contrast to a strict interpretation of the law. Each praetor's edict was valid only for his own term of office, but it became the custom for a new praetor to incorporate into his own edict most or all of that of his predecessor. So reforms once introduced were perpetuated, and the edict grew to be a document of considerable length and came to need interpretation by the jurists just as the Twelve Tables did.

Religion. During the period of imperial expansion the penetration of Roman religion by Greek influences was even more marked than heretofore. This penetration followed the already established paths of the identification of Greek and Roman divinities of similar attributes and the wholesale adoption of Greek mythological lore. By the close of the third century B.C. there was formally recognized in Rome a group of twelve greater divinities who were identical with the twelve Olympic gods of Greece. The minor Latin divinities fell rapidly into neglect, while their place was taken by ones of Greek origin. The transformation of the old impersonal Roman deities into anthropomorphic Hellenic gods is reflected in the acceptance of Greek types for their representation in sculptured form, a strong demand for which arose with the acquaintance with the works of art carried off from Syracuse and other Greek cities.

In the addition of Greek gods to the list of the deities officially worshipped in Rome and in the acceptance of Greek ritualistic practices, the Sibylline oracles played a large part. At critical moments during the First and Second Punic Wars, when the state seemed in danger and appeals to the older

gods were ineffectual, these oracles were consulted and frequently were interpreted as authorizing a new cult or a new ceremony. A good example of this comes from the year 205 B.C., when the oracles were said to have recommended the institution of the cult of the Great Mother of Pessinus in Asia Minor. In the next year, this cult was formally established with the transfer of the cult image, a black stone, from Pessinus to Rome. The Great Mother was not a Greek divinity but a nature goddess whose worship was native to Asia Minor but somewhat rationalized by Hellenic influences. Shocked by the wildly emotional character of this worship conducted by a professional priesthood of mutilated devotees, the Senate forbade Roman citizens to participate in it.

In general the Senate was strongly conservative in its religious attitude, as is shown in its suppression of the Bacchanalian societies in 186 B.C. Throughout South Italy the worship of Dionysus or Bacchus had flourished from an early date among the Greek population. Captives carried northward as slaves from this area in the wake of the war with Hannibal spread its rites throughout Campania and Etruria and introduced them to Rome itself. The adherents of the cult formed religious associations which practised its mystical ceremonies in secret. Rightly or wrongly some of the members of these associations were accused and convicted of crimes of violence and immoral practices. Upon investigation, the Senate concluded that the societies were engaged in a conspiracy against the state and ordered the consuls to disband them both on Roman and allied territory. It is probable that the criminal charges were greatly exaggerated and that the real grounds for action were the illegality of secret associations, a temporary reaction against the Hellenism favored by the Scipionic circle, and a genuinely Roman aversion to orgiastic religious rites. But in spite of the suppression of the associations, the Senate did not forbid the worship of Dionysus by individuals under official supervision. In this we see an expression of a definite religious policy. On the one hand, the Roman state does not inquire into matters of belief, but on the other, it does not tolerate the performance of ceremonies which appear contrary to Roman standards of propriety and morality. This mistrust of foreign cults and their ritual observances also explains the banishment of Chaldean astrologers from Italy in 139 B.C.

Skepticism and Stoicism. Although the formalities of religion in so far as they concerned public life were still scrupulously observed, there was an ever increasing skepticism with regard to the existence and power of the gods of the Graeco-Roman mythology. This was especially true of the educated classes, who were influenced to a certain extent by the rationalism of Euhemerus, whose work on the origin of the gods had been translated by Ennius,

but much more by the pantheism of the Stoic philosophy. The Stoic doctrines, with their practical ethical prescriptions, made a strong appeal to the Roman character and found an able expositor in Panaetius of Rhodes, who taught under the patronage of Scipio Aemilianus.

Public Festivals. Of great importance in the life of the city were the annual public festivals or games, of which six came to be regularly celebrated by the middle of the second century, each lasting for several days. Five of these were celebrated by the aediles, one by the city praetor. A fixed sum was allotted by the state to defray the expenses of these exhibits, but custom required that this must be largely supplemented from the private purse of the person in charge. In this way the aedileship afforded an excellent opportunity to win public favor by an exhibition of generosity. To the original horse and chariot races there came to be added scenic productions, wild-beast hunts, and gladiatorial combats, in imitation of those exhibited by private persons. The first private exhibition of gladiators was given at a funeral in 264 B.C., and the first wild-beast hunt in 186 B.C. These types of exhibitions soon became the most popular of all and exercised a brutalizing effect upon the spectators.

The City Rome. The growth of Rome in population and wealth brought about a corresponding change in the appearance of the city. The erection of tenement houses of several stories and a rise in rentals reflected the influx into the capital. Public buildings began to be erected on a large scale. The Circus Flaminius, which was used for horse races, wild-beast hunts, and gladiatorial combats, dates from the end of the third century. No less than fifteen temples and shrines, most of them of rather small size, were dedicated between 200 and 133 B.C. Two large basilicas or public halls, which took their name from similar structures built by the Hellenistic rulers in the cities of the Greek East, were built for the use of magistrates and businessmen. Additional facilities for trade were provided also by a new fish and meat market, new blocks of shops, and a dock on the Tiber to facilitate the unloading of ships. There were also a considerable number of porticos which provided shelter for merchants and idlers alike. Two new aqueducts were constructed to meet the needs of the growing urban population. The streets were paved with stone blocks and the sewage system repaired and extended. Ornamental arches adorned with statues were set up to commemorate Roman victories. Many other statues, the work of the great sculptors of Greece which had been carried off as spoils of war to Rome, were placed as votive offerings in the new temples. Improvements were made in the quality of building materials. In general, public buildings were constructed of stone, sometimes coated with stucco; and harder travertine blocks were used in place of the less durable tufa. For the two

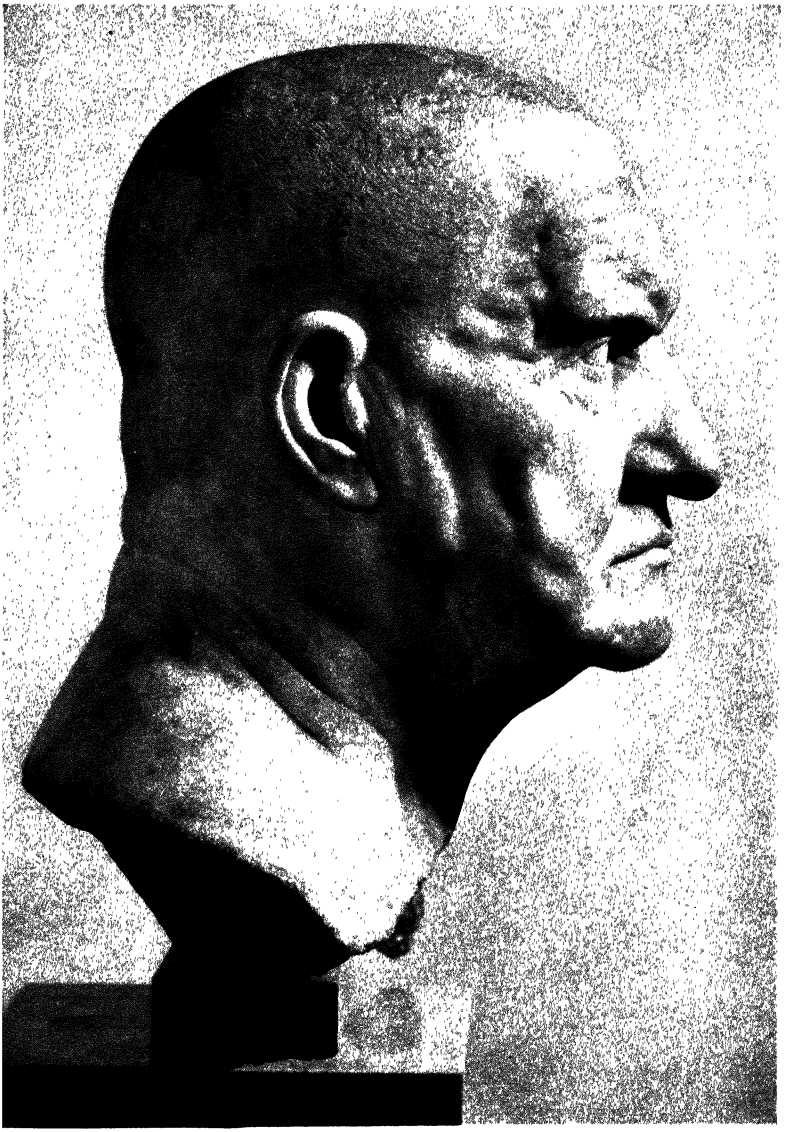
temples of Jupiter and Juno dedicated in 146 B.C., marble was imported from Greece. Private buildings, however, continued for the most part to be built of crude brick and wood.

Roman Art. It was in the third and second centuries B.C. that the emergence of a Roman national art became noticeable. This had its roots in the Italo-Etruscan art of the region north of the Tiber and the Oscan-Campanian art of southern Italy. In the development of these local styles Greek influences had played a large part, and they continued to have a direct effect upon tastes and techniques in Rome itself. Few artists of note seem to have appeared among the Romans, who depended upon natives of other parts of Italy or upon Greeks for the execution of the works which they had planned. The Latin genius revealed itself more faithfully in the creation of works of a practical rather than an ornamental value. Such were the long paved highways, and bridges and aqueducts in which great use had to be made of the arch. In temple architecture and in religious statuary the Romans remained dominated by Etruscan and Greek influences. A Greek architect was imported for the temples of Jupiter and Juno built in 146 B.C. But architecture, because of its practical character, was highly esteemed in Rome; and Roman architects were beginning to win recognition abroad. As early as 170 B.C., the Syrian King, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, hired a Roman architect to complete the famous temple of Olympian Zeus begun in the sixth century B.C. in Athens. The frequent use of round buildings, especially in the case of the smaller temples, shows an independent Roman tradition going back to the round huts of prehistoric times.

Through familiarity with masterpieces of Greek sculpture taken in the sack of cities or acquired by provincial governors, there slowly developed a taste for fine statuary and an appreciation of Greek ideals in this field of art. Although the earlier acquisitions of this sort were used to decorate public buildings, there soon arose a demand for a similar adornment of private homes. This demand led to the rise of a regular business of copying the works of Greek masters for the Roman market.

It was in painting and secular sculpture that Roman tastes asserted themselves most clearly. In painting we may see the naturalness and the feeling for depth and movement which characterized the tomb paintings of Etruria and Campania, as well as the decorative designs on Etruscan bronzes. The Romans likewise made extensive use of tomb paintings, but they also developed the practice of exhibiting for popular edification large-scale pictures illustrating battles and other episodes of victorious foreign campaigns. Although fragments of Roman tomb paintings have survived from as early as the third century B.C., the triumphal paintings which were

housed in temples and other private buildings have all completely disappeared. Characteristically Roman was the fondness for portrait busts and statues. Their antecedents may be found in the busts and figures which adorned the Etruscan ash urns and sarcophagi, as well as in Etruscan bronze and terra-cotta statuary. But the Roman love of portraiture found its expression in the preservation of the wax death masks of the ancestors in the houses of the Roman aristocracy and the carrying of lifelike statues of members of preceding generations in funeral processions. In addition, from an early date, the Roman government caused the erection of bronze statues to commemorate the kings and the legendary heroes of the early Republic; later it so honored famous generals of the historic period and others who had rendered distinguished service to their country. By the end of the second century, it had become a well established custom for magistrates to set up statues in their own honor in public places. The outstanding feature of Roman portrait sculpture is its intense realism, which went far beyond the naturalness of Etruscan art and insisted upon the representation of even unpleasing physical details.



ROMAN PORTRAIT HEAD

Metropolitan Museum of Art

CHAPTER XII. THE STRUGGLE OF THE OPTIMATES AND THE POPULARES: 133–78 B.C.

Civil War and Imperial Expansion. The century which began with the year 133 B.C. is characterized by a condition of perpetual factional strife within the Roman state—strife which frequently blazed forth into civil war and which culminated in the fall of the republican system of government. This conflict arose from the failure to achieve a satisfactory solution to the economic, political, and social problems which confronted the Roman government. Responsibility for the failure rests largely upon the Senate, which did not provide the necessary leadership in effecting reforms and identified the preservation of its own position with the salvation of the state. On the other hand, it cannot be claimed that its leading opponents always displayed greater altruism and a more farsighted statesmanship, and they must share the blame for the tragic outcome.

The form which the struggle assumed was an attack made by the discontented factions upon the Senate's control of the government, for the great majority of the senators and the senatorial aristocracy, devoted to the enjoyment of their powers and prerogatives, were bitterly opposed to any modification of the existing situation which might affect their prestige, political influence, or economic interests. The advantages which they possessed in the control of the Senate and hence of the administration, their general unity of purpose, their wealth and inherited reputation, their well organized clientele, and the large number of slaves at their command enabled them time after time to thwart all assaults upon their prerogatives. This senatorial party was commonly known as that of the "Optimates" or aristocrats.

On the other hand, the opponents of the Senate, generally called the people's party or "Populares," did not form such a homogeneous body, since they represented different classes and interests and did not always present a united front in the several crises of the long drawn out conflict. At one time the equestrians, at another the city plebs, appear as the allies of the senators against the proponents of reform. It must be borne in mind, however, that most of the leaders of the Populares were drawn from the ranks of the liberal minority in the Senate.

To some degree the social background of the struggle was obscured by

the rise of outstanding champions in the rival parties whose personal ambitions and intrigues, together with those of their followers, occupied the forefront of the political stage. And in its final stages the conflict widened out to include the whole Roman world and even some of the peoples beyond the frontiers of the empire, for the path to prestige and power lay in the successful conduct of military operations and hence the party chiefs sought this means of creating a military force adequate to carry them to victory in the struggle for the control of the government.

For this reason, in spite of these unceasing internal disorders, the century marks an imperial expansion which rivalled that of the era of the Punic and Macedonian Wars. In Gaul the Roman sway was extended to the Rhine and the Ocean; in the East practically the whole peninsula of Asia Minor, as well as Syria and Egypt, was incorporated in the Empire. With the exception of the region of Mauretania (*i.e.*, modern Morocco, which was really a Roman dependency), the Roman provinces completely encircled the Mediterranean. Another important result of the struggle was the creation of a new Italian nation by the admission to Roman citizenship of practically all the peoples dwelling in Italy to the south of the Alps. For the subjects of Rome the era of the civil wars was one of extreme oppression and misery, since the needs of the rival factions and leaders caused the shameless exploitation of the wealth and man-power of the provinces.

The period 133 to 78 B.C. covers the first stage in the struggle which brought the Republic to an end and closes with the Senate in full possession of its old prerogatives, while the powers of the tribunate and Tribal Assembly have been seriously curtailed.

Although the events of the period were recorded in detail by contemporary Roman historians, the works of these men have not survived, and we are dependent for our knowledge chiefly upon writers of much later date. From them we derive a fairly clear idea of the main course of events, but frequently their exact sequence and the motives and influences resulting in various courses of action or legislative enactments are very uncertain. Our chief sources are Plutarch's *Lives* of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, Marius, and Sulla, and Appian's *Civil and Mithradatic Wars,* supplemented by the *Epitome* of Livy, and Sallust's *Jugurthine War.* To these must be added the outline narratives in the histories of Velleius Paterculus and the epitomators of the imperial period, as well as fragments from the more extensive histories of Diodorus and Cassius Dio. There are isolated but important references in Cicero's speeches and other writings and in some of the Roman antiquarians and writers on special topics. The inscriptional evidence is slight but includes considerable portions of some important laws.

I. THE AGRARIAN REFORM OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS: 133 B.C.

The Land Law of 133 B.C. The opening of the struggle was brought on by the agrarian legislation proposed by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune for the year 133 B.C. Gracchus, then thirty years of age, was one of the most prominent young Romans of his time, being the son of the consul whose name he bore and of Cornelia, daughter of the great Scipio Africanus. Under his mother's supervision he had received a careful education, which included rhetoric and Greek Stoic philosophy. As quaestor in Spain in 137 B.C. he had distinguished himself for courage and honesty in dealing with the native population and had acquainted himself with the military needs of Rome. He saw in the decline of the free peasantry of Italy the chief menace to the state, and when elected to the tribunate he drafted a law which aimed to re-establish the class of free Italian peasants and thus provide new strength for the armies of Rome.

There was nothing particularly revolutionary in the proposed bill. Essentially, it was designed to call into effect existing legislation which restricted the amount of public land that might be occupied by a single tenant but which had largely been disregarded.[1] In a conciliatory spirit, Tiberius raised the previous limit of 500 Roman acres by permitting an additional 250 for each son, possibly with a maximum of 1,000 *iugera* for any household. All public land in excess of this amount was to be surrendered by its occupants to the state, and further occupation of the public domain was forbidden. But occupied land that was not in excess of the legal limit was to be granted to the holders in perpetuity without liability to tax or rental. In addition, the state was to compensate former holders for improvements which they had made on the parts of their holdings which were surrendered in accordance with the law. The land recovered for public use was to be assigned to landless Romans and Italians in small allotments, which they were not to be permitted to transfer to others and for which they were to pay a nominal rental to the state. A commission of three men (*III viri agris iudicandis assignandis*) was to be elected to take over the land claimed by the state and reapportion it to the new colonists.

In spite of the rather generous treatment accorded to the great proprietors by this Sempronian Law, it met with determined opposition among the senatorial aristocracy. This was not because the Senate did not recognize that the land question constituted a serious problem but because a majority of its members had already decided against any alteration in the existing situation. Some years before, a certain Laelius, who belonged to

[1] See pp. 156–157.

the party of Scipio Aemilianus, was consul in 140 B.C., and could hardly be accused of radical tendencies, had broached the question but had withdrawn his proposals because of the protests they aroused. And now many of the landed aristocracy saw that a considerable portion of their holdings was threatened. In many cases, no doubt, it had become impossible to distinguish between their private property and the public lands which had been in the possession of their families for several generations, and they did not know how much they stood to lose. Furthermore, ever since the tribunate of Gaius Flaminius in the third century, the conservative element had looked upon a division of public land as associated with demagoguery and mob rule, and so now they began to suspect Tiberius of ulterior political ambitions.

Angered by the opposition in the Senate, Tiberius withdrew from his measure the proposals for compensation for improvements and the granting of rights of ownership to public landholdings of less than the maximum legal size and sought to present his amended law to the Tribal Assembly. Thereupon, the Senate resorted to the means by which it long had held forceful tribunes in check and induced one of the other tribunes, Marcus Octavius, to veto the law. But Tiberius did not intend to be thwarted and, after all attempts at compromise had failed, he reluctantly but determinedly took the unprecedented step of appealing to the Tribal Assembly to depose Octavius on the ground that he was thwarting the will of the people. The Assembly responded by ousting Octavius, and the land law was passed without further opposition. Tiberius himself, his younger brother Gaius, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, were elected as the three commissioners to carry the law into effect. They received judicial authority to enable them to render judgment in cases where disputes arose regarding the ownership of land to which the state laid claim. It had been held frequently that the election of Tiberius to this office was illegal, but that is extremely doubtful since the laws which forbade the appointment of the author of a law to a position created by it are of uncertain date and may well have been later than 133 B.C.

The Fall of Tiberius Gracchus. Once the land law was passed, its legality was recognized, even by the senatorial faction. Nevertheless, the Senate tried to hamper the work of the land commissioners by refusing to provide adequate funds for the expenses, which included the stocking of the allotments assigned to poor settlers. Thereupon Tiberius proposed that money for this purpose be provided from the treasure of King Attalus III of Pergamon, who had just died after bequeathing his kingdom to Rome.[2] This proposal once more brought Tiberius into conflict with the Senate

[2] See p. 138.

for by custom the control both of finances and foreign affairs rested with that body. Still further animosity was aroused by the declaration of Tiberius that he would seek re-election to the tribunate for 132 B.C. Strictly speaking, this was neither unconstitutional nor unprecedented, but it was certainly very unusual and contrary to the established practice of the third and second centuries. Tiberius felt, however, that only as tribune could he assure the effective enforcement of the land law and refused to be dissuaded from his course. At the same time, he is said to have advocated certain measures of a character calculated to win popular support. These aimed at shortening the term of military service, extending the right of appeal to judgments pronounced by senatorial judicial commissions, and admitting jurors of equestrian rank to the court for the recovery of damages from provincial officials. He was also credited with raising the question of the conferment of citizenship upon the Italian allies in compensation for the losses they might suffer from the operations of his land law. It is uncertain, however, whether Tiberius was really responsible for these proposals, which were not actually formulated as laws until some years later. However this may be, the extremists of the senatorial party determined to prevent at all costs the re-election of Tiberius. When the consul, Scaevola, refused their appeal to take action against him, they organized their clients and slaves and attacked Tiberius and his followers on the occasion of a public meeting in the Forum. Tiberius and three hundred of his adherents were massacred and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. A judicial commission, authorized by the Senate and presided over by the consuls of 132 B.C., sought out and punished with death or exile a large number of his prominent supporters.

The Fate of the Land Commission. For the moment the Senate had triumphed, although only by resorting to a means which in the long run was to prove its own undoing. The land law remained in force; and one of the consuls of 132, Poplilius Laenas, although bitterly hostile to the Gracchan party, helped to carry out its provisions, perhaps in an attempt to detract from the achievements of the land commissioners. On the commission, Tiberius Gracchus was replaced by the father-in-law of Gaius, and subsequent vacancies were filled by active advocates of the reform. Apparently, in 130–129 B.C., the commission then presided over by Fulvius Flaccus caused great consternation among the Italian allies by questioning their rights to lands which bordered on the public land and by the way in which they selected the portions of occupied public land to be reclaimed by the state. The allies claimed that their treaty rights were being disregarded and appealed to the famous Scipio Aemilianus, under whom their troops had served against Carthage and against Numantia, to represent their claims before the Senate. Scipio seems to have induced the Senate to

exempt land claimed by the allies as private on the basis of grants or treaties from the jurisdiction of the commissioners, whose activities as far as the allies were concerned were now strictly limited to the public domain. Their right to conduct judicial investigations into the title of properties occupied by Roman citizens seems not to have been withdrawn. How far Scipio would have gone in securing concessions for the allies is unknown, for he died unexpectedly in April or May of 129 B.C. He had become very unpopular with the Gracchan party, and there were not wanting those who accused his wife, Sempronia, the sister of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, as well as others of their connections, of being responsible for his sudden decease. There seems, however, to be no doubt that his death was due to natural causes.

When the question of the rights of the allies was raised again, it was upon the initiative of Flaccus, the land commissioner, who had been elected to the consulship for 125 B.C. He sponsored a law to grant citizenship to the Latin and Italian allies with an alternative of the right of appeal from the judgments of Roman courts and magistrates for the citizens of such communities as did not wish to be incorporated in the Roman state. Since this proposal was advanced by a leader of the Gracchan party, it was opposed energetically by the senatorial, and the question of citizenship for the allies became a matter of party politics and could not in future be judged upon its merits. The opposition of the senators and the apathy or hostility of the Roman proletariat caused the law to be defeated. Yielding to the urgent appeals made in the Senate, Flaccus dropped the proposal and allowed himself to be appointed to a military command in Gaul. There was great dissatisfaction among the allies at the defeat of the law, which had been secured in part by another law which excluded them from Rome and so prevented the Latins in particular from participating in the voting on the basis of being domiciled in Rome or even of influencing the other voters. Of the Latin allies, the important town of Fregellae in Latium near the Samnite border had been most active in support of the demand for Roman citizenship, and, when this was rejected, it raised the standard of revolt. The situation was serious, for the rebellion might spread among the other Latin communities and from them to the Italian allies. Therefore the Romans acted energetically and at once besieged the rebellious city. As a result of treachery it soon fell into their hands, and they razed it to the ground as a warning to those states who might be tempted to follow its example. None offered to do so, and the revolt came to an end.

The census taken in 125 B.C. showed an increase of about 75,000 Roman citizens over that of 130 B.C.: a total of 394,736 as against 318,828. But this gain cannot all be ascribed to the activity of the land commission, although

it had continued to function interruptedly since 133 B.C., for the census lists included all Roman citizens of eighteen years and over, and not merely those who had property sufficient to qualify them for military service. There can be no question that many who had failed to register after they had lost their properties reported themselves when they received new allotments, but doubtless many others who hoped to share in the division of land came forward to place their names on the rolls. And at the same time in the struggle for the control of the Assemblies the leading men of both factions saw to it that their clients, in particular their freedmen, and other dependents were properly enrolled in the tribes and centuries.

II. GAIUS GRACCHUS AND THE SENATE: 124–121 B.C.

Gaius Gracchus, Tribune: 124–122 B.C. In 124 B.C., Gaius, the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus and a former member of the land commission of 133 B.C., returned to Rome from a term as quaestor in the province of Sardinia and sought election to the tribunate. His candidacy was successful, and he entered upon office on December 10, 124 B.C. Gaius was a passionate orator, one of the most moving political speakers in Roman history. At the same time he was a man of greater energy and more statesmanlike capacity than his brother. The traditions of Roman politics as well as the ties of blood called him to support the latter's agrarian policy, but his aims were much more far-reaching and ultimately brought him into conflict with the Senate over other questions of public policy. For a time, however, he avoided any direct clash with his opponents while managing to retain the enthusiastic support of the poorer citizens. His popularity and influence were proved by his re-election to the tribunate in the summer of 123 B.C. In this the Senate seems to have acquiesced, although it is doubtful if any special legislation had been passed since the death of Tiberius sanctioning successive terms, for it was custom and not law which had forbidden the practice. Among the colleagues of Gaius in his second tribunate were his fiery ally Fulvius Flaccus, the consul of 125 B.C., and also Marcus Livius Drusus, an active supporter of the Senate.

The Legislation of Gaius Gracchus. (*a*) Judicial. For the most part, we do not know the order in which Gaius Gracchus brought forward the numerous proposals which made up his extensive legislative program, and hence it is very hazardous to assign them to his first or his second term of office. It seems, however, that the bulk of his legislation falls between his re-election in 123 B.C. and the close of his official career in December, 122 B.C. For convenience of analysis, we may group his measures under three heads: judicial, economic and social, and imperial. His first judiciary

law condemned retroactively the sentences pronounced without privilege of appeal to the Assembly by the court of senators which had punished the followers of Tiberius in 133 B.C. As a result, the ex-consul Poplilius, who had presided over this tribunal, was brought to trial and sentenced to exile. His attention was then directed to the question of the jurors in the civil courts, who hitherto had been drawn wholly from members of the Senate. In order to provide jurors who might be less partisan in their views, Gaius proposed that the number in the Senate be increased by the enrollment of six hundred new members selected from the class with a property rating just below that of the senators. This suggestion met with considerable opposition, and Gaius dropped it. He did, however, secure the approval of a law which provided penalties for jurors found guilty of taking bribes. Lastly, at his instigation, some time in 123 or 122 B.C., a colleague named Acilius introduced a law which when passed drastically reorganized the court for the recovery of damages from officials guilty of extortion from Roman subjects or allies. From the mutilated text of the Acilian Law which has survived, we see that magistrates in office, senators, and fathers, brothers, and sons of senators were excluded from the panel from which the fifty judges who heard each case were selected. Although the specific qualifications of the new jurors have been lost, it is almost certain that they were so stated as to include the class of wealthy businessmen and landholders who from this time onward were spoken of collectively as the equestrian order and had a property assessment of 400,000 sesterces.[3] Here, apparently, we have the earliest definition of the equestrian order in its widest extent. As a result of being given specific public duties, the equestrians became more conscious of their power and their special interests and entered upon a period of continuous rivalry with the Senate. That Gaius fully realized the significance of this law is shown by his remark that even if he should die, he would leave it as a sword thrust into the side of the Senate. In fact, the control of the court became a standing bone of contention between the two orders. Although some justification for the change could be found in recent unjust decisions of this tribunal, the subjects of Rome could hope for little improvement in its standards when it was placed in the hands of men who were interested in the financial exploitation of the provinces and could now intimidate honest governors when they endeavored to restrain the rapacity of tax collectors and moneylenders. Moreover, since the antibribery law had been passed when the only judges were from the senatorial order, equestrians were not mentioned in it and consequently were exempt from its provisions.

(*b*) Economic and Social. One of the first steps taken by Gaius Gracchus to deal with the problem of the impoverished Roman citizens was the enact-

[3] About $20,000, at the 1914 value of silver.

ment of a grain law (*lex frumentaria*), which provided that the state should sell a fixed quantity of grain each month to citizens residing in Rome at a price which has been estimated at about one-half the current market rate. There can be little doubt that the object of this law was to stabilize prices for the benefit of the poor, who, as we have seen, lived in perpetual danger of famine. Even before this, in times of distress, the Roman government had occasionally resorted to such an expedient; but now it became a permanent obligation which constituted a regular charge upon the treasury. In the larger cities of the Greek East it had become a generally accepted doctrine that the state was responsible for the welfare of the poorer citizens, and it is highly probable that Gaius was both familiar with their practices and inspired by them. At the same time, he cannot have failed to see that this law would greatly increase his popularity with the city plebs and might weaken to his advantage the ties between the Optimates and their clients, who would be less dependent upon patronage for their daily bread. The expense involved in offering the grain at such a low price he possibly justified on the ground that the plebs were entitled to some such share in the income derived from the empire. Since the recipients of the cheap grain had to pay for it and did not receive it gratis, Gaius cannot strictly be accused of having instituted a grain dole. Nevertheless, a step had been taken in that direction, and the way was pointed out by which those anxious to court the good will of the plebs would do so at the cost of the state. In order to store the supplies of wheat which must be maintained in Rome to make the public sales possible, Gaius directed the construction of large granaries, and this work doubtless provided temporary employment for a considerable number of free laborers.

Another project which Gaius pushed vigorously was the construction or improvement of rural roads throughout the peninsula. These were intended most probably to facilitate the transport of grain and other agricultural produce to the nearest local markets, for Rome depended mainly upon supplies drawn from Sicily, Africa, and other countries by sea. Here, too, we can see a policy of providing work for the unemployed, as well as of agrarian colonization, for the lands abutting on the roads were assigned to farmers who undertook the responsibility of keeping the roads in repair in place of paying rental to the state.

Gaius also was the author of a special agrarian law, but we know little about its scope. A chance notice records that he restricted the amount of land which anyone might hold in Italy to 200 *iugera* (132 acres), which might be interpreted to mean that in his desire to obtain more land for settlement he greatly reduced the maximum set by Tiberius for occupants of public lands. But if this were correct, it would hardly have been passed

over by all the more important writers. Perhaps this law authorized the founding of a number of colonies in Italy, although that may well have been the subject of special legislation. At any rate, Gaius resorted to such a plan to provide still further opportunities for relieving overpopulation in Rome. Of the several colonial foundations attributed to him, two at least—Neptunia, adjacent to Tarentum, and Scolacium—were seaports. For these the colonists seem to have been chosen from persons of some means who were willing to engage in commercial rather than agricultural activities. By far the most important of his colonial projects was an attempt to found a new settlement at or near the site of Carthage, which had been uninhabited since the destruction of the city in 146 B.C. This colony, called Junonia, was authorized by a law sponsored by the tribune Rubrius. In the spring of 122 B.C., Gaius and Fulvius Flaccus, as two of the commission appointed to supervise the enterprise, went to Africa and organized the colony. The colonists, who numbered about six thousand, were enrolled from the whole of Italy and received unusually large allotments, of 200 *iugera* each, which they held as personal property not subject to rental. Unquestionably, this was an agrarian rather than a commercial foundation.

A minor piece of legislation carried by Gaius in the interests of the poorer citizens required that the state should furnish soldiers with clothing free of charge and make no deductions for this from their pay. This law also carried a prohibition against enlisting recruits under seventeen years of age.

(*c*) Imperial. Although, by long established custom, the direction of imperial administration rested with the Roman Senate, Gaius Gracchus did not hesitate to intervene in this sphere.

One of his laws changed the system of allocating the consular provinces, that is, the spheres of duty, in particular foreign commands, which were assigned to the incoming consuls of each year. The regular practice had been for the Senate to designate these provinces after the elections, when they knew who the consuls-elect were. This made it possible for the senators, if they were so inclined, to assign provinces in accordance with the proven capacities of persons concerned. But it also allowed them to use their power as a means of rewarding their friends and punishing their political opponents. This power was lost when the law of Gaius made it obligatory for the Senate to designate the two consular provinces in advance of the elections.[4]

Another law dealt with the method of collecting taxes in the recently organized province of Asia. It provided that the contract for collecting the tax of 10 per cent on the produce of all agricultural land in the province

[4] This rule applied also to proconsular provinces, that is, those to which the consuls were to go as proconsular governors at the end of their years of office.

should be let by the censors in Rome to a single company of *publicani*. The result was that the provincial tax collectors were practically excluded from competing for the contract since the sum involved was beyond their resources and they would be at a great disadvantage in meeting the terms of the Roman censors. Since Asia was by far the richest of the Roman provinces, an opportunity was created for the Roman businessmen to make huge profits from the transaction. By this act, as well as by the Acilian Law, Gracchus won for himself the support of the equestrian order. But the result was unfortunate for the people of Asia, who were exposed to merciless exploitation by a largely irresponsible tax-collecting agency operating from the capital of the empire.

As we have seen, the agrarian reforms of Tiberius Gracchus had brought into prominence the question of the status of the allies of Rome in Italy, and the course of events had made the Gracchan leaders champions of allied rights. Early in his second tribunate, Gaius brought forward a proposal to grant Roman citizenship to the Latin allies; but this, as we shall see, was countered by the suggestion of Livius Drusus to give the Latins complete immunity from scourging when serving under Roman officers. Thereupon, Gaius apparently dropped his agitation for the moment but later drafted a more comprehensive measure in which he again proposed Roman citizenship for the Latins and at the same time Latin rights for the federate allies in Italy. This met with even stronger opposition than the earlier proposal; and since both Latins and others flocked to Rome to lend their support to the law and influence the plebs on its behalf, the Senate ordered the consuls to exclude all foreigners from the city and its immediate vicinity. We do not know whether the law was vetoed by Drusus or whether it was defeated in the Tribal Assembly. At any rate it failed to obtain the approval of the Roman electorate, which considered that its selfish interests would be endangered by the addition of large numbers of new voters. Thus the question of the allies was shelved for the time, and Gaius suffered a major political defeat which revealed that his influence with the Assembly had been undermined seriously.

The Fall of Gaius Gracchus: 121 B.C. The decline of influence with the Tribal Assembly, which meant the end of Gaius' political power, was brought about largely by the machinations of the Senate. Becoming alarmed at his success in being re-elected tribune and at the dominant part which he exercised in the formation and execution of public policy, his enemies in the Senate laid plans for his overthrow. They found a clever but unscrupulous agent in his colleague, Livius Drusus, who devoted himself to the task of weaning the city electorate from Gaius by outbidding his proposed laws by others which appealed more strongly to the interests and

prejudices of the voters. When Gaius proceeded slowly with the organization of his colonies in Italy, Drusus introduced a law which authorized twelve colonies to be founded immediately. Each of these was to consist of three thousand colonists to be selected from the very poorest of the plebs, and there was to be no rental paid to the government for the individual allotments as was the case in the Gracchan colonies. Actually, the Livian colonies were never founded. After the fall of Gaius Gracchus, when it was no longer necessary to play up to the city proletariat, the matter was dropped. It may be, however, that the provision affecting the rentals on allotments was carried into effect and extended to apply to the Gracchan colonists. As we have seen already, Drusus struck another blow at Gaius by countering his law to grant citizenship to the Latins with one that gave them a lesser privilege in which the Assembly was more willing to acquiesce. And when Gaius renewed his attempt to extend the franchise to the Latins, while granting Latin status to the other Italian allies, his opponents openly appealed to the jealousy and exclusiveness of the mob. The campaign against Gaius culminated in an attempt to discredit his colony of Junonia during the period of seventy days which he spent in Africa in the early part of 122 B.C. He was accused of having exceeded the authorized number of colonists and of illegally admitting non-Roman settlers. Besides this, all sorts of false rumors were set on foot respecting unfavorable omens which were said to have greeted the attempts to inaugurate the colony. The effect of these various efforts was seen when Gaius sought the tribunate for a third time in the summer of 122 B.C. He failed to secure re-election, and in the following December his tribunate came to an end.

In 122 B.C., the Senate sponsored an attempt to annul the Rubrian Law which had ordered the founding of Junonia. Gaius, who seems to have feared an attempt upon his life, allowed his friends to furnish him with a bodyguard. In a brawl between adherents of both factions, an unimportant member of the staff of the consul Opimius was killed; and the Senate seized upon this pretext to authorize the consul to take what measures might be necessary to safeguard the state. Opimius promptly organized an armed force of senators, equestrians, and their slaves. He then summoned Gaius and his former colleague Flaccus to appear before the Senate. Since it was clear that they would not meet with fair treatment, they determined to resist arrest and occupied the Aventine hill with their supporters. There they were attacked by Opimius at the head of his levies and a force of Cretan archers in Roman service who happened to be in the city. The Gracchans were routed, Flaccus was killed, Gaius had himself stabbed by a faithful slave to avoid capture, and a large number of their followers were arrested and executed. In all, about three thousand are reported to have perished.

The Gracchi and the Constitution. The failure of the Gracchi was a great political tragedy. Their memory was held in high esteem among the adherents of the popular party; it was equally execrated among their opponents, who had a greater influence upon Roman historical literature. It cannot be denied that both men were earnest patriots, sincerely convinced of the necessity of solving the problems which they attacked and equally sure of the rightness of the plans they proposed. But in attempting to overcome the opposition to their measures, they followed a course which shook the foundations of the constitution and presented a direct challenge to the Senate's control of the government. We can hardly credit them with the deliberate intention of sidetracking the Senate in favor of the Tribal Assembly led by a popular tribune continuously re-elected to that office, but at least that was the temporary effect of their actions, and here they are open to the most serious criticism. To make the fickle Assembly the directing force in the government was not a statesmanlike step, for the Assembly was both more incompetent than the Senate and more open to wholesale corruption. Nor could it any longer pretend to speak in the name of the whole of the Roman citizen body. As things turned out, the Senate regained its position but lost greatly in prestige and authority. It owed its victory to violence and not to means provided by constitutional practice, and this afforded a precedent which others might turn against itself. As long as it lasted, the alliance of the equestrians and the urban plebs had proven stronger than the Senate; and this lesson, too, was not lost upon later statesmen. In addition to the loss of some of its prerogatives, the Senate was weakened by the consolidation of the businessmen into a vigorous political party which usually acted in opposition to it. But the greatest danger for the future lay in the feeling of bitter resentment among those who had suffered from the Senate's ruthlessness and in the division of the citizens into two hostile political factions, the Populares and the Optimates. For the provincials, the legislation of Gaius opened the way to further oppression; the question of citizenship for the allies was shelved for the moment but was destined to be raised again and in a more violent form.

In 120 B.C. the strength of the Senate's position was tested by the trial of the ex-consul Opimius for his actions under the decree of the Senate for the safeguarding of the state. His acquittal not only gave legal sanction to the slaughter of the Gracchans but justified the passing of the decree itself. For the future, this so-called "last decree" (*senatus consultum ultimum*) gave to the Senate a new and powerful constitutional weapon for the crushing of its opponents. But the victory of the Senate was by no means absolute. With the exception of the Rubrian Law, which was repealed, the statutes of the Gracchi remained in force, and even the colonists in Africa were allowed to

remain in occupancy of their land. Three later laws finally settled the vexed question of the public lands. The first, which possibly belongs in 121 or 120 B.C. but may have been the work of Livius Drusus, permitted the Gracchan colonists to sell their allotments. Thereupon the rich proprietors began once more to buy them out or to force them to evacuate their holdings under pressure. Somewhat later, between 118 and 112 B.C., the land commission was abolished as a result of a law of the tribune Spurius Thorius which forbade further distributions of public land in Italy and guaranteed present possessors of public land in their tenure upon condition of paying rental, the income from which was to be used for disbursements to the poor. The third law, of which the text is partly preserved, was passed in 111 B.C. By it, all lands assigned by the Gracchan commissioners and all former holdings of public land up to the limit of 500 *iugera* set by the Gracchan legislation were declared private property and free from any form of rental. Further encroachment upon public pasture lands was forbidden, and the use of these was strictly regulated. It is difficult to form an accurate opinion of the net results of this period of agrarian legislation, but it has been estimated that altogether the large landlords lost about 1,000,000 acres of farm lands and that this plus the limitation on the size of the flocks and herds they could run on the pasture lands struck a severe blow at the power of the senatorial class. We have no means of knowing how many of the new settlers (perhaps 50,000 in all) remained on their farms once they were allowed to sell them, and therefore we cannot say in how far the potential military strength of the state was increased.

III. THE RISE OF GAIUS MARIUS

Frontier Wars. While at Rome interest centered in the struggle between the Gracchans and the Senate, on the frontiers of the empire Roman armies were engaged in a continuous series of wars for the defence of Roman territory. On the borders of Macedonia and Illyricum there were struggles with Celtic tribes to the south of the Danube, in northern Italy raids of Alpine peoples had to be repressed, and in the western Mediterranean the depredations of pirates compelled the Romans to occupy the Balearic Islands. The seizure of these islands in 123–121 B.C. secured to Rome full command of the sea route to Spain. On Majorca, the largest of the group, there were founded two colonies of Roman citizens with settlers recruited among the Italians resident in Spain. More important was the Roman advance after 125 B.C. in Transalpine Gaul. Here the Romans, in answer to an appeal from their ally Massilia, undertook a campaign against the Gallic Saluvii, a people whose territory lay to the north of that city. The subjugation of

the Saluvii and of neighboring Ligurian peoples in 123 B.C. gave the Romans control of a route across the Maritime Alps from Italy to the valley of the Rhone. This they secured by the permanent occupation of a fortified post at Aquae Sextiae.

The Roman success created alarm among more powerful Gallic tribes, particularly the Allobroges to the east of the Rhone and the Arverni to the west of that river. These two peoples formed a coalition to oppose further Roman advance, while a rival people, the Aedui, to the north of the Arverni, took the side of Rome. Hostilities began when the Romans demanded the surrender of fugitives from the Saluvii. In 121 B.C., the forces of the Allobroges and the Arverni were defeated in a great battle fought near the junction of the Rhone and the Isère by the consul Fabius Maximus and the proconsul Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus. This victory made the Romans masters of southern Gaul from the Alps to the Pyrenees, except for the territory of Massilia. The newly won territory was organized as the province of Gallia Narbonensis. In spite of senatorial opposition, a colony of Roman citizens from Italy was founded at Narbo, perhaps owing to the influence of the business interests at Rome. Apart from the abortive attempt of Gaius Gracchus at Junonia, this was the first colony of its type to be founded beyond the borders of Italy.

The Jugurthine War. Shortly after the occupation of southern Gaul, the Romans became involved in a much more serious conflict that revealed to the world the rottenness and incapacity of its ruling class and rekindled the smoldering fires of internal political strife. The scene of the new struggle was North Africa, and its occasion was the death, in 118 B.C., of Micipsa, successor to Masinissa as king of Numidia, and a loyal ally of Rome. He bequeathed his kingdom jointly to his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and a nephew, Jugurtha, whom he had adopted some years before. Jugurtha was able and energetic but at the same time ambitious and unscrupulous. As commander of the Numidian contingent in the Roman army under the orders of Scipio Africanus the Younger at the siege of Numantia, he had gained military experience and at the same time an insight into the weaknesses of Roman aristocratic society. While preparations were being made to divide the kingdom among the three heirs, Jugurtha caused Hiempsal to be assassinated and drove Adherbal from the country. The latter fled to Rome and appealed for aid on the basis of the alliance with Rome which he had inherited from his ancestors. And, in any case, the Roman government could not remain indifferent to what was going on in a client state which bordered upon the rich province of Africa. But Jugurtha sent his agents, with well-filled purses, to plead his case before the Senate. So successful were they that a Roman commission sent in 116 B.C. to partition

Numidia between the rivals gave Jugurtha the western and richer part of the kingdom, leaving the eastern half to Adherbal. Jugurtha, however, aimed to rule over the whole of Numidia and so provoked Adherbal to war. In 113 B.C., he defeated him and blockaded him in his capital, Cirta, which was defended with the aid of Italians who had settled there for commercial reasons. Adherbal again appealed to the Senate for aid. Two Roman commissions sent to investigate the situation succumbed to Jugurtha's diplomacy, and Cirta was forced to surrender. Adherbal and all its defenders were put to death.

The slaughter of so many Italians raised a storm in Rome, where the business elements and populace forced the Senate, which was inclined to wink at Jugurtha's disregard of its African settlement, to declare war. In 111 B.C. a Roman army under the consul Bestia invaded Numidia. Again Jugurtha resorted to bribes and secured terms of peace from the consul after a sham submission. However, the opponents of the Senate saw through the trick and forced an investigation. Jugurtha was summoned to come to Rome under safe conduct to give evidence as to his relations with the Roman officials in Numidia. He came and contrived to buy the intervention of two tribunes who prevented his testimony from being taken. But, relying too much upon his ability to purchase immunity for any action, he ventured to procure the assassination in Rome itself of a rival claimant to the Numidian throne (110 B.C). His friends in the Senate dared protect him no longer and he had to leave Italy.

The war reopened, but the first operations ended late in 110 or in the early part of 109 B.C. with the defeat and capitulation of a Roman army, which was forced to pass under the yoke, to be released when its commander consented to a recognition of Jugurtha's position and an alliance between him and Rome. In this shameful episode bribery and treachery had played their part. The terms were rejected at Rome, and a tribunician proposal to try those guilty of misconduct with Jugurtha was ratified by the Assembly and carried into effect. In the same year the consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus took command in Africa. One of his officers was Gaius Marius. Marius was born of an equestrian family at Arpinum; he had served in the cavalry under Scipio Aemilianus in the Numantine War, had engaged with success in the handling of state contracts, and had become tribune in 119, praetor in 116, and propraetor in Spain in 115 B.C. He was able and ambitious and chafed under the disdain with which he as a "new man" was treated by the senatorial aristocrats.

In contrast to the former commanders against Jugurtha, Metellus was both energetic and honorable. He began a methodical devastation of Numidia and forced Jugurtha to abandon the field and resort to guerilla

warfare. He also tried to stir up disloyalty among the king's followers. But he failed to kill or capture the latter, the only steps which would terminate the war. Hence when he scornfully refused the request of Marius to be allowed to return and stand for the consulship in 108 B.C., Marius intrigued to get the command transferred to himself, alleging that Metellus was purposely prolonging the campaign. Finally, Metellus saw fit to let him go, and he was elected consul for the following year. However, the Senate, wishing to keep Metellus in command, had not designated Numidia as a consular province. And so the popular party passed a law in the Assembly of the Tribes which conferred the command against Jugurtha upon Marius. The Senate yielded to this encroachment upon its prerogatives, and Marius superseded Metellus in 107 B.C. His quaestor was Lucius Cornelius Sulla, scion of a decayed patrician family, who was destined to become the bitter rival of his chief.

In the meantime, the position of Jugurtha had been strengthened by an alliance with his father-in-law Bocchus, the king of Mauretania. But Marius was able to continue the strategy of Metellus by seizing the towns and fortresses which might serve as bases for the enemy. Ultimately, he won two hard-fought battles over the united forces of the kings, and Bocchus, fearing that a Roman victory was inevitable, opened negotiations. At length, under pressure from Sulla, who had risked a journey to the camp of the Mauretanian, Bocchus connived at placing Jugurtha as a captive in the hands of the Romans. This brought the war to an end, and Marius returned in triumph to Rome in 105 B.C. There he found that in his absence and in defiance of precedent he had been elected consul for the ensuing year, owing to the fear of a barbarian invasion of Italy from the north and the popular confidence in him engendered by his success in Africa. Jugurtha, after gracing his victor's triumph, was put to death in the public prison at Rome.

Apart from adding a small section of Numidia to the Roman province of Africa, the Senate did not seize upon the opportunity presented by the defeat of Jugurtha to annex more territory. The part of Numidia which bordered on Mauretania was united to the kingdom of Bocchus as a reward for his services; the rest was made into a client kingdom under the rule of a native prince. The restoration of peace opened this country once more to the activities of Italian business interests. Upon Rome itself, the repercussions of the Jugurthine War were of great significance. The prestige of the Senate, already weakened by the assaults of the Gracchi, was diminished still further by the corruptibility, incapacity, and utter lack of public responsibility displayed by many of its members so conspicuously as to overshadow the solid achievements of nobles like Metellus and Sulla.

Once again it had been shown that a coalition of the equestrian order and the city plebs could control the public policy, and in the person of Marius the war had produced a leader under whom these elements could unite.

IV. THE INVASION OF THE CIMBRI AND THE TEUTONS

A Germanic Migration. The barbarian menace which had caused Marius to be elected to his second consulship was constituted by the wanderings of a group of Germanic and Celtic peoples, chief of whom were the Cimbri and the Teutons. These two tribes, suffering from overpopulation and perhaps from the pressure of warlike neighbors in their homeland in the southern part of the peninsula of Jutland, undertook a mass migration in search of new and richer abodes. After making their way into the middle Danube valley, they turned westwards and in 113 B.C. invaded the lands of the Taurisci, allies of Rome, who dwelt to the north of the Alps between the upper Drave and the Danube. A Roman army which had been sent to the aid of the Taurisci suffered a disgraceful defeat. Then the migratory horde turned westwards towards the Rhine, being joined by the Tigurini, a branch of the Celtic Helvetians, and by the Ambrones, a tribe of uncertain origin. In 111 B.C., the united peoples crossed the Rhine into Gaul, where they came into conflict with the Roman armies entrusted with the defense of the province of Narbonensis. Upon the refusal of their demand for lands within the Roman frontiers, the Cimbri inflicted a severe defeat upon the consul Marcus Julius Silanus in 109 B.C. but failed to follow up their success. The Tigurini, however, kept threatening the province and caused a revolt of the Roman allies in the vicinity of Tolosa. In 107 B.C., another consular army was almost annihilated and its commander, Lucius Cassius Longinus, slain by the Tigurini. A year later the consul Quintus Servilius Caepio recovered Tolosa without opposition from the invaders, who had withdrawn from Roman territory, and punished it by carrying off its immense temple treasures. Three years afterwards he was tried and condemned for defrauding the state of this booty, which disappeared mysteriously on its way to the coast. A new danger threatened when the Cimbri and Teutons marched down the valley of the Rhone. Two Roman armies, one under Caepio as proconsul and the other under the consul Cnaeus Mallio Maximus, moved to meet them. The jealousy and incompetence of the Roman commanders led to the destruction of both of their armies in a great battle near Arausio (Orange), in which 60,000 were said to have fallen on the Roman side. This was the greatest disaster suffered by Roman arms since the fateful day of Cannae. The way to Italy lay open, but once more the Germans failed to take advantage of their

opportunity. The Cimbri crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, while their allies withdrew into the non-Roman part of Gaul.

The Military Reforms of Marius. At this juncture Marius was appointed to the command against the barbarians, and he at once set to work to create an army for the defence of Italy. In this he made use of his experience in raising troops for the Jugurthine War and now as then accepted as recruits citizens whose lack of property had previously disqualified them for service in the legions. At the same time he depended more upon voluntary enlistments than upon the enforcement of the universal obligation to military service for a certain number of campaigns. As we have noticed, there had been great difficulty in raising an adequate number of troops on the old system, due partly to a decrease in the number of those possessing an adequate property qualification, partly to a decline of military spirit among the well-to-do, and partly to the residence of many citizens outside of Italy. Consequently, appeals for volunteers had become more and more frequent, and in this respect a precedent had been set for the conduct of Marius. But his elimination of the property qualification was an innovation which had consequences of the highest importance. It transformed military service from an obligation towards the state into a professional career which could provide employment for numbers of landless and occupationless Romans. Soldiers recruited on this basis were no longer anxious for their discharge in order to return to civilian occupations but were willing to serve for many years under the command of a successful general. And when they were discharged, they looked to their commanders to secure lands for them or a bonus to provide for their future needs. Thus to some degree military service seemed to present a solution of the problems of poverty and unemployment among the lower classes of citizens. But more significant still were the facts that among the troops loyalty to the state came to be supplanted by devotion to a successful general and that the latter could rely upon his soldiers to support him against the civil authority or upon his veterans, who became his clients, to back him in his subsequent political career. It was armies of this new type which made possible the political careers of the great generals of the next century. Marius also made changes in the arms of the legionaries, introducing in particular an improved type of *pilum* or throwing-spear. In addition he is credited, although on less certain grounds, with increasing the size of each legion to 6,000 men and with dividing it into 10 cohorts of 600 each as its tactical units.

The Defeat of the Barbarians. During the years 104 and 103 B.C. Marius kept his army in Gaul guarding the passage to Italy while he completed the training of his troops and dug a new channel at the mouth of the

Rhone to facilitate the passage of his transports into the river. He was re-elected to the consulship for 103 B.C. and again for 102 B.C. since the danger from the barbarians was not over. In 102 B.C. the Cimbri returned from Spain and, joining the other tribes, prepared to invade Italy. The Teutons and Ambrones followed the direct route from southern Gaul, while the Cimbri and Tigurini moved to the north of the Alps to enter Italy by the eastern Alpine passes. Marius permitted the Teutons and Ambrones to march by him; then he overtook and annihilated them at Aquae Sextiae. In the meantime, the Cimbri had forced the other consul, Quintus Lutatius Catulus, to abandon the defence of the Brenner Pass and to withdraw south of the Po, allowing them to winter north of that river. Marius returned to Italy to join his colleague and face the new peril. In the next year, while consul for the fifth time, he met and destroyed the Cimbri on the Raudine plains near Vercellae. Thereupon the Tigurini gave up their attempt to penetrate Venetia and returned to their former homes in Switzerland. Thus Italy was saved from a repetition of the Gallic invasion of the fourth century B.C.

The Roman victories, won over greatly superior numbers, were due in large measure to the superior equipment and discipline of the Roman troops but also in part to the mistake made by the barbarians in dividing their forces for the assault upon Italy. At the same time, the defeat of the barbarians shows that the vitality of the Roman state was by no means exhausted and that men of energy and ability were not lacking, although under the existing régime it required a crisis to bring them to the front. Such a man was Marius, now the dominant figure in Roman public life.

The Second Sicilian Slave War: 104–101 B.C. While the barbarians were knocking at the gates of Italy, Rome was called upon to suppress a series of disorders in other parts of her empire, some of which were quelled only after considerable effort. In 104 B.C. occurred a serious rebellion of the slaves in Sicily, headed by two leaders Salvius and Anthenion, the former of whom took the title of King Tryphon. The rebels became masters of the open country, defeated the forces sent against them, reduced the Sicilian cities to the verge of starvation, and were only subdued by a consular army under Manius Aquilius in 101 B.C.

Rome and the Cilician Pirates. Before the slave war in Sicily had been brought to a close, the Romans were forced to make an effort to suppress piracy in the Mediterranean. Piracy had been on the increase ever since the decline of the Rhodian sea power following the Second Macedonian War, for as there were no longer any rival maritime powers Rome had neglected to maintain a navy adequate even for policing the seas. The pirates were at the same time slave-traders, who made a business of kid-

napping all over the Mediterranean, but particularly in the East, to supply the slave mart at Delos. In 104 B.C. the king of Bithynia complained to the Senate that one half of his able-bodied men had been carried into slavery. This traffic was winked at by the Romans, since they needed slaves in great numbers for their plantations and their business interests profited by the trade. However, the depredations of the pirates at length became too serious to be ignored, and in 102 B.C. the praetor Marcus Antonius was given a special command against them. They had their chief strongholds on the Cilician coast and the island of Crete, and Antonius proceeded to Cilicia, where he destroyed several of their towns and annexed some territory. This became the province of Cilicia. But the trouble was not over, for in 100 or 99 B.C. a law was passed in Rome which closed the harbors under Roman control to pirate vessels.

Besides these troubles the Romans had to face revolts in Spain, which broke out spasmodically down to 95 B.C., as well as continual inroads of barbarians from Thrace into the provinces of Macedonia and Illyricum.

V. THE POPULARES AND THE SENATE

Attacks upon the Senate in Rome. The prestige of the senatorial party, which had been rudely shattered in the Jugurthine War, suffered still further blows from incompetence and disregard of the public interest on the part of its members who held commands in the war with the Cimbri and Teutons. This situation encouraged spokesmen of the popular party, who counted heavily upon the support and the popularity of Marius, to begin a series of attacks upon individual senators and the body as a whole. One of the leaders in this movement was Gaius Servilius Glaucia, who, probably as tribune in 104 B.C., sponsored the passage of a law abrogating one passed two years before by senatorial influence which had replaced equestrian by senatorial jurors in the court for the trial of cases of extortion. By the Servilian Law this court was once more made up of equestrians as under the Acilian Law of 123 B.C. In the same year a second tribune named Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus put through a law which lessened the control of the nobles over appointments to the official priestly colleges. The Domitian Law provided that co-optations to vacancies in these colleges would be limited to persons previously elected in an assembly of seventeen tribes chosen by lot, as was the practice in the election of the Pontifex Maximus. A year later another tribune, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, brought about the condemnation of Caepio and Mallius, who were responsible for the disaster at Arausio, by a tribunal set up by one of his own laws for the trial of persons accused of treason.

The Coalition of Saturninus, Glaucia, and Marius. In his tribunate in 103 B.C. Saturninus tried to win further support from the city electorate by a law which renewed the regular sale of grain at rates below the market price, a procedure that had been suspended after the death of Gaius Gracchus. At the same time, he courted the good will of Marius by another law, which provided land grants of 100 *iugera* (66 acres) each in Africa for veterans of the Marian armies. The result was a coalition between Saturninus, Glaucia, and Marius for the purpose of securing a sixth consulship for Marius for 100 B.C., and at the same time the praetorship for Glaucia and a second tribunate for Saturninus. Their candidacies were successful, but the three entered upon office without any definite political program. At the most Saturninus and Glaucia hoped to initiate the worst features of the Gracchan policy and secure their leadership in the Tribal Assembly by introducing legislation of a popular character. Saturninus proposed laws providing lands for veterans in Gallia Narbonensis and authorizing the founding of colonies of Latin status in Sicily, Achaea, and Macedonia. Special clauses required all senators to take an oath that they would recognize the provisions of the laws as valid once they had been passed. Not only did the Senate try to block these measures by inducing certain tribunes to interpose their veto, but the city voters opposed the colonial law because the allies were to be admitted to the new settlements and Marius was empowered to grant Roman citizenship to select persons in each of these communities. But in his previous tribunate and in the course of his recent election Saturninus had not hesitated to appeal to violence, and on this occasion he made use of Marius' veterans to rout the opposition. The laws were enacted, but the proposed settlement in Gaul was never carried out, and very little was done about the colonies in other provinces. Marius had already been alarmed at the violent conduct of his associates, and its continuance led to a complete break with them. Seeking to perpetuate their position, Saturninus and Glaucia became candidates for public offices for 99 B.C. Saturninus was actually re-elected tribune for a third time; but Glaucia, who was illegally a candidate for the consulship while he was still a praetor, played into the hands of his enemies by having his chief rival murdered. This so offended public opinion that the Senate passed the last decree and called upon Marius to restore order. He forced the surrender of Saturninus, Glaucia, and their followers, who had taken up a position on the Capitoline Hill, and placed them for safekeeping in a public building. There they were massacred by their enemies, who tore off the roof and stoned them to death with tiles. Marius suffered a political eclipse; he had been unable to control his own partisans or to protect them from mob violence when he had taken them into custody.

The Senate was once more triumphant, and the party of the **populares** was divided and discredited.

VI. THE ATTEMPTED REFORMS OF LIVIUS DRUSUS 91 B.C.

Senatorial Policy. The Optimates celebrated their triumph by initiating a number of political trials, which resulted in the condemnation of a few minor supporters of Saturninus and Glaucia. They also sought to place a check upon demagogic legislation by a law which declared illegal the inclusion of unrelated topics in any single legislative enactment and required that the customary interval of three market days between the formal publication of an impending measure and the actual voting on it should be strictly observed. Equally significant of the attitude of the Optimates was the passage of a law in 95 B.C. which banished Latin and Italian allies from Rome and instituted a searching investigation to detect such of them as were illegally posing as Roman citizens. Although this action was in harmony with previous senatorial policy, it was not provoked by any special danger at this time and was a gratuitous insult to the allies in view of their loyalty in the Jugurthine and Cimbric wars.

The Trial of Rutilius Rufus: 92 B.C. Although the senators and the equestrians had combined for the moment against the terrorism instituted by the popular demagogues, the coalition was not lasting. As Gaius Gracchus had foreseen, the control of the law courts proved a standing bone of contention between the two orders. Especially aggravating to the senators was the use of the court established for the trial of cases of extortion to force the provincial governors to administer the provinces in the interest of the Roman financiers. A scandalous instance of this abuse was the case of Rutilius Rufus in 92 B.C. He had been legate under Mucius Scaevola, in 98 B.C. governor of Asia, where both had sternly checked any unjust exactions by the agents of the *publicani.* A trumped-up charge of extortion was now brought against Rutilius, and he was tried and adjudged guilty. His fate was to serve as a warning to officers who took their provincial obligations seriously. Rutilius retired to Asia and lived in great esteem among the people whom he was condemned for having oppressed.

The Legislative Program of Marcus Livius Drusus. In 91 B.C., one of the tribunes was Marcus Livius Drusus, son of the like-named opponent of Gaius Gracchus. Although by inheritance and disposition a loyal adherent of the Senate, the younger Drusus had come to realize the seriousness of some of the major problems which faced the government, and he

embarked upon a program of legislative reform which in some of its methods and aims revived memories of the Gracchi. At first he sought to win to his support the poorer classes of the voters by laws authorizing the founding of new colonies and fresh distributions of public land to individual colonists and the revival of public distributions of grain at cheap rates. Next he brought foward a proposal for correcting the abuses of the court for the trial of cases of extortion. This was to be accomplished by raising the number of the senators to 600 by the inclusion of 300 prominent equestrians and by having the jurors for the court chosen half from the new Senate and half from the remaining members of the equestrian order. At the same time, equestrian jurors were to be made liable to prosecution for accepting bribes. Although this was a sound measure, it was too moderate to secure warm support from the Senate and evoked vigorous protests from the equestrians. Nevertheless, it seems to have been passed. Finally, Drusus raised once more the question of the enfranchisement of both Latin and Italian allies. But here he met with strong opposition from the Roman populace in addition to the Senate and the equestrian order. Encouraged by the attitude of the voters, the Senate decreed that the Livian laws already passed were invalid on constitutional grounds, perhaps with reference to disregard of omens and the use of violence, of which Drusus had been guilty, and perhaps by an overstrict interpretation of the law against "omnibus" bills. In this action Drusus had to acquiesce; and before the end of the year he was assassinated, doubtless by an agent of his political opponents. Thus ended the last attempt of a civilian to reform the government by peaceful means. The necessary changes came, when they did come, by the power of the sword.

VII. THE ITALIC OR MARSIC WAR[5]: 90–88 B.C.

The death of Drusus was the signal for a revolt of the Italian allies. They had been in close contact with him and had taken steps for concerted action in arms if his bill should fail to pass. And after the Senate had refused to entertain a renewed demand for their admission to citizenship, they took up arms. Led by the Marsi and the Samnites, a group of the peoples in the central highland region organized a confederacy with its capital at Corfinium in the territory of the Paeligni, which was renamed Italia. Although the constitution of the confederacy is very uncertain, the central authority appears to have been vested in a senate of five hundred members, together with two consuls and twelve praetors as executive officers. A federal coinage was issued, specimens of which have survived.

[5] Later called the Social War, *i.e.* the War with the Allies.

many bearing a figure of the goddess Italia, the guardian deity of the union.

Practically all of the warlike peoples of central and southern Italy either were included in the confederacy or took the field along with its members. In numbers, the rebels were a match for the Romans; and, through long service in the Roman armies, they had become thoroughly versed in Roman military organization, tactics, and discipline. They could also count upon leaders of proved ability. But the Latin colonies remained true to their allegiance, and so did the Greek cities of South Italy, whose action virtually cut off the Italians from access to the coast. Furthermore, Umbria and Etruria, although disaffected, did not at once take up arms. Rome possessed a great advantage in her control of the sea, which enabled her to draw upon the resources of the provinces in men, money, and materials. Consequently, she was in a much better position to sustain a prolonged struggle.

Italic Victories and Roman Concessions. Hostilities opened in 90 B.C. with the allied forces attempting to reach Etruria in the north and occupy Campania in the south, while the Romans sought to forestall them by vigorous thrusts into the heart of the allied territory. In the south the Italians, in spite of one defeat, achieved great success. They overran a large part of Campania and broke through to the coast. Further victories gave them control of Apulia and Lucania. In the north, the struggle was more even, and the Romans balanced several disasters by equally significant successes. In this sphere, Marius, who served as a *legatus* or deputy commander, rendered valuable service. On the whole, the balance of success was decidedly in favor of the allies, and the Romans began to have doubts about the future. The allied cities in Etruria had been prevented from joining the rebels only by a timely promise of citizenship, and both Senate and people were ready to make further concessions. Late in the year, the consul Lucius Julius Caesar put through the Julian Law, which granted Roman citizenship to all Latin colonies and to all other allied communities which had not taken up arms. By this measure the Romans assured themselves of the support of the Etrurians and Umbrians and rewarded the loyalty of the Latins and the Greek federate allies. Shortly afterwards, two tribunes of the year 89 B.C. carried the Plautian-Papirian Law, which offered Roman citizenship to all members of Italian communities who would claim it within sixty days. This offer applied to individuals, both citizens of allied communities which were under arms and those which had not accepted citizenship under the Julian Law. A third law, the work of Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, consul in 89 B.C., gave Roman citizenship to all of the communities in Cisalpine Gaul south of the Po, and Latin rights to those lying north of that river.

The Collapse of the Revolt. These concessions not only checked the spread of the rebellion, but, since they gave to the allied peoples the rights for which they had been willing to take up arms, they caused such serious desertions from the ranks of those in the field that the movement was doomed to rapid failure. The effect was seen in the change in the fortunes of war during the campaigns of 89 B.C. In spite of desperate resistance on the part of those who refused to accept anything but independence, the Romans were everywhere successful. The consul Pompeius practically put an end to hostilities in the north; and Sulla, in his capacity as *legatus,* broke the power of the allies in South Italy. In the course of the year 88 B.C., organized resistance among the rebels died out.

By an appeal to arms, the Italians had won for themselves and the Latins rights which reason had long conceded were their due but which national and factional jealousy had withheld from them. This jealousy still showed itself in the method of enrolling the new citizens among the old. In order to limit their influence in the Assemblies, they were registered in only eight or ten of the thirty-five tribes. Naturally they were dissatisfied with this arrangement, and the question of their distribution became a prominent issue in Roman politics. Nevertheless for the future virtually all Italians were Romans, and in the course of the next few generations the various racial elements in Italy were welded into a single nation. As it was impossible for the magistrates of Rome to oversee the local administration throughout so wide an area, the Italian communities were organized as municipalities with limited rights of self-government, regularly administered by boards of four magistrates (*quattuorviri*) elected by the municipal citizens. With the adoption of Roman public and private law came the spread of the Latin language; local dialects gradually disappeared, and a uniform culture developed on the basis of a common citizenship.

VIII. THE FIRST MITHRADATIC WAR: 89–85 B.C.

Mithradates VI, Eupator, King of Pontus. In 89 B.C. the attention of the Senate was directed to a threat to its suzerainty over the client kingdoms in Asia Minor, which had arisen as a result of the establishment of the kingdom of Pontus under an able and ambitious ruler, Mithradates Eupator, and which had made it anxious to settle the Italic question with all possible speed. In 121 B.C. Mithradates had succeeded to the throne of northern Cappadocia, a small kingdom on the south shore of the Black Sea, whose Asiatic population was imbued with Hellenistic culture and whose rulers claimed descent from the ancient royal house of Persia and, with more justice, from Seleucus, the founder of the Macedonian kingdom

of Syria. For over six years Mithradates shared the throne with his brother, under his mother's regency, but in 115, when eighteen years of age, he seized the reins of government for himself. Subsequently he extended his power over the eastern and northern shores of the Black Sea as far west as the Danube and thus built up the kingdom of Pontus, *i.e.*, the coast land of the Black Sea, a name which later was applied to his native state of North Cappadocia.

Not satisfied with this, Mithradates also sought to extend his sway in Asia Minor, where Greater Cappadocia became the object of his ambitions. This brought him into conflict with Rome, whose policy was to prevent the rise of any dangerous neighbor in the East and who refused to suffer her settlement of Asia Minor to be disturbed. No less than five times did Mithradates, between 112 and 92 B.C., attempt to bring this district under his control, but upon each occasion he was forced by Roman interference to forego the fruits of his victories, since he was not yet prepared for war with Rome. In 91 B.C. he occupied the kingdom of Bithynia, which lay between Pontus and the Roman province of Asia, but again he yielded to Rome's demands and withdrew. But when Roman commissioners encouraged the king of Bithynia to raid his territory and refused him satisfaction, he decided to challenge the Roman arms, seeing that Rome was now involved in the war with her Italian allies. Hostilities began late in 89 B.C.

Mithradates in Asia and Greece. Mithradates was well prepared; he had a trained army and a fleet of three hundred ships. He experienced no difficulty in defeating the forces raised by the Roman authorities and speedily overran Bithynia and most of the Roman province of Asia. Meanwhile his fleet swept the Aegean Sea. The Roman provincials, who had been unmercifully exploited by taxgatherers and moneylenders, in many cases greeted Mithradates as a deliverer. At his order on a set date in 88 B.C. they massacred the Romans and Italians resident in Asia, said to have numbered 80,000, a step which was meant to bind them firmly to the cause of the king.

In the same year, 88 B.C., the populace of Athens, in the hope of overthrowing the oligarchic government which had been set up in the city with the support of Rome, seized control of the state and threw themselves into the hands of Mithradates. One of the king's generals, Archelaus, while on his way to Athens, exterminated the Italian colony at Delos, the center of the Roman commercial and banking interests in the East. From this blow the island port never fully recovered. Archelaus soon won over most of southern Greece to his master's cause, while Mithradates sent a large army to enter Hellas by the northerly route through Thrace and Macedonia.

Sulla and the Populares in Rome. This situation produced a crisis in

Rome. Sulla, who had been elected consul for 88 B.C., was allotted the command in the East upon the outbreak of hostilities but had been unable to leave Italy since he was conducting the siege of Nola in Campania. Marius, although in his sixty-eighth year, was as ambitious as ever and schemed to secure the command against Mithradates for himself. In this he was supported by the equestrians, who knew Sulla to be a firm upholder of the Senate. Accordingly the Marians joined forces with the tribune Publius Sulpicius Rufus, who had brought forward a bill to enroll the new citizens and freedmen equally in each of the thirty-five tribes. Sulpicius organized a bodyguard of equestrians and instituted a reign of terror. He passed his law by force in spite of the opposition of the consuls. When Sulla had left the city to join his army, a law was passed in the Assembly transferring his command in the East to Marius. But Sulla refused to admit the legality of the act and, relying upon the support of his troops, marched on Rome. Having taken the city by surprise, he caused Sulpicius, Marius, and others of their party to be outlawed. Sulpicius was slain; but Marius made good his escape to Mauretania. The Sulpician Laws were abrogated, and Sulla introduced a number of reforms, with the object of strengthening the position of the Senate. The most significant of these was one which made necessary the consent of the Senate before any measures could be submitted to one of the Assemblies. This done, upon the conclusion of his consulate, Sulla embarked with his army for Greece early in 87 B.C.

Sulla in the East. After driving the forces of Archelaus and the Athenians from the open country, Sulla began the siege of Athens and of its harbor town Piraeus in the autumn of 87 B.C. Athens was completely invested, but in spite of hunger the resistance was prolonged until March, 86 B.C., when Sulla's troops penetrated a weakly guarded spot in the walls and the city was sacked. A large number of the inhabitants were massacred, but the public buildings were spared. Soon after, Piraeus was taken by storm at terrific cost to the victors, but its citadel Munychia held out until evacuated by Archelaus.

From Athens Sulla hastened to meet the army of Mithradates, which had penetrated as far as Boeotia. At Chaeronea the numerically inferior but better disciplined Romans won a complete victory. At this juncture there arrived in Greece the consul Lucius Valerius Flaccus at the head of another army, with orders to supersede Sulla. The latter, however, was not disposed to give up his command and Flaccus, fearing to force the issue, set out for Asia by way of Macedonia and Thrace. This left Sulla free to meet a new Mithradatic army which had crossed the Aegean. At Orchomenus he attacked and annihilated it. But Mithradates still controlled the Aegean; and Sulla, being unable to cross into Asia, was forced to winter in Greece.

In 85 B.C. Lucius Lucullus, Sulla's quaestor, appeared in the Aegean with a fleet that he had gathered among Rome's allies in the East. He defeated the fleet of Mithradates and secured Sulla's passage to Asia. The king's position was now precarious. His exactions had alienated the sympathies of the Greek cities, which now began to desert his cause. Furthermore Flaccus, after recovering Macedonia and Thrace, had crossed the Bosphorus into Bithynia. There he was killed in a mutiny of his soldiers and was succeeded by his legate Fimbria, who was popular with the troops because he gratified their desire for plunder. Fimbria proved to be energetic; he defeated Mithradates and recovered the coast district as far south as Pergamon (86 B.C.). Mithradates was ready for peace, and Sulla was anxious to have his hands free to return to Italy, where the Marians were again in power. In fact, the king had opened negotiations soon after the battle of Orchomenus, but it was not until 85 B.C. that peace was concluded on the following terms: the king was to surrender Greater Cappadocia, Bithynia, the Roman province of Asia and his other conquests in Asia Minor, to pay an indemnity of 2,000 talents, and to give up a part of his fleet. His kingdom of Pontus remained intact.

Sulla spent the following winter in Asia, readjusting affairs in the province. The rebellious communities were punished by the quartering of troops upon them and by being forced to contribute to Sulla the huge sum of 20,000 talents, or $24,000,000. To raise this amount they were forced to borrow from Roman bankers and incur a crushing burden of debt. In 84 B.C. Sulla crossed to Greece, there to complete his preparations for a return to Italy. The Greek states had suffered heavily in the recent campaigns on their soil. Sulla had carried off the temple treasures of Olympia, Delphi, and Epidaurus; Attica and Boeotia had been ravaged and depopulated; and the coasts had been raided by the Mithradatic fleet. So extensive was the devastation wrought in the course of this war that Hellas never fully recovered from its effects.

IX. SULLA'S DICTATORSHIP

The Populares in Rome: 87–84 B.C. While Sulla had been conducting his successful campaign in Greece, in Italy the Marian party had again won the upper hand. Scarcely had Sulla left Italy with his army when the consul Lucius Cornelius Cinna re-enacted the Sulpician Laws. His colleague Gnaeus Octavius and the senatorial faction drove him from the city and had him deposed from office. But Cinna received the support of the army in Campania and of the Samnites, who were still under arms although the Senate had tried to win them over to its side by a promise of citizenship. Meanwhile Marius had returned to Italy and raised an army in Etruria.

Both he and Cinna advanced on Rome. They forced their opponents to capitulate, had Cinna reinstated as consul, and had the banishment of Marius revoked. Sulla's laws were repealed and his property confiscated. Upon his return to Rome, Marius conducted a massacre of his leading opponents among the senators, including the consul Octavius, until he was stopped by the action of Cinna. On January 1, 86, Marius entered upon his seventh consulship and died a few days later. His successor, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, was sent to supersede Sulla, a mission which cost him his life, as related above. In 85 B.C., the war with Mithradates was at an end, and the Marians had to face the prospect of the return of Sulla at the head of a victorious army. Cinna, now in his third consulship, and his colleague Gnaeus Carbo proceeded to raise troops to oppose him. They illegally prolonged their office for the next year (84) and made preparations to cross the Adriatic and meet Sulla in Macedonia. But the army gathered for this purpose at Brundisium mutinied and murdered Cinna. Carbo prevented the election of a successor and held office as sole consul. The Senate had previously begun negotiations with Sulla in an effort to prevent further civil war. He now demanded the restitution of property and honors both for himself and all those who had taken refuge with him. The Senate was inclined to yield but was prevented by Carbo.

The Return of Sulla. In the spring of 83 B.C. Sulla landed at Brundisium at the head of an army of 40,000 veterans, who had taken an oath to remain under his orders. To prevent the Italians from joining his enemies, he declared his intention to respect all privileges that had been granted to them, which included their enrollment in all the tribes that had been carried out in accordance with a decree of the Senate passed in 84 B.C. Nevertheless, the bulk of the new citizens, particularly in Samnium and Etruria, supported the cause of the Populares. On the other hand, Sulla was joined at once by the young Gnaeus Pompeius, son of the consul of 89 B.C., who had raised an army on his own authority in Picenum, and by other men of influence. In the operations which followed, the leaders of the Marians showed themselves lacking in co-operation and military skill. Sulla penetrated into Campania, where he defeated one consul, Norbanus, at Mount Tifata. The other consul, Scipio Asiaticus, entered into negotiations with him and was deserted by his army, which went over to Sulla.

In the following year Sulla advanced into Latium and won a hard-fought victory over the younger Marius, now consul, at Sacriportus. Rome fell into his hands, and Marius took refuge in Praeneste. Sulla then turned against the second consul, Carbo, in Etruria and, after several victories, forced him to flee to Africa. In a final effort the Marians, united with the Samnites, tried to relieve Praeneste; failing to accomplish this, they made a dash upon

Rome. But Sulla appeared in time to save the city and utterly defeat his enemies in a bloody contest at the Colline Gate. Praeneste fell soon after; Marius committed suicide; and except at a few isolated points all resistance in Italy was over.

Sulla's Vengeance. Sulla was absolute master of the situation and at once proceeded to punish his enemies and reward his friends. In cold-blooded cruelty, without any legal condemnation, his leading opponents were marked out for vengeance; their names were posted in lists in the Forum to indicate that they might be slain with impunity and that their goods were confiscated. Rewards were offered to informers who brought about the death of such victims, and many were included in the lists to gratify the personal enmities of Sulla's friends. The goods of the proscribed were auctioned off publicly under Sulla's direction, and their children and grandchildren were declared ineligible for public office. From these proscriptions the equestrians suffered particularly; 2,600 of them are said to have perished, together with 90 senators. The Italian municipalities also felt Sulla's avenging hand. Widespread confiscations of land, especially in Samnium and Etruria, enabled him to provide for 150,000 of his veterans, whose settlement did much to hasten the Latinization of these districts. Ten thousand slaves of the proscribed were set free by Sulla and took the name of Cornelii from their patron. Apparently these arrangements were given the sanction of legality by action of the Senate and subsequent legislation.

Sulla's Legislation. Sulla's aims went further than the destruction of the Marian party. He sought to re-create a stable government in the state. For this he required more constitutional powers than the right of might. Therefore, since both consuls were dead, he caused the appointment of an *interrex* who by virtue of a special law appointed him a dictator for an unlimited term to enact legislation and reorganize the commonwealth (*dictator legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae*). Sulla's appointment occurred late in 82 B.C. The scope of his powers and their unlimited duration gave him monarchial or rather autocratic authority.

The general aim of Sulla's legislation was to restore the Senate to the position which it had held prior to 133 B.C. and to guarantee the perpetuation of this condition. His reforms fall into two classes: some, which were not long-lived, were directed to securing the rule of the Optimates; the rest, which were of a nonpartisan character and so enjoyed greater permanency, sought to increase the efficiency of the administration. Those of the first group constituted a renewal and extension of his reforms of 88 B.C. The tribunes lost the right to initiate legislation in the Tribal Assembly, and their intercession was restricted to interference with the exercise of the magistrate's *imperium.* To deter able and ambitious men from seeking the

CHAPTER XIII. THE RISE OF POMPEY THE GREAT: 78–60 B.C.

The Extraordinary Commands. For the period following the death of Sulla in 78 B.C., Roman history centers around the lives of a small group of eminent men, whose ambitions and rivalries are the determining factors in the political life of the state. This is due to the fact that neither the Senate nor the Assembly has the power to control the men to whom the needs of the empire compel it to give military authority. The generation of Marius and Sulla had seen the rise of the professional army which revealed itself as the true power in the state, and the disturbances of the Italic and Civil Wars supplied an abundance of needy recruits who sought service with a popular and successful general for the sake of the rewards which it lay in his power to bestow. As military achievements were the sole sure foundation for political success, able men made it the goal of their ambition to be entrusted with an important military command. The dangers of civil and foreign wars at first compelled the Senate to confer military power upon the few available men of recognized ability even when it distrusted their ulterior motives, and later such appointments were made by the Assembly through the coalition of the general and the tribunate. In this way arose the so-called extraordinary commands, that is, such as involved a military *imperium* which in some way exceeded that of the regular constitutional officers and required to be created or defined by a special enactment of the Senate or Comitia.

The man who first realized the value of the extraordinary command as a path to power was Pompey the Great.

For our knowledge of the events of the years 78 to 60 B.C., we are dependent mainly upon the same authorities as for the period immediately preceding. Of particular value are Plutarch's *Lives* of Pompey, Crassus, and Sertorius, and the contemporary speeches of Cicero. Sallust's *Histories* which covered in detail the years 78 to 67 B.C. are represented only by fragments, but his monograph on the *War with Catiline* is preserved intact. Another important source beginning with 68 B.C. is the fully extant portion of the *Roman History* of Cassius Dio, who for his account of the last century B.C. relied largely upon Livy.

I. POMPEY'S COMMAND AGAINST SERTORIUS IN SPAIN: 77–71 B.C.

The Revolt of Lepidus. It was not to be expected that Sulla's measures would long remain unassailed. Those dispossessed of their property, those disqualified for office, and the equestrians who sought to regain control of the courts were all anxious to undo part of his work. They found a leader in Marcus Lepidus, who, as consul in 78 B.C., the very year of Sulla's death, sought to renew the distribution of cheap grain to the masses in Rome, which Sulla had suppressed, to restore the Marian exiles, and to reinstate those who had lost their lands. Failing to carry his proposals, he took advantage of the excuse afforded by the outbreak of disorders in Etruria between the former landholders and the Sullan colonists to raise an army in North Italy, where he had been assigned the province of Cisalpine Gaul for the coming year. He rallied to his support the discontented elements from Etruria and finally marched on Rome, demanding re-election to the consulship for 77 B.C. Near Rome he was defeated by his colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus but managed to escape and to cross over to Sardinia with a large number of his soldiers. There he died shortly after, and the bulk of his forces under Marcus Perperna withdrew to Spain to join Sertorius, who was leading a rebellion against the senatorial faction. In the meantime, the supporters of Lepidus in North Italy had been crushed by Pompey, to whom the Senate had given a subordinate command in view of his military experience, a mistake which they were soon to regret very bitterly.

Sertorius in Spain. Quintus Sertorius was by far the ablest among the leaders of the Populares who had been associated with Cinna and Marius. As early as 88 B.C. his military talents had earned him the jealousy of Sulla, who at that time prevented his election to the tribunate. During the following years he showed his statesmanlike qualities by his opposition to the excesses of his political partners. In 83 B.C., he was appointed propraetor for Hither Spain; but two years later, after the defeat of the Populares in Italy, he was driven out of his province by Sulla's nominee and forced to take refuge in Africa. Thence, after various adventures, he returned in 80 B.C. to head a revolt of the Lusitanians. His ability as a guerilla leader, the confidence which he aroused among the Spaniards, and his initial successes produced considerable alarm in Rome. To crush the revolt, Sulla dispatched Quintus Caecilius Metellus, one of the consuls of 80 B.C., as governor of Farther Spain; but he failed to make any headway. In 79 B.C., the propraetor in command of Hither Spain was defeated and killed by the forces of Sertorius; and a like fate befell the proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis, who

came to the aid of Metellus (78 B.C.). By the close of 77 B.C. Sertorius had won control of almost the whole of Hither Spain and a considerable portion of the farther province. He regarded himself as the legitimate governor of Hither Spain and professed to have taken up arms not against Rome but against the Sullan faction then dominant in the Senate. He employed members of the popular party as his civil and military subordinates and organized a Senate from among the Romans of his following.

Pompey's Extraordinary Command: 77 B.C. Since the Senate was unwilling to come to terms with Sertorius, it was imperative for it to send a new commander and a new army to Spain. As neither of the consuls was willing to face Sertorius, Pompey, who had refused to disband his troops at the orders of Catulus, sought the command. Although he was ineligible because of his youth and his lack of a previous official career, such was the dearth of able men at the disposal of the Senate that, in spite of considerable opposition, it passed a decree which conferred upon him proconsular *imperium* and entrusted him with the conduct of the war in Hither Spain. But even after the arrival of Pompey with an army of 40,000 men, Sertorius was more than able to hold his own throughout the campaign of 76 B.C. At the close of the year, through the agency of the pirates, he entered into an alliance with Mithradates, King of Pontus, who was again on the point of war with Rome. In 75 B.C., the balance of success inclined towards Pompey and Metellus, whose superior numbers and resources were beginning to tell. Nevertheless Sertorius was still able to keep the field, and Pompey felt obliged to call upon the Senate for reinforcements.

The arrival of the desired reinforcements enabled Pompey in 74 and 73 B.C. definitely to gain the upper hand and make victory a certainty. In order to prevent desertions, Sertorius resorted to severe punishments, which alienated the Spaniards, who were already estranged by the acts of his subordinates. He was further hampered by dissensions in the ranks of his Roman supporters. The center of disaffection was Perperna, who treacherously assassinated Sertorius in 72 B.C. and assumed command of his forces. But soon afterwards Perperna himself was defeated by Pompey, taken captive, and executed. The revolt was broken and pacification of Spain speedily accomplished. Pompey was able to return to Italy in 71 B.C.

II. THE COMMAND OF LUCULLUS AGAINST MITHRADATES: 74–66 B.C.

Asia Minor after Sulla's Settlement. After concluding peace with Sulla in 85 B.C., Mithradates Eupator directed his energies to consolidating his kingdom and reorganizing his forces in expectation of a renewal of the

struggle with Rome. He recognized that Sulla had been ready to make peace only because of the situation in Italy, and the fact that he had been unable to secure written confirmation of the terms of the treaty warned him that the Romans still contemplated his complete overthrow. Indeed he had been attacked in the years 83 and 82 B.C. by Lucius Murena, the proconsul of Asia, but had been able to defend himself, and Sulla had once more brought about a cessation of hostilities. During the years 78–75 B.C., the Romans proceeded systematically with the conquest of the mountainous districts in southern Asia Minor, including Lycia and Pamphylia. Meantime, Tigranes of Armenia, the son-in-law of Mithradates, had enlarged his dominions by the annexation of Greater Cappadocia and of Syria (83 B.C.), where he terminated the rule of the house of Seleucus.

The Second Mithradatic War. In 75 B.C. occurred the death of Nicomedes III, King of Bithynia, who bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. The Senate accepted the inheritance and made Bithynia a province, but Mithradates championed the claims of a son of Nicomedes and determined to dispute the possession of Bithynia with the Romans. He had raised an efficient army and navy, was leagued with the pirates, and was in alliance with Sertorius, who supplied him with officers and recognized his claims to Bithynia and other districts in Asia Minor. Rome was threatened with another serious war. One of the senatorial faction, the consul Lucius Lucullus, contrived to have assigned to himself by a senatorial decree the provinces of Cilicia and Asia with command of the main operations against Mithradates, while his colleague Cotta received Bithynia and a fleet to guard the Hellespont. At the same time a praetor, Marcus Antonius, was given an extraordinary command against the pirates with an unlimited *imperium* over the Mediterranean Sea and its coast. He, however, proved utterly incompetent, was defeated in an attack upon Crete, and died there.

Early in 74 B.C., Mithradates invaded Bithynia. There he was encountered by Cotta, whom he defeated and blockaded in Chalcedon. Thereupon he invaded Asia and laid siege to Cyzicus. But Lucullus cut off his communications, and in the ensuing winter he was forced to raise the siege and retire with heavy losses into Bithynia. The following year a fleet which Lucullus had raised defeated that of Mithradates in the Aegean Sea. This enabled the Romans to recover Bithynia and invade Pontus. In 72 B.C. Lucullus routed Mithradates and forced him to take refuge in Armenia. In the course of this and the two following years, Lucullus completed the subjugation of Pontus by the systematic reduction of its fortified cities. Cotta undertook the siege of Heraclea in Bithynia and upon its fall in 71 B.C. returned to Rome. The winter of 71–70 B.C. Lucullus spent in Asia reorganizing the financial situation. There the cities were laboring under a frightful burden

of indebtedness to Roman bankers and taxgatherers, which had its origin in the exactions of Sulla.[1] Lucullus interfered on behalf of the provincials and by reducing the accumulated interest on their debts enabled them to pay off their obligations in a series of annual instalments. This care for the provincials won for himself the bitter enmity of the Roman financial interests, which sought to deprive him of his command.

As the war could not be regarded as terminated so long as Mithradates was at large, Lucullus demanded his surrender from Tigranes. When the latter refused, Lucullus invaded Armenia, defeated the king, and took his capital, Tigranocerta, 69 B.C. In the following year Lucullus attempted to complete the subjugation of Armenia but was prevented by the mutinous conduct of his troops. He was unpopular with his men because he maintained discipline and protected the subject peoples from the excesses of the soldiers. Also some of his legions had come to the East with Fimbria in 86 B.C. and clamored for the discharge to which they were entitled. In 68 B.C. Mithradates reappeared in Pontus, and in the next spring Lucullus had to return from Armenia to face him, whereupon Tigranes began to recover lost ground. Because of the mutiny in his army Lucullus was forced to remain inactive. He had already been superseded in the command of Asia, Cilicia, and Bithynia, which had come under his control with the return of Cotta, and his enemies in Rome deprived him of the remnants of his authority in 66 B.C.

III. THE REVOLT OF THE GLADIATORS: 73–71 B.C.

Spartacus. While Pompey was fighting Sertorius in Spain and Lucullus was pursuing Mithradates in Bithynia, a serious slave war arose in Italy. It began in 73 B.C. with the revolt of a band of gladiators from a training school in Capua under the leadership of the Thracian Spartacus and the Gauls, Crixus and Oenomaus. Taking refuge on the slopes of Vesuvius, they rapidly recruited large numbers of runaway slaves. They defeated the armies of two Roman praetors and overran Campania, Lucania, and all southern Italy. By the end of the year 73 B.C. their number had grown to 70,000.

In the next year they divided their forces; the Gauls and Germans followed Crixus, the Thracians Spartacus. The two consuls took the field against them; Crixus and his horde were defeated in Apulia. Spartacus then marched north, intending to make his way through the Alps to Thrace. The consuls pursued him, but he defeated them one after the other. He likewise cleared the road to the north by defeating the proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul, but, his followers refused to leave Italy and turned southwards,

[1] See p. 199.

plundering as they went. Not venturing an attack upon Rome, Spartacus retired to South Italy.

The Command of Crassus, 72–71 B.C. In view of the ill success of the consuls of 72 B.C., the Senate appointed as extraordinary commander the praetor Marcus Licinius Crassus, one of Sulla's veteran officers, who volunteered his services. After restoring discipline among his troops, Crassus succeeded in penning up Spartacus in the peninsula of Bruttium. Spartacus hired some Cilician pirates to transport him to Sicily; but, after receiving their price, they sailed off, abandoning him to his fate. Thereupon he forced his way through Crassus' lines, but his followers split into two detachments, each of which was caught and beaten. Spartacus fell in battle, while 6,000 of his following were taken and crucified. Crassus had bent all his energies to bring the revolt to a close before the arrival of Pompey, who had arrived in Italy on his way from Spain and only too gladly obeyed a summons to join in crushing the rebels. This he might fairly claim to have accomplished, although a body of 5,000 slaves who had escaped to North Italy were met by Pompey and annihilated.

IV. THE CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS: 70 B.C.

The End of the Sullan Constitution. Both Pompey and Crassus, flushed by their respective victories in Spain and in Italy, now demanded the right to stand for the consulship for 70 B.C. Crassus, indeed, was eligible to seek this office for he had held his praetorship in 72 B.C., and a full year's interval would have elapsed before he entered upon the consulship if elected. But Pompey's candidature was clearly unconstitutional for he was still below the required age and had not qualified by holding the quaestorship and praetorship. Under these conditions, the Senate was bound to resist his request to be allowed to become a candidate. It also opposed the candidacy of Crassus, as it distrusted him almost as much as Pompey. But in the end the Senate had to yield. Since both commanders were also seeking permission to celebrate triumphs, they used this pretext to keep their troops under arms. The Senate, however, could not fail to realize that this was a covert threat to use force if necessary to secure their ends. At the same time, Pompey and Crassus made a bid for the support of the Populares by promising to restore to the tribunate all its former privileges and for that of the equestrians by proposing to reinstate them as judges in the jury courts. Overawed by the forces arrayed against it, the Senate granted the generals their triumphs and permitted the passage of a law exempting Pompey from the legal requirements of his candidacy. Sinking their personal rivalry, Pompey and Crassus supported each other to the full, with the result that both were

elected to the consulship for the coming year. In office, they completed the overthrow of the Sullan constitution. By the Aurelian Law of 75 B.C., the tribunes had been permitted once more to seek other offices of state; now they regained in full their previous rights in legislation and the exercise of the power of veto. Another Aurelian Law of 70 B.C. revised the composition of the juries in the public courts. For the future each jury was to be drawn in equal numbers from the three orders of the senators, the equestrians, and the tribunes of the treasury (*tribuni aerarii*). There is much uncertainty as to the exact status of these tribunes, but it seems clear that they were a class of persons of considerable property, whose assessment was just below that of the equestrians. It has been plausibly suggested that the equestrians who qualified as such for jury service were those who had at some time been honored with the public horse,[2] and that the tribunes of the treasury included all those who at any time had performed the functions of this office. At any rate, they, as well as the equestrians, could be said to represent the business interests in Roman society. Finally, the censorship, which Sulla had abolished, was restored to its former position in the government. A revision of the Senate and the final registration of the new citizens were carried out.

The Trial of Verres. In the same year, prior to the passing of the Aurelian Law which reformed the juries, occurred the trial of Gaius Verres, ex-propraetor of Sicily, a case notable because the prosecution was conducted by the young Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose accusation contained in his published *Orations against Gaius Verres* constitutes a most illuminating commentary upon provincial misgovernment under the Sullan régime. The senatorial juries after 82 B.C. had protected the interests of the provinces no better than had the equestrian juries established by Gaius Gracchus. They had shown themselves shamelessly venal, and a provincial governor who made judicious disbursements could be confident that he would be acquitted of any charges of extortion brought against him. Relying upon this, Verres, who was propraetor of Sicily in 73, 72, and 71 B.C., had carried off from that province money and valuables estimated at 40,000,000 sesterces ($2,000,000). He had openly boasted that he intended the profits of one year for himself, those of the second for his friends and patrons, and those of the third for his jurors. At the opening of the year 70 B.C. the Sicilian cities sued Verres for restitution of damages and chose Cicero as their advocate. Cicero was a native of Arpinum, the birthplace of Marius, and was now in his thirty-sixth year. His upright conduct as quaestor in western Sicily in 75 B.C. had earned him the confidence of the Sicilians, and his successful conduct of the defence in several previous trials had marked him as a pleader of exceptional ability. But Verres had entrusted his case to Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, regarded

[2] See p. 159.

at the time as the foremost of Roman orators, and every conceivable device was resorted to in order to prevent the case from coming to trial. Another prosecutor appeared, who claimed to have a better right than Cicero to bring suit against Verres. This necessitated a trial to decide which could better claim to represent the Sicilians. Cicero was able to expose the falsity of the claims of his rival, who was acting in collusion with Verres. He then proceeded to Sicily, where he gathered his evidence in fifty of the hundred and ten days allowed him for the purpose. Before the hearing the elections for the next year were held and Hortensius elected consul, but Cicero was returned as aedile in spite of all the efforts of his opponents to weaken his prestige by a defeat at the polls.

The trial was set for the fifth of August, and as there were fifty holidays for various festivals between that date and the end of the year, the defence hoped to drag out the trial until after January first, when a praetor friendly to Verres would preside over the court for extortion. But Cicero defeated their hopes by abstaining from any long formal speech of accusation and contenting himself with a brief statement of the obstacles the defence had placed in his way, a threat to punish in his capacity of aedile any attempts at corruption, and a short statement of the charge against Verres. He then called his witnesses. Hortensius found himself without any arguments to combat and could not refute the evidence. Before the hearing of the witnesses was concluded, Verres went into exile. He was condemned in his absence, and Cicero became the leading advocate of the day. It must be admitted, however, that the condemnation of Verres by a jury of senators was also partly due to the danger of the loss of their privileges which threatened them under the reform which was being discussed.

Provincial Misgovernment. The evidence which had been brought out against Verres was afterwards used by Cicero in composing his *Second Pleading against Verres* (*actio secunda in Verrem*), which was of course never delivered but was a political pamphlet in the form of a fictitious oration. From it we learn the devices of which the governor made use to amass a fortune at the expense of his province. By initiating false accusations, by rendering, or intimidating other judges to render, unjust decisions, he secured the confiscation of property the value of which he diverted to his own pockets. He sold justice to the highest bidder. While saving himself expense by defrauding the collectors of port dues of the tax on his valuables shipped out of Sicily, he added to his profits by the sale of municipal offices and priesthoods. He entered into partnership with the *decumani* or collectors of the 10 per cent produce tax and ordered the cultivators to pay whatever the collectors demanded and then, if dissatisfied, seek redress in his court, a redress which, needless to say, was never gained. He loaned public funds at

usurious rates of interest and either did not pay in full or paid nothing for corn purchased from the Sicilian communities for the Roman government, while charging the state the market price. At the same time he insisted upon the cities commuting into money payments at rates far above current prices the grain allotted for the upkeep of the governor's establishment. At times the demands made upon cultivators exceeded the total of their annual crop, and in despair they fled from their holdings. To the money gained by such methods Verres added a costly treasure of works of art, which he collected from both individuals and cities by theft, seizure, and intimidation. Even the sacred ornaments of temples were not spared. All who resisted or denounced him, even Roman citizens, were subjected to illegal imprisonment, torture, or execution. These iniquities were carried out in defiance of the provincial charter; but there was no power in his province to restrain him, and the Senate, which should have done so, remained indifferent to the complaints which were carried to Rome. The sad truth was that after all Verres was only more shameless and unscrupulous than the average provincial governor, and consequently the sympathies of the Senate were with him rather than with his victims the provincials.

V. THE COMMANDS OF POMPEY AGAINST THE PIRATES AND IN THE EAST: 67–62 B.C.

The Pirate Scourge. Both Pompey and Crassus had declined proconsular appointments to follow their consulship because there were no provinces open which promised an opportunity to augment their influence or military reputation. Accordingly they remained in Rome watching for some more favorable chance to employ their talents. Pompey found such an opportunity in the ravages of the Cilician pirates. After the failure of Marcus Antonius (74–72 B.C.), Caecilius Metellus had been sent to Crete in 69 B.C. and in the course of the next two years reduced the island to subjection and made it a province. But his operations there did little to check the pirate plague. So bold had these robbers become that they did not hesitate to raid the coasts of Italy and to plunder Ostia. When finally their depredations interrupted the importation of grain for the supply of the city, a famine threatened, and decisive measures had to be taken against them.

The Gabinian Law: 67 B.C. The only way to deal with the question was to appoint a commander with power to operate against the pirates everywhere, and the obvious man for the position was Pompey. However, the Senate mistrusted him and in addition feared the consequences of creating such an extensive extraordinary command. But since 71 B.C. Pompey had stood on the side of the Populares, and now, like Marius, he found in the tribunate an ally able to aid him in attaining his goal. In 67 B.C. the tribune

Aulus Gabinius proposed a law for the appointment of a single commander of consular rank who should have command over the whole sea within the pillars of Hercules and all Roman territory to a distance of fifty miles inland. His appointment was to be for three years, he was to have the power to nominate senatorial *legati,* to raise money in addition to what he received from the quaestors, and to recruit soldiers and sailors at discretion for his fleet. This command was modelled upon that of Antonius the praetor in 74 B.C. but conveyed higher authority and greater resources. The Senate bitterly resisted the passage of the bill; but it passed, and the Senate was forced to relinquish its prerogative of creating the extraordinary commands. Although no person had been nominated for this command in the law of Gabinius, the opinion of the voters had been so clearly expressed in a *contio* that the Senate had to appoint Pompey. He received twenty-four *legati* and a fleet of five hundred vessels.

The Fate of the Pirates. Pompey set to work energetically and systematically. In forty days he swept the pirates from the western Mediterranean. In forty-nine more he cornered them in Cilicia—where he forced the surrender of their strongholds. His victory was hastened by the mildness shown to those who submitted. They were granted their lives and freedom and in many cases were used as colonists to revive Mediterranean towns with a declining population. Within three months he had brought the pirate war to a triumphant conclusion, but his *imperium* would not terminate for three years, and he was anxious to gather fresh laurels.

The Manilian Law: 66 B.C. The opportunity was not wanting for the conclusion of the pirate war coincided with the temporary check to the Roman arms in Pontus, due to the disaffection of the troops of Lucullus and the machinations of the latter's enemies in Rome. Pompey now sought to have the command of Lucullus added to his own, and in this he had the support of the equestrian order. Early in 66 B.C. one of the tribunes, Gaius Manilius, proposed a law transferring to Pompey the provinces of Bithynia and Cilicia and the conduct of the war against Mithradates and Tigranes. Cicero, then a praetor, supported the measure in his speech, *For the Manilian Law.* His support probably was dictated by the fact that he was a man without family backing and consequently had to have the friendship of an influential personage if he was to secure the political advancement which he desired. The Senate strongly opposed any extension of Pompey's military authority, but the bill was passed, and he took over the command of Lucullus. He was given power to make peace or war with whom he chose and enjoyed a concentration of military power hitherto unexampled in Roman history. His eastern command, which made a striking impression upon his contemporaries, forms a prominent landmark on the road from the constitution of the Republic to the constitution of the Principate.

Pompey in the East. After making an alliance with the king of Parthia, who diverted the attention of Tigranes by an invasion of Armenia, Pompey advanced into Pontus to attack Mithradates. The latter soon was forced to withdraw into Lesser Armenia, where Pompey overtook him and dispersed his army. Failing to find a refuge with Tigranes, who distrusted him, Mithradates made his way to the Greek cities of the Crimea which were under his overlordship. Tigranes came to terms with Pompey and was permitted to retain his kingdom as a Roman ally, who might check undue ambitions on the part of Parthia. In the following year, 65 B.C., Pompey reduced to submission the inhabitants of the hill country south of the Caucasus, between the Black and the Caspian seas. They became dependent allies of Rome. The district of Pontus on the north coast of Asia Minor was broken up. The western part was joined to the province of Bithynia, which was known henceforth as Bithynia and Pontus; the rest was assigned to allied states.

In 64 B.C., Pompey turned his attention to Syria, where a state of chaos had reigned since Lucullus had wrested it from Tigranes and left it a prey to rival local dynasts. Pompey decided to treat it as conquered territory and annexed it as a Roman province. He then intervened in a struggle between rival claimants to the throne of the kingdom of Judaea. After a brief conflict, in which the temple of Jerusalem was stormed by Roman troops, he installed his nominee as High Priest at the head of the government but without the title of king. A large part of Judaea was annexed to Syria, that portion left under the rule of the High Priest became a Roman dependency closely supervised by the governor of the Syrian province.

While Pompey was in Judaea, the career of Mithradates came to an end. With tireless energy he had recruited new forces among his subjects on the north shore of the Black Sea and proposed to join the Celtic peoples of the Danube valley in an invasion of Italy. But his soldiers and subjects alike were hostile to this undertaking. A revolt against him was vigorously suppressed, but a mutiny of the soldiers headed by his son, Pharnaces, trapped him in his citadel at Pantacapaeum. In despair, he had himself put to death (63 B.C.). Thus the Mithradatic War finally came to a close; and Pompey, after regulating the political situation in Asia Minor, Syria, and the adjacent countries, started on a triumphal return to Italy with his victorious army and rich spoils of war.

VI. THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE: 63 B.C.

Rome in the Absence of Pompey. While Pompey was adding to his military reputation in the East, his activities were watched with jealous and anxious eyes not only by the Senate but also by his rivals for leadership

among the Populares. The attitude of the Optimates is clearly revealed in the prosecution of two tribunes who had been among his active supporters in 67 and 66 B.C. Gaius Cornelius, tribune in 67 B.C., who had carried a law which obliged the praetors to render decisions in accordance with the terms of their own edicts and was largely responsible for the Calpurian law on bribery, which prescribed the double penalty of a fine and future exclusion from public life for persons guilty of bribery at elections, was brought to trial on a general charge of treasonable conduct. His colleague, Gabinius, who, besides proposing the law which created Pompey's command against the pirates, was author of two other useful measures—of which one forbade the lending of money to provincials in Rome, while the other forced the Senate to make the reception of embassies the first item of business at its meetings in the month of February instead of delaying until bribery had opened the doors of the Senate chamber—escaped a similar fate only by joining Pompey in the field. Manilius, whose law had transferred the command of Lucullus to Pompey in 66 B.C., was the subject of two separate indictments.

The departure of Pompey had left Crassus as the outstanding champion of the Populares in Rome. But Crassus found that his wealth was no adequate counterpoise to Pompey's military achievements and therefore sought by devious means to build up a personal following in Rome and to secure for himself the military backing which he so obviously lacked. In 65 B.C., he induced a tribune to propose a measure authorizing the annexation of Egypt on the pretext that the previous king had willed his kingdom to the Romans. In spite of the attraction of the riches of that country and the prospect of an easy conquest, the proposal was rejected through the opposition of the Senate, which had adopted a hands-off policy towards Egypt, and the attacks of Cicero, who championed Pompey's interests.

A potential, although not as yet an actual, rival to both Pompey and Crassus was Gaius Julius Caesar, who was rapidly coming to be one of the leading figures in Roman public life. Caesar was born in 100 B.C., of the patrician *gens* of the Julii, but since his aunt was the wife of Marius and he himself had married the daughter of Cinna, his lot was cast with the Populares. As a young man he had distinguished himself by refusing to divorce his wife at Sulla's behest, whereat Sulla was with difficulty induced to spare his life, saying that he saw in him many a Marius. For the time being Caesar judged it prudent to withdraw from Rome to Rhodes. While in the East he was captured by pirates and, after being ransomed, fulfilled his threat to avenge himself by taking and executing his captors. After the death of Sulla, Caesar returned to Rome and devoted his more than average oratorical abilities to the cause of the Marians. In 69 or 68 B.C. he was quaestor in

Farther Spain, and after his return to Rome he became closely associated with Crassus in the attempt to develop a counter-poise to Pompey's influence. While aedile in 65 B.C. he curried favor with the populace by the extraordinary lavishness with which he celebrated the public festivals, by the restoration of the public monuments of the campaign of Marius, and by supporting the prosecution of agents in the Sullan proscriptions. The splendor of his shows had obliged Caesar to contract heavy debts, and Crassus was in all probability his chief creditor. Both were therefore interested in procuring for Caesar a position in which he could secure the wealth to meet his obligations.

The unrest in Rome was heightened by the presence there of a number of men of ruined fortunes, both Marians dispossessed by Sulla and those of the opposite party who had squandered their resources or had been excluded from the Senate by the censors of 70 B.C.

Foremost among them was Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina), a patrician with little family influence but possessed of unlimited courage and daring. He enjoyed an evil repute for his share in the Sullan proscriptions and the viciousness of his private life. In spite of this, he had risen to the praetorship and served as propraetor in Africa. He had presented himself as a candidate for the consulship for 65 B.C. but had been rejected by the consul in charge of the elections, probably because he was under indictment for misgovernment in his province. Angered at this, he sought revenge along with two other candidates who, indeed, had been elected but then convicted of bribery, disqualified, and dropped from the Senate. The conspirators laid plans to murder the consuls who were finally chosen as they entered upon office on January 1, 65 B.C., and seize control of the government. Their actions aroused suspicions that mischief was afoot, and the incoming consuls were provided with a bodyguard, whose presence caused the plot to fall through. No action was taken against the plotters, but their position was uncomfortable, and Crassus took advantage of this to offer some of them protection in order to have their services at his disposal in the future. One of these was Catiline.

Cicero Consul. In the year 64 B.C. three candidates presented themselves for the consulship, Catiline, Gaius Antonius, a noble of the same type as Catiline, and Cicero. The first two were supported by Caesar and Crassus, who hoped to use them for their own ends. Cicero, as a *novus homo,* was distasteful to the Optimates; but since they felt that Catiline must be defeated at all costs, they supported the orator, who was elected with Antonius as his colleague. From that time Cicero ranged himself on the side of the Optimates, and his political watchword was the "concord of the orders" (*concordia ordinum*), that is, of the senators and the equestrians.

Of the consular provinces for 62 B.C. Cicero received by lot Macedonia, and Antonius Cisalpine Gaul. As the latter was dissatisfied, Cicero resigned Macedonia to him, in return for his public assurance of abstaining from opposing Cicero's acts during their year of office.

On the first day of his consulate in 63 B.C. Cicero delivered a speech in which he scathingly criticized a land bill proposed by the tribune Servilius Rullus. This bill aimed to create a land commission of ten members of praetorian rank, elected in a special *comitia* of seventeen tribes, which Rullus was to choose by lot. These commissioners were to be vested with extraordinary powers for five years, including the right to sell the public land in Italy and in Pompey's recent conquests, to exercise judicial authority, to confiscate lands, to found colonies, and to enroll and maintain troops. The bill would have placed in the hands of the commissioners extraordinary military authority both in Italy and in the provinces, guaranteed by the income derived from the sale of land. Pompey was excluded from the commission by a clause requiring the personal appearance of candidates. Everyone was aware that the measure was devised in the interests of Caesar and Crassus and that they would dominate the commission. However, the attack upon the Senate's control of the public land and the general mistrust of the purposes of a bill of this sort caused such strong opposition that its sponsors did not bring the matter to a vote.

But Caesar could console himself with victory in another sphere. The position of Pontifex Maximus had become vacant, and by a tribunician bill the *lex Domitia,* revoked by Sulla, was again brought into effect and election to the priesthood entrusted to an Assembly of seventeen tribes. In the ensuing election Caesar was victorious.

The Conspiracy of 63 B.C. In July, 63 B.C., the consular elections for the next year were held. Catiline was once more a competitor, but now he lacked the support of Crassus. Accordingly, by proposing a general cancellation of debts, he sought to rally around him both nobles of broken fortunes like himself and all needy and desperate characters throughout Italy in general. He was bitterly opposed by Cicero, who capitalized on the public apprehension that Catiline would resort to violent measures. Cicero had the backing of the business interests and of such of the senators as looked upon Catiline as a public menace. The result was that Catiline was defeated and in desperation entered upon a conspiracy to overthrow the government by armed force. While one of his associates began to raise an army among the Sullan veterans in Etruria, Catiline made preparations to seize control of the city and open the gates to these troops, who were to be concentrated secretly in the vicinity of Rome. But Cicero, who was on the watch, got news of the conspiracy and produced enough evidence to induce the Senate

to pass the "last decree" and empower him to take all necessary measures to save the state. For want of adequate proof of his complicity, Catiline was not arrested in Rome but soon left the city to join his supporters in Etruria. The Senate now declared him a public enemy and ordered Cicero's colleague Antonius to take the field against him. In the meantime, the conspirators who remained in Rome set December 17th, the opening day of the festival of the Saturnalia, as the date for a rising in Rome, when the city was to be fired, the consuls and other prominent men massacred, and a reign of terror instituted. This plan, however, was betrayed to Cicero by a delegation of Allobroges from Gallia Narbonensis who happened to be in Rome and whom the plotters had endeavored to enlist on their side. Thereupon Cicero arrested five of the leading Catilinarians and took timely precautions to prevent an outbreak. Catiline now realized the futility of a march on Rome and endeavored to escape with his army into Cisalpine Gaul, but he was overtaken by Antonius and forced to give battle near Pistoria. There he and most of his followers fell, sword in hand. Instead of leaving the matter to the regular courts, Cicero convened the Senate to decide the fate of the prisoners in Rome. He himself favored their immediate execution and found strong support among the more prominent senators. Caesar, however, proposed that they be confined to certain Italian municipalities for the rest of their lives. When a majority seemed likely to approve this sentence, a strong speech by Marcus Porcius Cato, a man of uncompromising loyalty to the constitution, won them back to Cicero's point of view. At the latter's orders the conspirators were put to death. The suppression of the conspiracy added considerably to Cicero's reputation but left him open to future attacks on the charge of having taken the lives of Roman citizens unconstitutionally. On the other hand, Caesar gained credit for moderation and respect for citizens' rights, and Cato for great vigor and force of character. But the whole episode bears testimony to the general weakness of the government and the danger of the lack of a regular police establishment to maintain the public peace.

VII. THE COALITION OF POMPEY, CRASSUS, AND CAESAR: 60 B.C.

Pompey's Return. Towards the close of the year 62 B.C., Pompey arrived in Italy from the East and, contrary to the expectations of those who feared that he would prove a second Sulla, immediately disbanded his army. The following September he celebrated a memorable triumph. From the spoils of his wars, he deposited the sum of 50,000,000 denarii in the state treasury, gave half as much to his higher officers, and distributed 71,000,000 denarii ($14,200,000) as a cash bonus among the lower officers and soldiers. In

addition, the taxes from his annexations increased the revenues of the empire by 35,000,000 denarii ($7,000,000) annually. To bring his achievements to a fitting conclusion, Pompey now pressed the Senate to ratify the arrangements which he had made in the East and to provide land grants for about 40,000 veterans who had been discharged from his legions. But without an army at his back, he was no longer feared by the senators, who had many scores to settle with him. Led by Lucullus and others whom Pompey had humiliated in various ways, the Senate insisted upon examining his acts in detail and refused to ratify them *en bloc* as he demanded. And when, in 60 B.C., one of the tribunes proposed a land bill in favor of his veterans, the opposition of the Optimates was so effective that the plebiscite was abandoned. While in this way the Optimates lost the opportunity of winning over Pompey to their side, they also gave offence to Crassus and the equestrians. The *publicani* who had contracted to collect the taxes of the province of Asia found that owing to poor harvests there they would be unable to raise as much revenue as they had agreed to pay to the treasury. Consequently they sought to have the terms of their contract modified. But although Crassus supported this request, it was refused by the Senate, largely through the opposition of Cato. These events rudely dashed Cicero's hopes for a concord of the orders.

No settlement had been reached when Caesar returned to Rome in 60 B.C. He had held a praetorship in 62 B.C. and for the following year had been governor of Farther Spain, where he performed the rather astonishing feat of waging successful border wars, conciliating the provincials, and at the same time finding the means to pay off his debts, which were estimated at 25,000,000 sesterces ($1,250,000). He now requested a triumph and also permission to stand for the consulship while waiting outside the city gates for the right to make a triumphal entry. But when, owing to Cato's intervention, the Senate failed to act on his petition, he at once decided to forego the triumph and press his candidacy at the coming elections. Supported by Crassus and also some leading Pompeians, he was elected consul; but his colleague was Calpurinus Bibulus, the nominee of the Optimates. Although involved in some of the schemes of Crassus, Caesar had never been an enemy of Pompey and in fact had at times co-operated with his agents in Rome. He found no great difficulty, then, in reconciling these two leaders and in forming with them a secret coalition to secure the satisfaction of their particular aims in his coming consulship. In the light of subsequent events, this unofficial coalition has come to be known as the First Triumvirate.

CHAPTER XIV. THE RIVALRY OF POMPEY AND CAESAR AND CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP: 59–44 B.C.

For the history of the thirty years between the organization of the First Triumvirate and the close of the age of the civil wars in 30 B.C., our literary sources are in large measure the same as for the years following the death of Sulla: Appian, Cassius Dio, Velleius Paterculus, the *Epitome* of Livy, Plutarch, and Cicero. To the *Lives* of Plutarch already mentioned, must be added those of Caesar, Mark Antony, and the younger Cato; and Cicero's speeches and other works are supplemented for the years 60 to 43 B.C. by his invaluable collection of *Letters,* which at times give an almost day-by-day account of important happenings in Rome. Of great importance also are Caesar's own *Commentaries* on the Gallic War and on the Civil War, the first of which was completed by his friend Hirtius, who also wrote an account of the Alexandrine War. These are supplemented by similar narratives of the African and Spanish Wars written by anonymous officers of Caesar's staff. A Roman account of Caesar's career is found in the biography written under the title *Divus Julius* by Suetonius Tranquillus early in the second century A.D. There remain also in inscriptional form considerable fragments of important legislative enactments which throw light upon Caesar's administrative reforms.

I. THE TRIUMVIRATE IN ACTION

Caesar's Consulship: 59 B.C. Once in office, Caesar began to fulfill his engagements to his partners in the Triumvirate. Early in 59 B.C., he laid before the Senate a law to provide lands for Pompey's veterans and needy citizens in Rome through the distribution of arable land still held by the state outside Campania and other properties to be acquired by purchase. But when this proposal met with strong opposition, largely through the instrumentality of his bitter critic, Cato, he brought his bill directly before the Tribal Assembly. There it met with a veto from tribunes of the senatorial faction and the obstructive use of the *auspicium* on the part of Bibulus. Caesar then called upon Pompey and Crassus for support, and with the aid

of Pompey's veterans he chased his opponents from the Forum. The bill became law, and Bibulus, in protest, shut himself up in his house and refused to participate in the conduct of public business. Since the land provided for in this measure proved inadequate, Caesar introduced a second land law, which opened for colonization the public land in Campania then under lease to tenants of the state. This law was also passed over the vigorous opposition of Cato. Caesar also made use of his henchman, the tribune Vatinius, to carry through a law which ratified all Pompey's dispositions in the East and a second which granted to the delinquent tax-farmers of Asia a remission of one third of their contract price. Through terrorism, the triumvirs completely overawed all opposition.

Caesar's Proconsular Command. Early in 59 B.C., probably late in February, Caesar laid the foundations for his future career by securing for himself an extraordinary military command. For 58 B.C., the Senate apparently had designated Italy itself as the province for both the consuls of the preceding year.[1] This was not unprecedented and may have found some justification in fears of a Celtic invasion, but it held no prospect for the winning of any great military reputation which might serve as the basis for a future career. Consequently Caesar, who realized to the full the value of a military command, seized upon the first excuse to set aside the existing arrangement. He saw his opportunity on the northern frontier, where disturbances among the Gauls due to a Germanic invasion from across the Rhine and a threatened migration of the Celtic Helvetii from their home in Switzerland seemed likely to involve Rome in a war for the defence of both the Cisalpine and Transalpine provinces as well as for the protection of her Gallic allies. A law proposed by Vatinius and passed by the Tribal Assembly conferred upon Caesar the combined provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with a garrison of three legions, for a term of five years terminating on March 1, 54 B.C. Somewhat later in the year the Senate, at the instigation of Pompey, added to this command Transalpine Gaul and an additional legion. Since for the rest of the year Caesar's proconsular command ran concurrently with his consulship, he was able to raise and maintain troops in Italy and by virtue of this fact could exert tremendous pressure upon the political situation in Rome. Furthermore the length of his command assured him immunity for a considerable period from any attempt to hold him responsible for unconstitutional acts perpetrated during his consulship.

The Coalition Continues. Caesar's consulship had been an open defiance of constitutional checks on consular authority and had revealed the

[1] The view that this province was only "the forests and cattle roads" of Italy rests upon the dubious testimony of Suetonius, unsupported by any contemporary references.

facts that the triumvirate was stronger than the established organs of government and that the Roman empire was really controlled by three men. Well might Cato say that the coalition was the beginning of the end of the Republic. Within the triumvirate itself Pompey was the dominant figure owing to his military renown and the influence of his veterans. Caesar appeared as his agent, yet displayed far greater political insight and succeeded in creating for himself a position which would enable him to play a more independent role in the future. The coalition did not break up at the end of Caesar's consulship; on the contrary its members were determined to retain their control of the state policy. In spite of the fact that public opinion in Rome became distinctly hostile to them in the latter part of 59 B.C., they secured the election of two of their supporters as consuls for the ensuing year; and in order to strengthen the bonds between them, Caesar gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey. Afterwards he himself married the daughter of Piso, one of the consuls-elect.

To secure themselves from attack, the triumvirs felt it necessary to remove from the city their two ablest opponents, Cato and Cicero. The latter had refused all proposals to join their side and had sharply criticized them on several public occasions. His banishment was secured through the agency of the tribune Clodius, whose transfer from patrician to plebeian status Caesar had facilitated. Clodius was a man of ill repute who hated Cicero because the latter had testified against him when he was on trial for sacrilege. Early in 58 B.C. Clodius carried a bill which outlawed any person who had put to death Roman citizens without regular judicial proceedings. This law was aimed at Cicero for his share in the execution of the Catalinarian conspirators. Finding that he could not rely upon the support of his friends, Cicero went into exile without awaiting trial. He was formally banished, his property was confiscated, and he himself sought refuge in Thessalonica, where the governor of Macedonia offered him protection. Cato was entrusted with a special mission to accomplish the incorporation of Cyprus, then ruled by one of the Egyptian Ptolemies who had lost favor with the triumvirs, into the Roman Empire, and his Stoic conception of duty prevented him from refusing the appointment. Caesar remained with his army in the vicinity of Rome until after Cicero's banishment and then set out for his province.

II. CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL: 58–51 B.C.

The Defeat of the Helvetii and Germans: 58 B.C. In 58 B.C., when Caesar entered upon his Gallic command, the Roman province in Transalpine Gaul (Gallia Narbonensis) embraced the coast districts from the Alps to the

borders of Spain and the land between the Alps and the Rhone as far north as Lake Geneva. The country which stretched from the Pyrenees to the Rhine and from the Rhone to the ocean was called *Gallia comata* or "long-haired Gaul" and was occupied by a large number of peoples of varying importance. These were usually regarded as falling into three groups, (1) those of Aquitania, between the Pyrenees and the Loire, where there was a large Iberian element, (2) those called Celts, in a narrow sense of the word, stretching from the Loire to the Seine and the Marne, and (3) the Belgian Gauls, dwelling between these rivers and the Rhine. Among the latter were peoples of Germanic origin. Although conscious of a general unity of language, race, and customs, the Gauls had not developed a national state, owing to the mutual jealousy of the individual peoples, and each tribe was perpetually divided into rival factions supporting different chiefs. Rome had sought to protect the Narbonese province by establishing friendly relations with some of these Gallic peoples and had long before (*ca.* 121 B.C.) made an alliance with the Aedui. About 70 B.C. conditions in *Gallia comata* had been disturbed by an invasion of Germanic Suevi, from across the Rhine, under their king, Ariovistus. They had been invited by the Sequani to aid them in a struggle with their rivals, the Aedui, and had been promised lands in return for their services. In 61 B.C., the Aedui suffered a crushing defeat, which forced them to come to terms with the Sequani. The Aedui appealed to Rome for aid on the basis of their alliance, but in vain, for the Romans were engaged in putting down a serious revolt in Gallia Narbonensis occasioned by the exactions of officials and greed of Roman moneylenders. Two years later, Ariovistus, who had settled with his people in the region now known as Alsace, sent an embassy to the Senate, which recognized him as a "friend of the Roman People," which was equivalent to approving his present status in Gaul. The next threat to the peace of Gaul came from the Helvetii, who had planned a mass migration from Switzerland as early as 61 B.C. but delayed until March, 58 B.C. before setting forth on a search for new homes in western Gaul. On the way they planned to traverse part of Gallia Narbonensis, but Caesar arrived in time to prevent their crossing the upper Rhone into the province. As they turned westwards into the territory of the Sequani and Aedui, he followed, overtook, and defeated them in two battles. He then forced them to return to their former abode and accept an alliance with Rome. Caesar then learned that Ariovistus had taken advantage of Roman indifference to strengthen his position in Gaul. He had reduced the Sequani to subjection and was threatening the Aedui. Moreover, a fresh band of Suevi was about to cross the Rhine to his support. It now became Caesar's aim to prevent the development of a strong Germanic state in Gaul. Since Ario-

vistus refused to consider any limits to his freedom of action, Caesar marched against him, defeated him near Strassburg, and drove him and his people across the Rhine. His victories made Caesar the dominant power in Gaul outside the Roman province, and this caused many of the leading Gallic tribes to ally themselves with Rome. Of the warlike Belgae, however, only one people, the Remi, came over to the side of Rome.

The Subjugation of the Belgae, Veneti, and Aquitanians: 57–56 B.C. In the next year, 57 B.C., Caesar marched against the united forces of the Belgae, defeated them, and subdued many tribes, chief of whom were the Nervii. At the same time his legates received the submission of the peoples of Normandy and Britanny. In the course of the following winter some of these, led by the Veneti, broke off their alliance and attacked Caesar's garrisons. Thereupon he set to work to build a fleet, which in the course of the next summer destroyed the fleet of the Veneti and captured their strongholds on the coast (56 B.C.). Henceforth, the Romans possessed naval supremacy on the Atlantic coast of Gaul. The same year witnessed the submission of the Aquitani, which brought practically the whole of Gaul under Roman sway.

The Conference of Luca: 56 B.C. Meanwhile important changes had taken place in the situation at Rome. Pompey had broken with Clodius and supported the tribune Titus Annius Milo, who pressed for Cicero's recall. A law of the Assembly withdrew his sentence of outlawry, his property was restored, and the orator returned in September, 57 B.C., to enjoy a warm reception both in the municipal towns and at the capital. For the moment Pompey and the Optimates were on friendly terms, and the former made use of a grain famine in the city to secure for himself an appointment as curator of the grain supply (*curator annonae*) for a period of five years. This appointment carried with it proconsular *imperium* within and without Italy, and the control of the ports, markets, and traffic in grain within the Roman dominions. It was really an extraordinary military command. Pompey relieved the situation but could do nothing to allay the disorders in Rome, where Clodius and Milo with their armed gangs set law and order at defiance. The news of Caesar's victories and the influence which he was acquiring in the city by a judicious distribution of the spoils of war fired the ambitions of Pompey and Crassus, who were no longer on good terms with one another. Consequently Caesar felt it necessary for the coalition to reach a new agreement. Accordingly, while spending the winter in Cisalpine Gaul, he arranged a conference at Luca in April, 56 B.C., where the three settled their differences and laid plans for the future. They agreed that Pompey and Crassus should be consuls in 55 B.C., that the former should be given the Spanish provinces and Libya for five years, that Crassus should have Syria for an equal period, and that Caesar's command in Gaul should be

prolonged for an approximately equal period, with the proviso that the question of appointing a successor to him should not be raised before March 1, 50 B.C.

These arrangements were duly carried out. Since it was too late for Pompey and Crassus to be candidates at the regular elections in 56 B.C., they forcibly prevented any elections being held that year. The following January, after forcing the other candidates to withdraw, they secured their election. Thereupon a law of the tribune Gaius Trebonius made effective the assignment of provinces agreed upon at Luca. Once more it was made plain that the coalition actually ruled the Empire. Cicero, who was indebted to Pompey for his recall, was forced to support the triumvirate; and the Optimates found their boldest leader in Cato, who had returned to Rome early in 56 B.C.

Caesar's Crossing of the Rhine and Invasions of Britain: 55–54 B.C. During the winter following the subjugation of the Veneti, two Germanic tribes, the Usipetes and the Tencteri, crossed the lower Rhine into Gaul. In the next summer, 55 B.C., Caesar attacked and annihilated their forces, only a few escaping across the river. As a warning against future invasion, Caesar bridged the Rhine and made a demonstration upon the right bank, destroying his bridge when he withdrew. Towards the close of the summer he crossed the Strait of Dover to Britain, nominally to punish the Britons for aiding his enemies in Gaul but really in the hope of winning further glory by a spectacular achievement. Owing to the lateness of the season, however, and the smallness of his force, he returned to Gaul after a brief reconnaissance campaign on the Kentish coast.

In the following year, after gathering a larger fleet, he again landed on the island with a force of almost 30,000 men. This time he forced his way across the Thames and received the submission of Cassivellaunus, the chief who led the British tribes against the invaders. After taking hostages and receiving promises of tribute, Caesar returned to Gaul. Britain was in no sense subdued; but the island had felt the power of Rome, and, besides enlarging the geographical knowledge of the time, Caesar had brought back numbers of captives. In Rome the exploit produced great excitement and enthusiasm.

Revolts in Gaul: 54–53 B.C. Although the Gauls had submitted to Caesar, they were not yet reconciled to Roman rule, which put an end to their intertribal wars and to the feuds among the nobility. Consequently, many of the tribes were restive and not inclined to surrender all hopes of freedom without another struggle. In the course of the winter 54–53 B.C. the Nervii, Treveri, and Eburones in Belgian Gaul attacked the Roman detachments stationed in their territories. One of these was cut to pieces, but

the rest held their ground until relieved by Caesar, who stamped out the rebellion.

The Rebellion of Vercingetorix: 52 B.C. A more serious movement started in 52 B.C. among the peoples of central Gaul, who found a national leader in Vercingetorix, a young noble of the Arverni. The revolt took Caesar by surprise when he was in Cisalpine Gaul and his troops still scattered in winter quarters. He recrossed the Alps with all haste, secured the Narbonese province, and succeeded in uniting his forces. These he strengthened with German cavalry from across the Rhine. However, a temporary check in an attack upon the position of Vercingetorix at Gergovia caused the Aedui to desert the Roman cause, and the revolt spread to practically the whole of Gaul. Caesar was on the point of retiring to the province, but after repulsing an attack made upon him, he was able to pen up Vercingetorix in the fortress of Alesia. A great effort made by the Gauls to relieve the siege failed to break Caesar's lines, and the defenders were starved into submission. The crisis was over, although another year was required before the revolting tribes were all reduced to submission and the Roman authority was re-established (51 B.C.). Caesar used all possible mildness in his treatment of the conquered, and the Gauls were not only pacified but won over. In the days to come they were among his most loyal supporters. The conquest of Gaul was an event of supreme importance for the future history of the Roman Empire and for the development of European civilization as well. For the time *Gallia comata* was not formed into a province. Its peoples were made allies of Rome, under the supervision of the governor of Narbonese Gaul, were obliged to furnish troops, and for the most part were liable to a fixed annual tribute. Caesar's campaign in Gaul had given him the opportunity to develop his unusual military talents and to create a veteran army devoted to himself. His power had become so great that both Pompey and the Optimates desired his destruction, and he was in a position to fight, if necessary, to avoid being eliminated. The plots laid in Rome to deprive him of his power had made him hasten to quell the revolt of the Gauls with all speed. When this was accomplished, he was free to turn his attention to Roman affairs.

III. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

The Death of Crassus: 53 B.C. After the assignment of the provinces by the Trebonian Law in 55 B.C., late in the autumn Crassus set out for Syria intending to win military power and prestige by a war against the Parthians, an Asiatic people who, once the subjects of the Persians and Seleucids, had established a kingdom which included the provinces of the Seleucid em-

pire as far west as the Euphrates. Crassus had no real excuse for opening hostilities, but the Parthians were potentially dangerous neighbors, and a campaign against them gave promise of profit and glory. Accordingly, in 54 B.C., Crassus made a short incursion into Mesopotamia and then withdrew to Syria. The next year he again crossed the Euphrates, intending to penetrate deeply into the enemy's country. But he had underestimated the strength of the Parthians and the difficulties of desert warfare. Surenas, the Parthian commander, had organized a force of 10,000 mounted archers, supported by a supply train of 1,000 camels carrying a reserve supply of arrows, which enabled the bowmen to maintain their fire for long periods. The archers were backed by 1,000 mail-clad lancers mounted on heavy war horses also partially protected by armor. In the Mesopotamian desert near Carrhae the Romans were surrounded and cut to pieces by the Parthian horsemen; while endeavoring to lead the survivors to safety, Crassus himself was enticed into a conference and treacherously slain, and only a small remnant of his force of 40,000 men escaped (53 B.C.). The Parthians were slow in following up their advantage, and Crassus' quaestor, Gaius Cassius Longinus, was able to hold Syria; still Roman prestige in the East had received a severe blow, and for the next three centuries the Romans found the Parthians dangerous neighbors. The death of Crassus tended to hasten a crisis in Rome for it brought into sharp conflict the incompatible ambitions of Pompey and Caesar, whose estrangement had already begun with the death of Pompey's wife Julia in 54 B.C.

The Principate of Pompey: 52 B.C. At the end of his consulship Pompey left Rome but remained in Italy, on the pretext of his curatorship of the grain supply, and governed his province through his legates. In Rome disorder reigned; no consuls were elected in 54 B.C. nor before July of the following year; the partisans of Clodius and Milo kept everything in confusion. Pompey could have restored order but preferred to create a situation which would force the Senate to grant him new powers, so he backed Clodius, while Milo championed the Optimates. Owing to broils between the supporters of the candidates, no consuls or praetors could be elected for 52 B.C. In January of that year Clodius was slain by Milo's bodyguard on the Appian Way, and the ensuing outburst of mob violence in the city forced the Senate to appeal to Pompey. He was made sole consul, until he should choose a colleague, and was entrusted with the task of restoring order. His troops brought quiet into the city; Milo was tried on a charge of public violence, convicted, and banished. Pompey had attained the height of his official career; he was sole consul, at the same time he had a province embracing the Spains, Libya, and the sphere assigned to him with the grain curatorship, he governed his provinces through *legati,* and his

armies were maintained by the public treasury. In reality he was the chief power in the state, for without him the Senate was helpless, and he was justly regarded by contemporaries as the First Citizen or Princeps. In many ways his position foreshadowed the Principate of Augustus. Nevertheless, Pompey did not wish to overthrow the republican régime; his ambition was to be regarded as the indispensable and permanent mainstay of the government and to enjoy corresponding power and honor. In such a scheme there was no room for a rival, and therefore he was no longer willing to promote Caesar's interests at the almost certain expense of his own. This attitude brought him slowly but surely over to the side of the Optimates, who were alarmed by Caesar's wealth, influence, and growing reputation and feared him as a dangerous enemy.

Caesar's immediate aim was to step directly from his provincial command into a second consulship. He knew that he had reached a position which caused many to desire his destruction and that just as soon as he surrendered his *imperium* he would be prosecuted on various charges by those who sought his ruin. But he had no intention of placing himself in the power of his enemies, and so he influenced the tribunes of the year 52 B.C. to carry a law which permitted him to be a candidate for the consulship without presenting himself in person. Legally, he could not hold a second consulship before 48 B.C., but since Pompey's consulship of 52 B.C. was a violation of this constitutional provision, Caesar may possibly have hoped to secure permission to seek the office for 49 B.C. At any rate until some time in 52 B.C. he could look forward with confidence to holding the consulship in 48 B.C. under the terms of the Sempronian Law on the consular provinces.[2] Since this law required that consular provinces should be designated in advance of the election of possible appointees and since no question of Caesar's successor could legally be raised before March 1, 50 B.C., the magistrates of that year would have already received their provincial appointments, and those of 49 B.C. would be the first ones eligible to take over the Gallic provinces. But if Caesar had counted on this automatic prolongation of his command, his calculations were disturbed by two laws which Pompey carried through in 52 B.C. One of these contained a clause which forbade candidates to seek magistracies when absent from Rome. This would have deprived Caesar of the privilege so recently conferred upon him, and consequently his friends raised vigorous protests against it. Pompey excused himself on the ground that it was due to an oversight that Caesar's rights had not been confirmed and added to the text of the law after it had passed a clause which exempted Caesar from its effects. It is doubtful in how far Pompey was acting in good faith, although as yet he had made no open

[2] See p. 180.

break with Caesar; and likewise it is dubious whether his alteration of the law would be valid. Pompey's other law provided that in future provincial governors should not be the outgoing consuls and praetors of each year but nominees of the Senate selected from ex-magistrates whose terms had expired at least five years before their appointment.[3] Although we may credit Pompey with a sincere desire to improve the quality of imperial administration by discouraging candidates for the higher offices from incurring heavy debts which they would seek to repay from the profits of a certain and immediate provincial governorship, the fact remains that under the new law a successor to Caesar could now be appointed immediately after March 1, 50 B.C. He would then have to return to Rome and seek the consulship as a private citizen without immunity from legal prosecution. To prevent this from happening, Caesar had to rely upon the tribunes' veto. While Caesar's position was threatened, Pompey secured his own future by having his command in Spain extended for another five-year term.

Pompey's Break with Caesar. The question of Caesar's recall from his Gallic command became the focal point of politics in Rome for the next two years, and the failure to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement on this issue was the direct cause of a new civil war. One of Caesar's enemies, the consul Marcellus, agitated for Caesar's recall as early as 51 B.C. on the ground that the war in Gaul was over, but his proposal was defeated in the Senate. Nevertheless Pompey, who stuck to the letter of the law, was willing to press for Caesar's return right after March 1, 50 B.C. and began negotiations with Caesar, who at this time seems to have been anxious to secure the consulship for 49 B.C. These negotiations, however, came to naught, and when March 1, 50 B.C. arrived, all efforts to assign consular provinces was blocked by Caesar's agent, the tribune Curio. Various proposals put forth by Pompey and the Optimates aimed to bring about the termination of Caesar's command before his election to the consulship, but Caesar was not willing to risk the cessation of his *imperium* while Pompey remained in Italy at the head of an army. He offered, through Curio, to disband his army and return to Rome if Pompey would likewise disband his troops. This was approved by a large majority in the Senate on December 1, 50 B.C., but the resolution met with a consular veto. Then, at the request of Marcellus, the consul, Pompey assumed command of the government forces in the peninsula. On January 1, 49 B.C., the Senate under pressure of the Optimates and Pompey's supporters voted that Caesar should surrender his command by a fixed date or be declared a public enemy. The resolution, however, was promptly vetoed by Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) and

[3] It was under this law that Cicero, who had been consul in 63 B.C. and had not had a provincial command, was appointed proconsul of Cilicia for 51 B.C.

Quintus Cassius, two of the new board of tribunes. Angry at being thwarted in this way, the Optimates drove Antony and Cassius from the Senate by threats of death. Then on January 7, the Senate passed the "last" decree, calling upon the consuls and other magistrates, including Pompey as proconsul, to protect the state and at the same time pronouncing Caesar a public enemy. Caesar's friends fled from the city and hurried to meet him in Cisalpine Gaul, where he and a small part of his army were waiting in readiness for this emergency. The fugitive tribunes appealed to him for protection, and he was in a position to claim that, in addition to maintaining his own interests, he was defending the sanctity of the people's chosen representatives.

IV. THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CAESAR AND THE SENATE: 49–46 B.C.

Caesar's Conquest of Italy and Spain: 49 B.C. The senatorial conservatives had forced the issue, and for Caesar there remained the alternative of victory or destruction. He possessed the advantages of a loyal army ready for immediate action and the undisputed control over his own troops. His land laws had given him large numbers of clients in Campania, the city populace was now well disposed towards him, and his generous treatment of the towns of Cisalpine Gaul in the matter of Roman citizenship had bound them firmly to his cause. On the other hand, his opponents had no veteran troops in Italy, and although Pompey acted as commander in chief of the senatorial forces, he was greatly hampered by having at times to defer to the judgment of the consuls and senators who were in his camp. It was obviously to Caesar's advantage to take the offensive and to force a decision before his enemies could concentrate against him the resources of the provinces. Hence he determined to act without delay, and, upon receiving news of the Senate's action on January 7, he crossed the Rubicon, which divided Cisalpine Gaul and Italy, with a small force, ordering the legions beyond the Alps to join him with all speed. The Italian municipalities opened their gates at his approach, and the newly raised levies went over to his side. In vain the Senate sought to slow his advance by opening negotiations. But Caesar, although he renewed his offer to disband his troops if Pompey did likewise, an offer which his opponents would not accept, maintained the tempo of his southward march. Everywhere his mildness to his opponents won him new adherents. Pompey finally decided to abandon Italy and withdraw to the East, intending later to concentrate upon the peninsula from all sides—a plan made feasible by his control of the sea. Caesar divined his intention and tried to cut off his retreat at Brundisium

but could not prevent his embarkation. With his army and the majority of the Senate, Pompey crossed to Epirus. Owing to his lack of a fleet, Caesar could not follow and returned to Rome. There some of the magistrates were still functioning, in conjunction with a remnant of the Senate. Being in dire need of money, he wished to obtain funds from the treasury; and when this was opposed by a tribune, Caesar ignored the latter's veto and forcibly seized the reserve treasure which the Pompeians had left behind in their hasty flight. In the meantime Caesar's lieutenants had seized Sardinia and Sicily and crossed over into Africa in order to secure the sources of the grain supply of Rome. He himself determined to attack the well organized Pompeian forces in Spain and destroy them before Pompey was ready for an offensive from the East. On his way to Spain, Caesar began the siege of Massilia, which closed its gates to him. Leaving the city under blockade, he hastened to Spain, where after an initial defeat he forced the surrender of the Pompeian armies. Some of the prisoners joined his forces; the rest were dismissed to their homes. Caesar hastened back to Massilia. The city capitulated at his arrival and was punished by requisitions, the loss of its territory, and the temporary deprivation of its autonomy. From here Caesar pressed on to Rome, where he had been appointed dictator by virtue of a special law. After holding the elections in which he and an approved colleague were returned as consuls for 48, he resigned his dictatorship and set out for Brundisium. There he had assembled his army and transports for the passage to Epirus.

The Battle of Pharsalus: 48 B.C. During Caesar's Spanish campaign Pompey had gathered a large force in Macedonia—nine Roman legions reinforced by contingents from the Roman allies. His fleet, recruited largely from the maritime cities in the East, commanded the Adriatic. Nevertheless, at the opening of winter (Nov., 49 B.C.) Caesar effected a landing on the coast of Epirus with part of his army and seized Apollonia. Pompey, however, arrived from Macedonia in time to save Dyrrhachium. Throughout the winter the two armies remained inactive, but Pompey's fleet prevented Caesar from receiving reinforcements until the spring of 48 B.C., when Marcus Antonius effected a crossing with another detachment. As Caesar's troops began to suffer from shortage of supplies, he was forced to take the offensive and tried to blockade Pompey's larger force in Dyrrhachium. However, the attempt failed, his lines of investment were broken, and he withdrew to Thessaly. Thither he was followed by Pompey, who, relying upon his superior numbers and, in particular, his preponderance in cavalry, decided that the time had come to yield to the demands of the senators in his camp and risk a battle. Near the old town of Old Pharsalus he attacked Caesar but was defeated and his army dispersed. He himself

sought refuge in Egypt, and there he was put to death by order of the king whose father he had protected in the days of his power. Pompey's great weakness was that his resolution did not match his ambition. His ambition led him to seek a position incompatible with the constitution; but his lack of resolution did not permit him to overthrow the constitution. The Optimates had sided with him only because they held him less dangerous than Caesar, and had he been victorious they would have sought to compass his downfall.

Caesar in the East: 48–47 B.C. After Pharsalus Caesar had set out in pursuit of Pompey but arrived in Egypt after the murder of his foe. His ever pressing need of money probably induced him to intervene as arbiter in the name of Rome in the dynastic struggle then raging in Egypt between the twenty-year-old Cleopatra and her thirteen-year-old brother, Ptolemy XIV Dionysus, who was also, following the Egyptian custom, her husband. Caesar got the young king in his power and brought back Cleopatra, whom the people of Alexandria had driven out. Angered thereat, and resenting his exactions, the Alexandrians rose in arms and from October, 48, to March, 47 B.C., besieged Caesar in the royal quarter of the city. Having but few troops with him, Caesar was in dire straits and was able to maintain himself only through his control of the sea, which enabled him eventually to receive reinforcements. He released the young king, who promptly joined the besiegers. Caesar's relief was effected by a force raised by Mithradates of Pergamon, who invaded Egypt from Syria. In co-operation with him Caesar defeated the Egyptians in battle; Ptolemy Dionysus perished in flight; and Alexandria submitted. Cleopatra was married to a still younger brother and put in possession of the kingdom of Egypt. Caesar had succumbed to the charms of the Egyptian queen and tarried in her company for the rest of the winter. He was called away to face a new danger in Pharnaces, son of Mithradates Eupator, who had taken advantage of the civil war to issue forth from the Crimea and overrun Pontus, Lesser Armenia, and Cappadocia. Hastening through Syria, Caesar entered Pontus and defeated Pharnaces at Zela. After settling affairs in Asia Minor, he proceeded with all speed to the West, where his presence was urgently needed.

Caesar's Campaign in Africa: 46 B.C. Both the fleet and the army of Pompey had dispersed after Pharsalus, but Caesar's delay in the East had given the Optimates an opportunity to reassemble their forces. They gathered in Africa, where Caesar's lieutenant Curio, who had invaded the province in 49 B.C., had been defeated and killed by the Pompeians through the aid of King Juba of Numidia. From Africa they were now preparing to attack Italy. In Rome, Caesar had been appointed dictator for 47 B.C. with Antony as his master of the horse. Here disorder reigned as a result of the

distress arising from the financial stringency brought on by the war. Antony, who was in Rome, had proved unable to deal with the situation. Caesar reached Italy in September, 47 B.C., and soon restored order in the city. He was then called upon to face a serious mutiny of his troops, who demanded the fulfillment of his promises of money and land and their release from service. By boldness and presence of mind Caesar won them back to their allegiance and set out for Africa in December, 47 B.C. He landed with only a portion of his troops and at first was held in check by the senatorial forces under Scipio and Juba. But he was supported by King Bogud of Mauretania and a Catilinarian soldier of fortune, Publius Sittius, and after receiving reinforcements from Italy he besieged the seaport Thapsus. Scipio came to the rescue but was completely defeated in a bloody battle near the town. The whole of the province fell into Caesar's hands. Cato, who was in command of Utica, did not force the citizens to resist but committed suicide; the other senatorial leaders, including Juba, either followed his example or were taken and executed by the Caesarians. From Africa Caesar returned to Rome, where he celebrated a costly triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba. He was now undisputed master of the state and proceeded according to his own judgment to settle the problem of governing the Roman world.

V. THE DICTATORSHIP OF JULIUS CAESAR: 46–44 B.C.

Caesar's Problem. From July 28, 46, to March 15, 44 B.C., Caesar ruled the Roman Empire with dictatorial powers, his position unchallenged except for a revolt of the Pompeian party in Spain, which required his attention from the autumn of 46 B.C. to the spring of 45 B.C. His victory over Pompey and the Optimates had placed upon him the obligation to provide the Empire with a stable form of government, and this responsibility he accepted. Sulla, when faced with the same problem, had been content to place the Senate once more at the head of the state, but from his own experience Caesar knew how futile this policy had been. Nor could the ideal of Pompey commend itself as a means of ending civil war and rebellion. Caesar was prepared to deal much more radically with the old régime, but death overtook him before he had completed his reorganization. What was the goal of his policy will best be understood from a consideration of his official position during the year and a half which followed the battle of Thapsus.

His Offices, Powers, and Honors. Caesar's autocratic position rested in the last instance upon the support of his veterans, of the associates who owed their advancement to him, and of such small forces as he kept under arms; but his position was legalized by the accumulation in his hands of various

offices, special powers, and unusual honors. Foremost among his offices came the dictatorship. We have seen that he had already held this for a short time in 49 B.C. and again in 47 B.C. In 46 B.C. he was appointed dictator for ten years, and in the following year for life. At the same time he was consul, an office which he held continuously from 48 B.C.—in 45 B.C. as sole consul, but usually with a colleague. In addition to these offices he enjoyed the personal inviolability of the tribunes of the plebs and the right to sit with them on certain public occasions, but it is unlikely that he received full powers of the tribunician authority (*tribunicia potestas*) as is suggested by the historian Cassius Dio. He had been Pontifex Maximus, the head of the state religious organization, since 63 B.C., and in 48 B.C. was admitted to all the patrician priestly corporations. In 46 B.C. he was given the powers of the censorship under the title of "prefect of morals" (*praefectus morum*), at first for three years and later for life. In addition to these official positions of more or less established scope, Caesar received other powers not dependent upon any office. He was granted the right to appoint to both Roman and provincial magistracies, until in 44 B.C. he had the authority to nominate half the officials annually, and in reality appointed all. In 48 B.C. he received the power of making war and peace without consulting the Senate, in 46 the right of expressing his opinion first in the Senate (*ius primae sententiae*), and in 45 the sole right to command troops and to control the public moneys. In the next year ratification was given in advance to all his future arrangements, and magistrates entering upon office were required to swear to uphold his acts. The concentration of these powers in his person placed Caesar above the law and reduced the holders of public offices to the position of his servants. Honors to match his extraordinary powers were heaped upon Caesar, partly by his own desire, partly by the servility and fulsome flattery of the Senate. He was granted a seat with the consuls in the Senate, if he should not be consul himself; he received the title of parent or father of his country (*parens* or *pater patriae*); his statue was placed among those of the kings of Rome, his image in the temple of Quirinus; the month Quintilis, in which he was born, was renamed Julius (July) in his honor; a new college of priests, the Julian Luperci, was created; a temple was erected to Caesar's Clemency and a priest (flamen) appointed for the worship there; and he was authorized to build a house on the Palatine with a pediment like a temple. Most of these honors he received after his victory over the Pompeians in Spain in 45 B.C. The title *imperator* (Emperor), however, which was regularly the prerogative of a general who was entitled to a triumph and was surrendered along with his military *imperium*, was employed by Caesar continuously from 49 B.C. until after the battle of Thapsus in 46 B.C., when he celebrated his triumph over the Gauls and his



THE AQUEDUCT AT ROMAN CARTHAGE

Built by the Emperor Hadrian in the second century, A.D.

other non-Roman enemies. He assumed it again after Munda in the following year.

Caesar's Aim—Monarchy. Taking into account the powers which Caesar wielded and his lifelong tenure of certain offices, there can be no doubt that he not only had established monarchical government in Rome but also aimed to make his monarchy permanent. And this gives the explanation why he accepted honors which were more suited to a god than to a man, for since the time of Alexander the Great deification had been accepted in the Greek East as the legal and moral basis for the exercise of sovereign power and as distinguishing a legitimate autocracy from a tyranny. In a polytheistic age, familiar with the idea of the deification of "heroes" after death and permeated in its educated circles with the teaching of Euhemerus that the gods were but men who in their sojourn upon earth had been benefactors of the human race, the deification of a monarch in no way offended religious susceptibilities. The Romans were acquainted with monarchies of this type in Syria and in Egypt. Indeed this was the only type of monarchy familiar to the Romans of the first century B.C., if we exclude the Parthian and other despotisms, and it was bound to influence any form of monarchical government set up in Rome. At the time of the Latin festival in January, 44 B.C., some of the mob actually hailed Caesar as "*rex*," and at the feast of the Lupercalia in February Antony publicly offered him a diadem, which he ostentatiously refused. It is possible that he would have assumed the title of king if popular opinion had supported this step, but he was cut off by death before the Roman public was prepared to accept a monarchy.

Caesar's Reforms. Upon his return to Rome after the battle of Thapsus, Caesar began a series of reforms which affected practically every side of Roman life and which reveal an astonishing versatility and competence on the part of their author. One of the most useful of these was the reform of the Roman calendar, which he carried out in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus. Hitherto the Romans had used a lunar year of 355 days, with its New Year's Day originally on March first, but since 153 B.C., for civil purposes at least, on January first.[4] It had been customary to correct this lunar year approximately to the solar year by adding an intercalary month of 22 days in the second, and one of 23 days in the fourth, year of each successive four-year period. From personal or political motives, the pontiffs in recent years had neglected to make the necessary intercalations, with the result that in 46 B.C. the Roman year was over two months ahead of the solar year. By adding the requisite number of days to the Roman year correspond-

[4] The religious year which regulated festivals and the like had also come to be reckoned from January 1 at some date prior to Caesar's reform.

ing to 46 B.C., Caesar brought the Roman calendar once more into harmony with solar time. He then introduced a new calendar which had been worked out by the Greek astronomer Sosigenes of Alexandria, and this went into effect on January 1, 45 B.C. It was based on the Egyptian solar year of 365 ¼ days and provided for cycles of four years of which the first three had 365 days each, and the fourth or "leap" year 366 days with an extra day added in February after the 24th of the month.[5]

The abuse of the grain dole was partially rectified by the reduction of the number of recipients from about 320,000 to 150,000. This decrease was made possible in part by providing for many poor persons in colonial settlements, in part by the exclusion of those citizens who were not really dependent upon the dole for their livelihood. In the interests of public order, Caesar dissolved the plebeian colleges and guilds, with the exception of the ancient associations of craftsmen, for many of them had become political clubs and contributed to the recent disturbances in the city. The composition of the juries was changed by the removal of the tribunes of the treasury, but the reason for this is not clear. At the same time, the penalties for criminal offences were increased. Caesar also laid plans for a much-needed codification of the Roman law, but they were not carried into effect. To meet administrative needs and to have more positions at his disposal with which to reward his supporters, the dictator increased the number of quaestorships from twenty to forty and the praetorships from eight to sixteen. At the same time there was a corresponding increase in the number of the public priesthoods. Pompey's law which required the provincial governors to be selected from ex-magistrates who had been five years out of office was disregarded, and a new law restricted proconsular governors to terms of two years and propraetorian governors to terms of one year. A number of plebeian families were elevated to patrician status to take the place of some patrician clans which had died out and to furnish holders of patrician priesthoods. The number of senators was raised from six hundred to nine hundred, and the new members were recruited from Caesar's adherents, including some of his veteran officers and even a few Gallic notables upon whom he had bestowed the franchise. As early as 48 B.C. and again in 46 B.C., he relieved a financial stringency by measures which alleviated the debtors' burdens but at the same time protected creditors from incurring too heavy losses. With the object of obtaining more land for agricultural purposes, he planned to drain the Pomptine marshes

[5] This Julian calendar, as it came to be called, survived the Roman Empire and remained the calendar of the Christian world until it was corrected, at the orders of Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582 A.D. by the omission of 10 days then and of 3 intercalary days in every 400-year period since, as the Julian year was about 11 minutes longer than the true solar year.

in Latium and the Fucine lake in the Marsic country. And to minimize the danger from rural slaves, he required all ranchers to draw at least one third of their shepherds and herdsmen from persons of free birth. Other projects which he did not live to carry out were the construction of a new highway across the Apennines to the Adriatic coast and the improvement of the harbor at Ostia, both of primary importance for commerce.

Caesar's reorganization of local government throughout Italy was a reform of fundamental importance. This was accomplished by a series of laws, some of which did not come into effect until after his death. As the result of the creation of new municipal centers in the rural tribal districts, the whole of Italy was now divided into municipal areas, each consisting of a town and the territory dependent upon it for local administration. Local autonomy of a uniform type was conferred upon these communities, irrespective of their origin as colonies or as *municipia*. Each was governed by boards of locally elected magistrates, whose functions were the same everywhere although their titles might differ, and by a council recruited primarily from ex-magistrates. The development of municipal autonomy in Italy removed a heavy burden from the Roman magistrates, in particular the praetors, and laid the foundations for the later extension of the municipal system throughout the provinces.

Colonization. Caesar carried out a broad program of colonization which revealed a keen appreciation of economic needs and at the same time was of great significance for the future relationship between Italy and the provinces. He provided for a large number of his veterans by settling them in Italy on properties which he had confiscated from those of his enemies who had fallen in battle or refused to be reconciled to him. But in so doing, he did not found any new colonies or upset any existing municipal organizations, so that there was no serious disturbance of the agricultural population as a result of these land grants. Many others, however, received lands in the provinces, particularly in Narbonese Gaul and Africa, where they either formed the nuclei of new colonies or augmented the population of earlier foundations. A large number of colonial settlements were also founded in the provinces with colonists drawn from the urban proletariat of Rome, who were more fitted for commercial and industrial occupations than for farming. It is reported that some 80,000 of the city populace were cared for in this way. Many of these colonies were seaports, like Sinope and Heraclea on the Black Sea, Corinth, where Caesar proposed to dig a canal through the Isthmus, and Carthage, where he successfully revived the project of Gaius Gracchus. A very large number of colonies arose in Spain, partly through the conferment of colonial rights upon communities which had supported Caesar loyally and partly through actual colonization.

Among communities of the latter sort was the colony at Urso, made up of freedmen from Rome who settled on a site confiscated from its previous inhabitants because of their adherence to the Pompeian cause. A large part of the charter of this colony is extant[6] and corresponds very closely to the type of municipal government which Caesar had organized in Italy. The widespread establishment of Roman colonies, the generous conferment of Roman citizenship upon individual provincials, and the liberal granting of Latin rights in Narbonese Gaul as a preliminary step to Roman status—all indicate that Caesar envisaged the possibility of a future Roman empire based on a uniform Roman citizenship.

Munda: 45 B.C. Caesar proved himself a magnanimous conqueror. No Sullan proscriptions disgraced his victory. After Pharsalus he permitted all the republican leaders who submitted (among them Cicero) to return to Rome. Even after Thapsus, at the intercession of his friends he pardoned bitter foes like Marcus Marcellus, one of the consuls of 50 B.C. But there remained some irreconcilables led by his old lieutenant Labienus, Varus, and Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey, sons of Pompey the Great, who after Pharsalus had betaken themselves with a small naval force to the western Mediterranean. In 46 B.C. they were joined by Labienus and Varus and landed in Spain, where they rallied to their cause the old Pompeian soldiers who had entered Caesar's service but whose sympathies had been alienated by one of his *legati*, Quintus Cassius. The Caesarian commanders could make no headway against them, and it became necessary for the dictator to take the field in person. In December, 46 B.C., he set out for Spain. Throughout the winter he sought in vain to force the enemy to battle; but in March, 45, the two armies met at Munda, where Caesar's eight defeated the thirteen Pompeian legions. The Caesarians gave no quarter, and the Pompeian forces were annihilated; Labienus and Varus fell on the field, Gnaeus Pompey was later taken and put to death, but his brother Sextus escaped. Caesar returned to Italy in September, 45 B.C., and celebrated a triumph for his success.

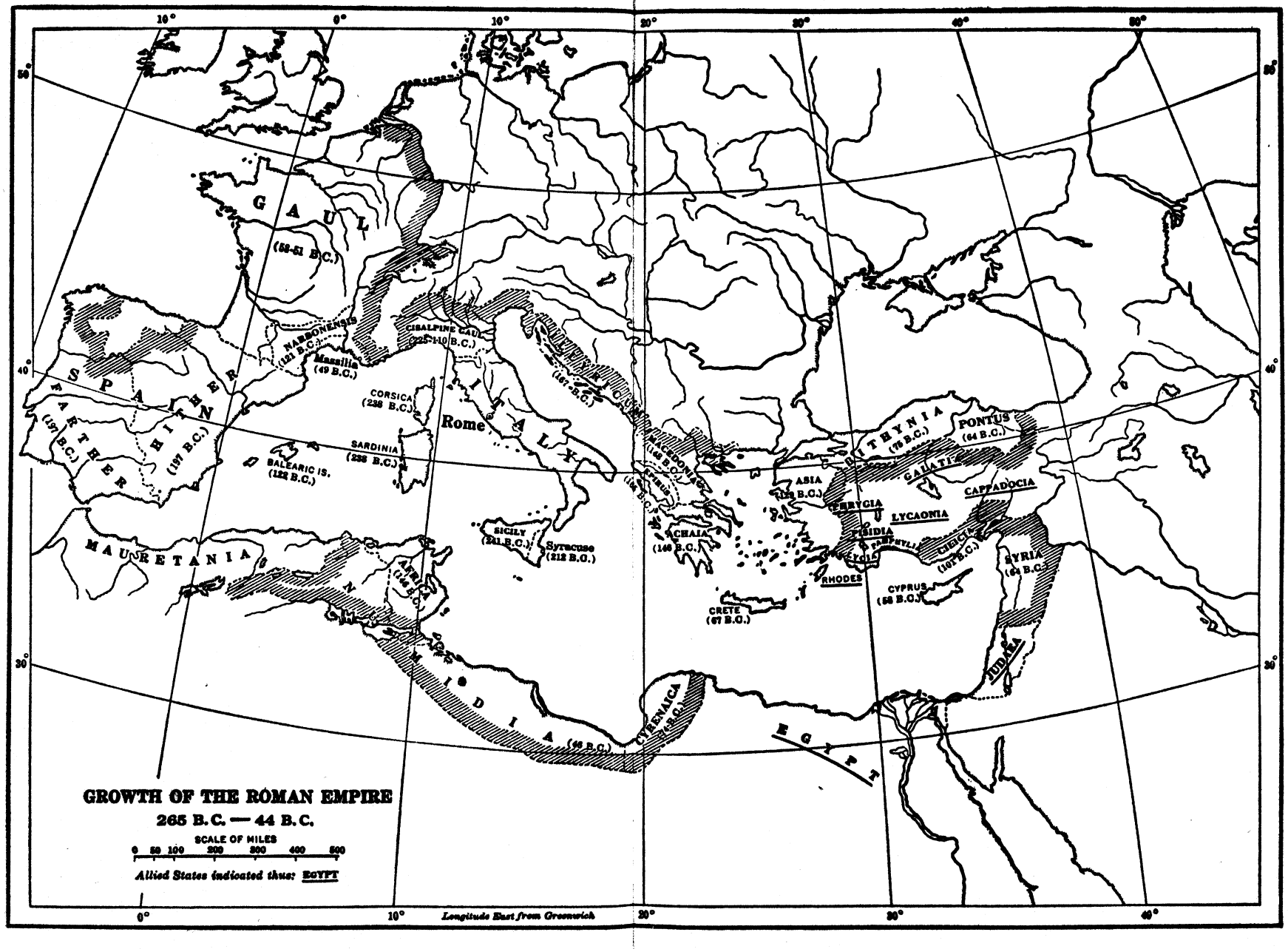
The Assassination of Julius Caesar: March 15, 44 B.C. His victory at Munda had strengthened Caesar's autocratic position and was responsible for the granting of most of the exceptional honors which we have noted above. It was now clear at Rome that Caesar did not intend to restore the Republic. In the conduct of the government he allowed no freedom of action to either Senate or Assembly, and although in general mild and forgiving he was quick to resent any attempt to slight him or question his authority. The realization that Caesar contemplated the establishment of an autocracy aroused bitter animosity among certain representatives of the

[6] The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Juliae.*

old governing oligarchy, who chafed under the restraints imposed upon them by his autocratic power and resented the degradation of the Senate to the position of a mere advisory council. It could hardly be expected that members of the Roman aristocracy with all their traditions of imperial government would tamely submit to being excluded from political life except as ministers of an autocrat who was until lately one of themselves. This attitude was shared by many who had hitherto been active in Caesar's cause, as well as by republicans who had made their peace with him. And so among these disgruntled elements a conspiracy was formed against the dictator's life. The originator of the plot was the ex-Pompeian Gaius Cassius, whom Caesar had made praetor for 44 B.C. and who won over to his design Marcus Junius Brutus, a member of the house descended from that Brutus who was reputed to have delivered Rome from the tyranny of the Tarquins. Brutus had gone over to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus and was highly esteemed by him but allowed himself to be persuaded that it was his duty to imitate his ancestor's conduct. Other conspirators of note were the Caesarians Gaius Trebonius and Decimus Junius Brutus. In all some sixty senators shared in the conspiracy. They set the Ides of March, 44 B.C., as the date for the execution of the plot. Caesar was now busily engaged with preparations for a campaign against the Dacians to the north of the lower Danube, to be followed by a war against the Parthians, who had been a menace to Syria ever since the defeat of Crassus. This defeat Caesar aimed to avenge and, in addition, definitely to secure the eastern frontier of the Empire. An army of sixteen legions and ten thousand cavalry was being assembled in Greece for this campaign, and Caesar was about to leave Rome to assume command. He is said to have been informed that a conspiracy against his life was on foot but to have disregarded the warning. He had dismissed his bodyguard of soldiers and refused one of senators and equestrians. On the fatal day he entered the Senate chamber, where the question of granting him the title of king in the provinces was to be discussed. A group of the conspirators surrounded him and, drawing concealed daggers, stabbed him to death. He fell at the foot of Pompey's statue.

Estimate of Caesar's Career. By the Roman writers who preserved the republican tradition Brutus, Cassius, and their associates were honored as tyrannicides who in the name of liberty had sought to save the Republic. Cato, who had died rather than witness the triumph of Caesar, became their hero. But this is an extremely narrow and partisan view. The Republic which Caesar had overthrown was no system of popular government but one whereby a small group of Roman nobles and capitalists exploited for their own personal ends and for the satisfaction of an idle city mob millions of subjects in the provinces. The republican organs of government had ceased

to voice the opinion even of the whole Roman citizen body. The governing circles had proven themselves incapable of bringing about any improvement in the situation and had completely lost the power of preserving peace in the state. Radical reforms were imperative and could be made effective only by virtue of superior force. In his resort to corruption and violence in furthering his own career and in his appeal to arms to decide the issue between himself and the Senate, Caesar must be judged according to the practices of his time. He was the child of his age and advanced himself by means which his predecessors and contemporaries employed. That he was ambitious and a lover of power is undeniable but hardly a cause for reproach, and who shall blame him if, when the Senate sought to destroy him by force, he used the same means to defend himself. Caesar deservedly ranks among the great personalities of history: he is at once in the front rank among statesmen and generals. In war he was equally remarkable as a tactician and a strategist, and in political life he displayed a similar capacity to develop a general plan of action and to manage the details of party conflicts. He was by no means an opportunist but formulated his comprehensive policies long in advance and worked consistently towards their realization. Better than any others of his time he appreciated the general political tendencies of the age, and more than any of his rivals he contributed towards shaping and guiding these tendencies. Although he was ruthless and cold-blooded in pursuing his ends and maintained an aristocratic aloofness in all his relations, the charm of his personality enabled him to create a remarkable *esprit de corps* among his troops and evoked a corresponding loyalty and solidarity among his political adherents. His family connections and the character of his genius led him to throw in his lot with the popular party; but this did not involve his adherence to democratic principles of government, and the autocratic ideal which towards the close of his life he strove to realize was the logical outgrowth of the position of power and independence which he enjoyed in his proconsular command. His supreme courage and self-confidence are revealed in his acceptance of the responsibility for guiding the destinies of the civilized world and in his attempt to do away with the old order and to set up a new régime which promised to give peace and security both to Roman citizens and provincials. Caesar fell before he had been able to carry his ideas into effect, but the Republic itself was dead and could not be quickened into life. After Caesar some form of monarchical government was inevitable.


GAUL
(58-51 B.C.)
NARBONENSIS
(121 B.C.)
Massilia
(49 B.C.)
CISALPINE GAUL
(225-110 B.C.)
ILLYRICUM
(167-35 B.C.)
SPAIN
FARTHER SPAIN
(197 B.C.)
(197 B.C.)
CORSICA
(238 B.C.)
Rome
ITALY
SARDINIA
(238 B.C.)
BALEARIC IS.
(123 B.C.)
MACEDONIA
(146 B.C.)
EPIRUS
(146 B.C.)
BITHYNIA
(75 B.C.)
PONTUS
(64 B.C.)
GALATIA
ASIA
(133 B.C.)
CAPPADOCIA
PHRYGIA
LYCAONIA
ACHAIA
(146 B.C.)
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
(102 B.C.)
SICILY
(241 B.C.)
Syracuse
(212 B.C.)
MAURETANIA
AFRICA
(146 B.C.)
RHODES
SYRIA
(64 B.C.)
CYPRUS
(58 B.C.)
CRETE
(67 B.C.)
NUMIDIA
(46 B.C.)
CYRENAICA
(75 B.C.)
JUDAEA
EGYPT
GROWTH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
265 B.C. — 44 B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Allied States indicated thus: EGYPT
10°
0°
10°
20°
30°
40°
50°
40°
30°
Longitude East from Greenwich

CHAPTER XV. THE PASSING OF THE REPUBLIC: 44–27 B.C.

I. THE RISE OF OCTAVIAN

The Political Situation after Caesar's Death. Caesar had made no arrangements for a successor, and his death produced the greatest consternation in Rome. The conspirators evidently had expected that, with Caesar gone, the control of affairs would return once more to the Senate; but, instead of finding their act greeted with an outburst of popular approval, they were left face to face with the fact that although Caesar was dead the Caesarian party lived on in his former officers, his veterans, and the city populace, led by the consul Mark Antony, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Caesar's master of the horse. The Senate met on March 17, and it was evident that a majority of its members supported the assassins; but they were afraid of the legion which Lepidus had under his orders and the Caesarian veterans in the city. Antony, who had obtained possession of Caesar's papers and money, took the lead of the Caesarian party and came to terms with its opponents. It was agreed that the conspirators should go unpunished but that the acts of Caesar should be ratified, even those which had not yet been carried into effect, that his will should be approved, and that he should receive a public funeral.

The reading of Caesar's will revealed that he had left his gardens on the right bank of the Tiber as a public park, had bequeathed a donation of three hundred sesterces (about fifteen dollars) to each Roman citizen, and had adopted his grandnephew Gaius Octavius as his son and heir to three fourths of his fortune. By a speech delivered to the people on the day of Caesar's funeral, Antony skilfully inflamed popular sentiment against Caesar's murderers. The mob seized the dictator's corpse, burned it in the Forum, and buried the ashes there. The chief conspirators did not dare to remain in the city; Decimus Brutus went to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, Marcus Brutus and Cassius lingered in the neighborhood of Rome. Antony was master of the situation in the capital and overawed opposition by his body-guard of six thousand veterans. He held in check Lepidus and other Caesarians who called for vengeance upon the conspirators. Lepidus was

won over by his election to the position of Pontifex Maximus to succeed Caesar and was induced to leave the city for his province of Hither Spain to check the progress of Sextus Pompey, who had reappeared in Farther Spain and defeated the Caesarian governor. It was hoped that Sextus would be satisfied with permission to return to Rome and compensation for his father's property. Caesar's arrangements for the provincial governorships had assigned Macedonia to Antony and Syria to Dolabella, who became Antony's colleague in the consulate at Caesar's death. This assignment Antony altered by a law which granted him Cisalpine Gaul and the Transalpine district outside Gallia Narbonensis for a term of six years in violation of a law of Caesar's, which limited proconsular commands to two years. Dolabella was to have Syria for a like period, and Decimus Brutus was given Macedonia in exchange for Cisalpine Gaul. The consuls were to occupy their provinces at once. To Brutus and Cassius were assigned for the next year the provinces of Crete and Cyrene; while for the present they were given a special commission to collect grain in Sicily and Asia. The two left Italy for the East with the intention of seizing the provinces there before the arrival of Dolabella. They hoped to raise a force which would enable them to check Antony's career, for it was evident that Antony regarded himself as Caesar's political heir and was planning to follow the latter's path to absolute power.

Octavian. But he found an unexpected rival in the person of Caesar's adopted son, Gaius Octavius, a youth of eighteen years, who at the time of Caesar's death was at Apollonia in Illyricum with the army that was being assembled for the Parthian War. Against the advice of his parents he returned to Rome and claimed his inheritance. His presence was unwelcome to Antony, who had expended Caesar's money and refused to refund it. Thereupon Octavius raised funds by selling his own properties and borrowing, and he began to pay off the legacies of Caesar. By this means he soon acquired popularity with the Caesarians. Owing to Antony's opposition, the formalities of his adoption were not completed until the following year, but from this time on he took the name of Caesar.[1]

Antony underestimated the capacities of this rather sickly youth and continued to refuse him recognition, but he was soon made aware of his mistake. He himself was anxious to occupy his province of Cisalpine Gaul; and since Decimus Brutus refused to evacuate it, Antony determined to drive him out and obtained permission to recall for that purpose the four legions from Macedonia. Before their arrival Octavian, acting without any authority,

[1] After the adoption his full name was Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Although he was known as Caesar by his contemporaries, it is more convenient to refer to him henceforth as Octavian, to distinguish him from his adoptive father.

raised a force among Caesar's veterans in Campania, and on the march from Brundisium to Rome two of the four Macedonian legions deserted to him. The Caesarians were now divided into two parties, and Octavian began to co-operate with the republicans in the Senate. The latter were thus encouraged to oppose Antony, with whom reconciliation was impossible. Cicero, who had not been among the conspirators but who had subsequently approved Caesar's murder, was about to leave Italy to join Brutus when he heard of the changed situation in Rome and returned to assume the leadership of the republican party. Antony left Rome for the Cisalpine province early in December, 44 B.C., and Cicero induced the Senate to enter into a coalition with Octavian against him. In his *Philippic Orations* he gave full vent to his bitter hatred of Antony and so aroused the latter's undying enmity.

The War at Mutina: December, 44–April, 43 B.C. In Cisalpine Gaul Decimus Brutus, relying upon the support of the Senate, refused to yield to Antony and was blockaded in Mutina. Thereupon the Senate made preparations for his relief. Antony was ordered to leave the province; and Hirtius and Pansa, who became consuls in January, 43, took the field against him. The aid of Octavian was indispensable, and the Senate conferred upon him the propraetorian *imperium* with consular rank in the Senate. The combined armies defeated Antony in two battles in the vicinity of Mutina, forcing him to give up the siege and flee towards Transalpine Gaul. But Pansa died of wounds received in the first engagement, and Hirtius fell in the course of the second. Ignoring Octavian, the Senate entrusted Brutus with the command and the task of pursuing Antony. The power of the Senate seemed re-established, for Marcus Brutus and Cassius had succeeded in their design of getting control of the eastern provinces, Dolabella having perished in the conflict, and were at the head of a considerable military and naval force. The Senate accordingly conferred upon them supreme military authority (*maius imperium*) in the East and gave to Sextus Pompey, then at Massilia, a naval command. At last Cicero could induce the senators to declare Antony a public enemy. He no longer felt the support of Octavian a necessity and expressed the attitude of the republicans towards him in the saying "the young man is to be praised, to be honored, to be set aside."[2] But it was soon evident that the experienced orator had entirely misjudged this young man who, so far from being the tool of the Senate, had used that body for his own ends. Octavian refused to aid Decimus Brutus and demanded from the Senate his own appointment as consul, a triumph, and rewards for his troops. His demands were rejected, whereupon he marched upon Rome with his army and occupied the city. On August 19, he had

[2] *Laudandum adulescentem, ornandum, tolendum,* Cicero, *Fam.*, xi, 20, 1.

himself elected consul with Quintus Pedius as his colleague. The latter carried a bill which established a special court for the trial of Caesar's murderers, who were condemned and banished. The same penalty was pronounced upon Sextus Pompey. The Senate's decree against Antony was revoked.

II. THE TRIUMVIRATE OF 43 B.C.

Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus. On his way to Transalpine Gaul Antony had met with Lepidus, whom the Senate had summoned from Spain to the assistance of Decimus Brutus. But Lepidus was a Caesarian and, alarmed by the success of Marcus Brutus and Cassius, allowed his troops to go over to Antony. Decimus Brutus had taken up the pursuit of Antony and joined forces with Plancus, governor of Narbonese Gaul. However, upon news of the events in Rome, Plancus abandoned Brutus and joined Antony. Brutus was deserted by his troops and killed while a fugitive in Gaul. Antony and Lepidus now marched upon Italy.

Octavian had taken care to have the defence of Italy entrusted to himself and hastened northwards to meet their advance. But both sides were ready to come to terms and unite their forces for the purpose of crushing their common enemies, Brutus and Cassius. Accordingly, at a conference of the three leaders on an island in the river Renus near Bononia, a reconciliation between Antony and Octavian was effected and plans laid for their co-operation in the immediate future. The three decided to have themselves appointed triumvirs for the settlement of the commonwealth (*triumviri reipublicae constituendae*) for a term of five years. They were to have consular *imperium* with the right to appoint to the magistracies, and their acts were to be valid without the approval of the Senate. Furthermore, they divided among themselves the western provinces: Antony received those previously assigned to him; Lepidus took the Spains and Narbonese Gaul; while to Octavian fell Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa. Octavian was to resign his consulship but in the next year was to be joint commander with Antony in a campaign against the republican armies in the East while Lepidus protected their interests in Rome. The triumvirate was legalized by a tribunician law (the *lex Titia*) of November 27, 43 B.C., and its members formally entered upon office on the first of January following. Unlike the secret coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, the present one constituted a commission clothed with almost supreme public powers.

The Triumvirs in Italy. The formation of the coalition was followed by the proscription of the enemies of the triumvirs, partly for the sake of vengeance but largely to secure money for their troops from the confiscation

of the properties of the proscribed. Among the chief victims was Cicero, whose death Antony demanded. He died with courage for the sake of the republican ideal to which he was devoted; but it must be recognized that this devotion was to the cause of a corrupt aristocracy, whose crimes he refused to share, although he forced himself to condone and justify them. The exactions of the triumvirs did not end with the confiscation of the goods of the proscribed; special taxes were laid upon the propertied classes in Italy, and eighteen of the most flourishing Italian municipalities were marked out as sites for colonies of veterans.

In 42 B.C. Octavian dedicated a temple to Julius Caesar in the forum where his body had been burned. Later by a special law Caesar was elevated among the gods of the Roman state with the name of Divus Julius. Meanwhile Octavian had found difficulty in occupying his allotted provinces. Africa was eventually conquered by one of his lieutenants; but Sextus Pompey, who controlled the sea, had occupied Sardinia and Sicily. His forces were augmented by many of the proscribed and by adventurers of all sorts, and Octavian could not dislodge him before setting out against Brutus and Cassius.

Philippi: 42 B.C. These republican generals had raised an army of 80,000 Romans, in addition to allied contingents, and taken up a position in Thrace to await the attack of the triumvirs. In the summer of 42 B.C. the latter transported their troops across the Adriatic in spite of the fleet of their enemies, and the two armies faced each other near Philippi on the borders of Macedonia and Thrace. An indecisive battle was fought, in which Antony defeated Cassius, who committed suicide in despair; but the troops of Brutus routed those commanded by Octavian, who was incapacitated by illness. Shortly afterwards Brutus was forced by his soldiers to risk another battle. This time they were completely defeated, and Brutus took his own life.

The Division of the Empire. The two victorious triumvirs now redistributed the western provinces among themselves. Lepidus, whom they suspected of intrigues with Sextus Pompey and whose hostility they could now afford to risk, was for the time left out of consideration. Cisalpine Gaul because of its strategic situation was not assigned to anyone but ceased to be a province and was annexed to Italy, whose political boundaries at length coincided with its geographical frontier. The whole of Transalpine Gaul was given to Antony; Octavian received the two Spains, Sardinia, and Africa on the understanding that he would turn over the last-mentioned to Lepidus if his conduct warranted it. From the time of the meeting near Bononia Antony had been the chief personage in the coalition, and his prestige was enhanced by his success at Philippi. It was now agreed that

he should settle conditions in the eastern provinces and raise funds there, while Octavian should return to Italy and carry out the promised assignment of lands to their troops. This decision was of momentous consequence for the future. In the summer of 41 B.C. Antony received a visit from Cleopatra at Tarsus in Cilicia. Her personal charms and keen intelligence, which had found favor with the great Julius, exercised an even greater fascination over Antony, whose cardinal weaknesses were indolence and sensual indulgence. He followed Cleopatra to Egypt, where he remained until 40 B.C.

Octavian in Italy: 42–40 B.C. In Italy Octavian was confronted with the task of providing lands for some 170,000 veterans. The eighteen municipalities previously selected for this purpose proved insufficient, and a general confiscation of small holdings took place, whereby many persons were rendered homeless and destitute. Few, like the poet Virgil, found compensation through the influence of a powerful patron. A heavy blow was dealt to the prosperity of Italy. The task of Octavian was greatly hampered by opposition from the friends of Antony, led by the latter's wife Fulvia and his brother Lucius Antonius. Hostilities broke out in which Luicus was besieged in Perusia and starved into submission (40 B.C.). Fulvia went to join Antony, while others of their faction fled to Sextus Pompey, who still held Sicily. Of great importance to Octavian was his acquisition of Gaul, which came into his hands through the death of Antony's legate, Calenus. He could now safely turn over Africa with a considerable garrison to his colleague Lepidus. An indication of an approaching break between Octavian and Antony was the former's divorce of his wife Clodia, a step-daughter of Antony and his marriage with Scribonia, a relative of Sextus Pompey, whom he hoped to win over to his side.

The Treaty of Brundisium: 40 B.C. While Octavian had been involved in the Perusian war, the Parthians had overrun the province of Syria; and in conjunction with them Quintus Labienus, a follower of Brutus and Cassius, penetrated Asia Minor as far as the Aegean coast. Antony thereupon returned in haste to Italy to restore his waning influence there and to gather troops to re-establish Roman authority in the East. Both he and Octavian were prepared for war, and hostilities began around Brundisium, which refused Antony admittance. At the insistence of the soldiers in both armies, however, a reconciliation was effected, and an agreement entered into which was known as the Treaty of Brundisium. It was provided that Octavian should have Spain, Gaul, Sardinia, Sicily, and Dalmatia, while Antony should hold the Roman possessions east of the Ionian Sea; Lepidus retained Africa, and Italy was to be held in common. To cement the alliance Antony, whose wife Fulvia had died, married Octavia, sister of Octavian.

The Treaty of Misenum: 39 B.C. In the following year Antony and Octavian were forced to come to terms with Sextus Pompey. He still defiantly held Sicily and in addition wrested Sardinia from Octavian. His command of these islands and of the seas about Italy enabled him to cut off the grain supply of Rome, where a famine broke out. This brought about a meeting of the three at Misenum, in which it was agreed that Sextus should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Achaea for five years, should be consul and augur, and receive a monetary compensation for his father's property in Rome. In return he engaged to secure peace at sea and convoy the grain supply for the city. However, the terms of the treaty were never fully carried out, and in the next year Octavian and Sextus were again at war. The former regained possession of Sardinia but failed signally in an attack upon Sicily (38 B.C.).

The Treaty of Tarentum: 37 B.C. In 39 B.C. Antony returned to the East, where the Illyrians were threatening the Macedonian frontier and the Parthians were still in occupation of Asia Minor and Syria. One of his generals won a decisive victory over the Illyrians; another drove Labienus out of Asia Minor, recovered Syria, and repelled a second Parthian inroad. In 38 B.C. Antony hastened to Italy at the request of Octavian, who was alarmed at the activities of Sextus Pompey. But Octavian did not arrive in time for the meeting, and Antony did not wait for him. The next year, however, saw the two triumvirs in conference at Tarentum, since Octavian needed Antony's support after his defeat by Sextus and Antony wanted more Italian troops for his projected invasion of Parthia. Neither trusted the other, but in spite of their mutual suspicions they were formally reconciled through the influence of Octavia. They agreed that Antony should supply Octavian with 120 warships for his operations against Sextus, in return for which Octavian should give him four of the legions in Africa. Antony fulfilled his share of the bargain, but Octavian never turned over to him the promised legions. Since the power of the triumvirs had legally terminated on December 31, 38 B.C., they decided to have themselves reappointed for another five years, that is, until the close of 33 B.C. This appointment, like the first, was carried into effect by a special law.

The Defeat of Sextus Pompey: 36 B.C. Octavian now energetically pressed his attack upon Sicily, while Lepidus co-operated by besieging Lilybaeum. At length, in September, 36 B.C., Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Octavian's ablest general, destroyed the bulk of Pompey's fleet in a battle off Naulochus. Pompey fled to Asia, where two years later he was captured by Antony's forces and executed. After the flight of Sextus, Lepidus challenged Octavian's claim to Sicily; but his troops deserted him for Octavian, and he was forced to throw himself upon the latter's mercy. Stripped of

his power and retaining only his office of Pontifex Maximus, he lived under guard in an Italian municipality until his death in 12 B.C. His provinces were taken by Octavian. The defeat of Sextus Pompey and the deposition of Lepidus gave Octavian sole power over the western half of the Empire and inevitably tended to sharpen the rivalry and antagonism which had long existed between himself and Antony. In the same year Octavian was granted the tribunician sacrosanctity and the right to sit on the tribune's bench in the Senate.

III. THE VICTORY OF OCTAVIAN

Antony's Failure against Parthia. After the treaty of Tarentum, Antony proceeded to Syria to make preparations for the invasion of Parthia which he began in 36 B.C. Avoiding the Mesopotamian desert with its fateful memories of Crassus, he took a more northerly route through Armenia into Media Atropatene, relying upon the support of the Armenian king, Artavasdes. But the latter proved false, and through his treachery the Parthians destroyed the Roman train of siege engines and their reserve supplies of food. After a vain attempt to reduce the fortress of Praaspa, Antony found himself obliged to abandon his expedition and save his army by retreating. Although vigorously pursued by the Parthian horsemen, he managed by skilful and courageous generalship to lead the greater part of his troops back to Armenia. Nevertheless, his losses amounted to over 20,000 men, and his reputation suffered severely from the complete failure of the undertaking. Without reinforcements from the West it was hopeless for him to think of any further moves against the Parthian Empire. And when Octavian returned those of his ships which had survived the naval battles around Sicily without the promised legions, he realized that Octavian planned to cut him off from Italy and that he must re-establish himself in the West or resign himself to a position of inferiority with respect to his rival. For the moment, all that he could do was to conclude an alliance with a rebellious Parthian vassal, the king of Media Atropatene, and to occupy Armenia, whose king was carried off as a prisoner in punishment for his disloyal conduct.

Antony and Cleopatra. The breach between Antony and Octavian was widened by Antony's connection with Cleopatra. While in Antioch in 37 B.C., Antony publicly married the Egyptian Queen; and after his Parthian defeat he refused Octavia, his legal Roman wife, permission to join him. This was equivalent to an open renunciation of his friendship with Octavian. Although it cannot be said that Antony had become a mere tool of Cleopatra, it must be admitted that he had been won over to her plans

for his future career. These were that he should assert his claim to be the successor of Julius Caesar and the ruler of the Roman world. As his wife, she would share in his power and provide for the peaceful incorporation of Egypt in the Roman Empire under exceptionally favorable circumstances. Her own future and that of her kingdom would thus be assured. Their program was revealed clearly by a pageant staged in Alexandria in 34 B.C. Antony and Cleopatra, the latter in the guise of the goddess Isis,[8] appeared seated high on golden thrones. In an address to the assembled public, Antony proclaimed Cleopatra "Queen of Kings" and ruler of Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, and Coele-Syria. Joint ruler with her as "King of Kings" was her son Ptolemy Caesarion, whom Antony formally recognized as the child of Julius Caesar. The two young sons of Antony and Cleopatra also received royal titles: the elder as King of Armenia, Media, and Parthia; the younger as King of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia. Their daughter, Cleopatra, received Cyrene as her portion. Although Antony did not claim any royal title for himself, his arrangements aroused great mistrust towards him in Roman circles, which resented his partition of Rome's eastern provinces among foreign potentates.

The Final Break: 32 B.C. During the years 35 to 33 B.C. Octavian carried on a series of victorious campaigns against Illyrian tribes to the east of the Adriatic Sea, thus keeping his forces in fighting trim and adding to his reputation for courage if not for brilliant leadership. In 33 B.C., the news of Antony's acknowledgment of Caesarion as Caesar's son reached Octavian and provoked him to protest against this as against Antony's treatment of Octavia. But at the same time he gave no satisfactory answer to Antony's claims to more troops from Italy and land grants for his veterans. Both principals indulged in a campaign of mutual vilification, in which they were actively supported by their followers; and the effect of this type of propaganda is seen in the confused and contradictory accounts of these years in later historical works, with the result that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to recover an accurate picture of many aspects of the situation. Legally, the triumvirate terminated with the close of 33 B.C., and for the next year the two consuls were Antony's nominees. In order to win support in Rome, Antony had written a letter to the Senate in which he asked approval for all actions and arrangements he had made in the East and offered to surrender his powers as triumvir and restore the old constitution. But the consuls were unwilling to divulge

[8] As early as 38 B.C., Antony while in Athens had taken the title of New Dionysus, anticipating that he, like the Dionysus of Greek legend, would be a conqueror of Asia. He did not, however, make regular use of this title, nor did he consider that it deified him in the eyes of Romans.

the contents of the letter as a whole because they feared the effect on public opinion of the request for approval of Antony's grants of kingdoms to Cleopatra and her children. One of them, however, attacked Octavian and was prevented only by a tribune's veto from introducing a motion that he should surrender his *imperium* at once. Octavian then overawed the Senate by appearing with an armed bodyguard. No one dared oppose him; the two consuls and a large number of senators fled to Antony. Antony's reply was publicly to divorce Octavia, which could only be interpreted as a declaration of hostility towards her brother. Octavian then seized Antony's will, which had been deposited in the temple of Vesta, and published such portions of it as he felt would inflame Roman opinion against Antony and Cleopatra, in particular a confirmation (possibly forged) of the disposition which he had made of the eastern lands in the interest of the house of Cleopatra. The feeling against Cleopatra had grown sufficiently strong for Octavian to secure an oath of loyalty from the senators who remained in Rome and similar oaths from the municipalities of Italy and the western provinces. It was this oath of allegiance which provided the main basis of his authority for the next few years, for he no longer considered himself a triumvir. Fortified by this expression of public confidence, he caused Antony's *imperium* to be abrogated and his designation as consul for 31 B.C. to be cancelled. Needless to say, Antony refused to recognize the validity of the acts. Finally, Octavian issued a formal declaration of war against Cleopatra and thus put an end to all hopes of reconciliation.

Actium and After. In the fall of 33 B.C. Antony and Cleopatra established themselves at Ephesus and began to assemble their forces for the coming struggle. Some of the prominent Romans in the following of Antony objected strongly to the queen's presence since they did not want to fight for her and felt that her association with Antony strengthened the cause of their opponents. But Cleopatra was financing the army and navy with the resources of Egypt, and so she stayed. In the course of the next year Antony brought together an army of between 85,000 and 90,000 men, supported by a fleet of 500 warships. At the head of this force he moved westwards across the Aegean into Greece. But since no favorable occasion for attempting a landing in Italy presented itself, both the fleet and the army went into winter quarters in the Gulf of Ambracia (32–31 B.C.). In the spring of 31 B.C. Octavian, with an army of about the same strength as Antony's and 400 warships, crossed over to Epirus and took up a position facing his opponents, who had stationed themselves in the Bay of Actium at the entrance to the Ambracian gulf. In the maneuvers which followed, Octavian's fleet, led by his ablest general Agrippa, succeeded in

blockading Antony's fleet in the Bay of Actium, while Antony's attempts to force his opponent to accept a land battle and to cut him off from supplies from the land side were a failure. By seizing Corinth and other important points and by making use of his superior cavalry, Octavian practically shut off Antony's forces from communication with the interior of Greece. The latter's men began to suffer from a shortage of supplies and from disease; discord arose between Cleopatra and some of the Roman officers; and influential persons deserted to Octavian. Antony's position became desperate, and he was forced to risk a naval battle. His real intentions are not clear. He may have planned to fight for a decisive victory, but the more reasonable suggestion is that he had determined to leave the bulk of his troops to defend themselves in strategic fortresses of Greece, while he and Cleopatra embarked the rest and their treasure on the fleet and tried to force their way through the blockade. If this attempt proved successful, he would unite the garrisons which he had left in the East and be in a position to continue the conflict with his rival. In the battle which followed, Cleopatra and her squadron with the treasure broke through the hostile line and were followed by Antony, but the majority of his ships were taken or surrendered. The troops left on shore soon gave themselves up to Octavian; and since his other forces in the East refused any longer to obey his orders, Antony was forced to retire to Alexandria and trust to whatever strength he could gather there.

The victor advanced slowly eastwards and in the summer of 30 B.C. began his invasion of Egypt. Antony's attempts at defence were unavailing; his troops deserted to Octavian, who occupied Alexandria. In despair at hearing a rumor that Cleopatra had taken her life, Antony committed suicide. Cleopatra was taken prisoner. Finding that her conqueror was inexorable and that it was impossible for her to save her kingdom for herself or for her children, she followed Antony's example rather than grace Octavian's triumph in Rome. This was probably what the latter had hoped for. He had magnified her part in the struggle in order to solidify Italian opinion behind him, but he had no wish to be held responsible for her execution. Ptolemy Caesarion, however, and Antony's elder son were put to death because their lineage made them potential rivals of the victor. The kingdom of Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire. Its treasures reimbursed Octavian for the expenses of his late campaigns and enabled him to distribute the promised bonuses to his veterans. After re-establishing the old provinces and client kingdoms in the East, Octavian returned to Rome in 29 B.C., where he celebrated a three-day triumph over the non-Roman peoples of Europe, Asia, and Africa, whom he or his generals had subjugated during his triumvirate.

At the age of thirty-three Octavian had made good his claim to the political inheritance of Julius Caesar. His victory over Antony closed the century of civil strife which had begun with the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus. War and the proscriptions had exacted a heavy toll from Romans and Italians; Greece, Macedonia, and Asia had been brought to the verge of ruin; the whole Empire longed for peace. Everywhere was Octavian hailed as the savior of the world; and, as the founder of a new golden age, men were ready to worship him as a god.

IV. SOCIETY AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

The Upper Classes. The characteristics of Roman society in the last century of the Republic were the same as we have previously seen developing as a result of Rome's imperial expansion. The upper classes of society comprised the senatorial nobility and the equestrians, the former finding their goal in public office, the latter in banking and financial ventures, and both alike callously exploiting the subjects of Rome in their own interests. Provincial investments were the most lucrative forms of business enterprise. Rome had become the financial as well as the political capital of the Mediterranean world, and Roman businessmen flocked to the provinces with ready money to invest for themselves or as agents for others. Many Romans acquired large provincial estates; others exploited mines and forests, undertook public contracts, or acted as bankers. The most profitable of all types of business was moneylending, in particular to client princes and cities where the transactions were on a large scale. Senators and magistrates did not hesitate to make such loans personally or through trusted agents, even if in so doing they entered into competition with the equestrians. As a rule the provincial rate of interest was 12 per cent per year, but Marcus Brutus made a loan to Salamis in Cyprus at 48 per cent and sought military authority for his agent to enable him to collect the debt.

As corruption characterized the public, so did extravagance and luxury the private, life of the governing classes. The palaces of the wealthy in Rome were supplemented by villas in the Sabine hills, in the watering places of the Campanian coast, and at other attractive points. The word villa, which originally designated a farmhouse, now meant a countryseat equipped with all the modern conveniences of city life. A large share of the commerce of Italy consisted in the importation of articles of luxury to adorn the town and country houses of the well-to-do. These included statuary, paintings, silverware, tapestries, furniture of rare woods, antiques

from Greece, marble columns, and goods dyed with costly Tyrian purple.[4]

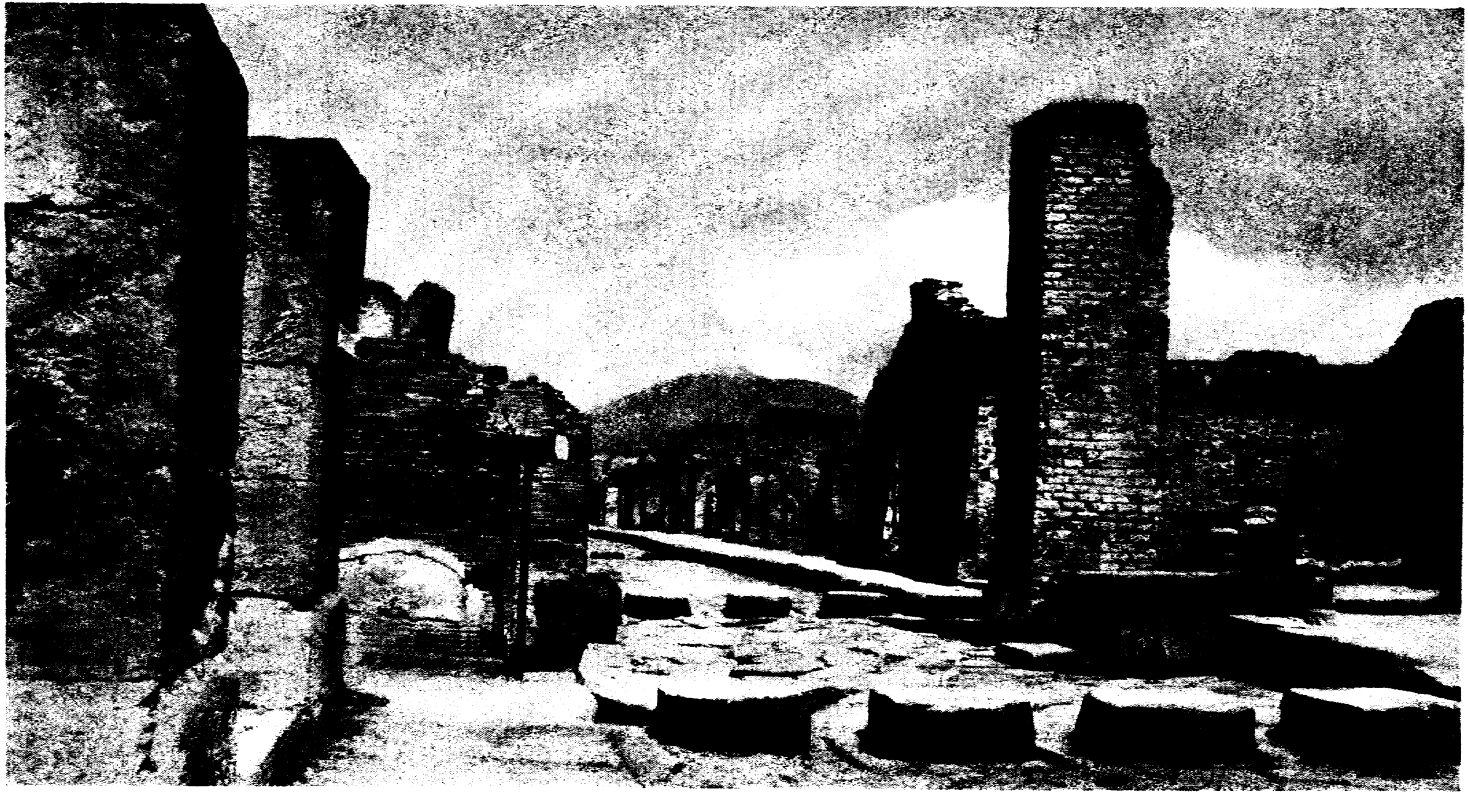
The solidarity of the family life which had been the foundation of Roman morality was fast disappearing. In general, wives no longer came under the authority (*manus*) of their husbands upon marriage and so retained control of their properties acquired by inheritance or dowry through guardians appointed from their own families. Consequently women played an increasingly independent and important part in the society of the day. In Rome at least the age was one of a low tone in morals, and divorces were of common occurrence. At the same time social intercourse was characterized by a high degree of urbanity—the good manners which mark the society of cultured men.

The Working Classes. (*a*) In Rome. Of the life of the plebs who thronged the high tenement houses and narrow streets of Rome we know very little. But until the Assembly was overawed or superseded by armed forces, the city populace could not be ignored by the upper classes. Their votes must be courted by magnificent displays at the public games, by entertainments and largesses of all kinds, and care must be taken to provide them with food to prevent their becoming a menace to the public peace. As we have seen, political rivalries led to repeated attempts to bribe the proletariat by increasing and cheapening the monthly grain dole initiated by Gaius Gracchus until, by the time of Caesar's dictatorship, some 320,000 male citizens were receiving this public largess entirely at the state's expense. Caesar's colonization projects enabled him to reduce the number of recipients by more than one half, but he could only lessen and not abolish this burden upon the public treasury. In the course of the last century of the Republic this class of citizen pensioners changed radically in its character. The predominant element therein was no longer of Roman or Italian stock but was composed of the descendants of emancipated slaves or emancipated slaves themselves who as freedmen (*liberti*) had attained Roman citizenship. Sulla's 10,000 Cornelii went to swell the ranks of this new citizenry, which was a cosmopolitan group representing all the races of the Mediterranean world, in particular those of the East. However, the number of free persons among the lower classes in the city was greatly surpassed by the multitude of slaves attached to the houses of the wealthy or toiling at various industrial occupations for their masters or for others who hired their services. Still another element came to increase the population of the city in the throngs of free aliens who frequented the world's capital to practice their multifarious trades and professions. Statistical records bearing on economic problems of Roman history are conspicuously

[4] Really red.

lacking, but a careful computation of the indirect evidence available seems to indicate that from 80 to 85 per cent of the persons engaged in factory, shop, or household labor in Rome were slaves or ex-slaves, and only from 15 to 20 per cent free born. Among the working classes the scale of living was very low. Unskilled labor possibly received a wage of from 17 to 20 cents per day at the end of the Republic, and the cost of food and lodging consumed about four fifths of a man's earnings. The mild Italian climate made the problem of clothing relatively simple, while the state provided amusements in the form of entertainments in connection with the public festivals and games, so that even for the very poor conditions were by no means intolerable.

(*b*). Throughout Italy. Agricultural conditions throughout the peninsula had suffered a great deal from the confiscations and resettlements carried out by Sulla, Caesar, and the Triumvirs. In particular, the sturdy peasantry of Samnium and Etruria had almost been eradicated as a result of siding with the Populares against the Optimates and Sulla. The civil wars had taken a frightful toll in killed and disabled; and those who had merely been deprived of their holdings were forced to choose between joining the city mob, seeking a livelihood in military service, or finding a home in the provinces. The number of Italians who perished in the defence of Cirta against Jugurtha and in the massacres of the First Mithradatic War bears testimony to the stream of emigration from Italy, but of these the majority came from the mercantile towns of South Italy rather than from the strictly rural districts. Even where new landholders took the place of old, there was probably an initial decline in efficiency of operation and in production. On the other hand these veteran colonies may have had a good effect in breaking up many of the *latifundia*. Indeed, there seems to have been a revival of Italian agriculture, due in part to the recovery of the fertility of the soil after a long rest from intensive grain culture and in part to the increased demands of the Roman market. While the colonies of veterans attest the presence of a large number of small landed proprietors, there is also evidence for a considerable proportion of free persons among the agricultural laborers. A law of Julius Caesar required that one third of the laborers employed on ranches should be free citizens, and the use of the word *colonus* in its new meaning of "tenant farmer" points to a tendency on the part of the larger proprietors to break up their estates into small leaseholds occupied and tilled by free peasants. The Italian municipalities, however, on the whole showed by the end of the Republic the same proportion between slaves or ex-slaves and freeborn persons among the working classes as prevailed in Rome itself. Here, too, the old Italian stocks were being displaced by the children of foreigners brought in as slaves.



A STREET IN POMPEII

The photograph shows a paved street with sidewalks, steppingstones, and ruins of houses and shops. To the right is a street fountain and wheel ruts are plainly visible in the pavement.

The City Rome. The age of the civil wars saw many changes and developments in the appearance of Rome itself. Two new aqueducts, the Tepula in 125 B.C. and the Julia in 33 B.C., cared for the needs of the still-growing population. New and superior building materials came into extensive use. In place of the old soft volcanic *tufa,* the creamy white limestone called *travertine* was largely employed from the second century in the construction of public buildings. And from the beginning of the first century the excellent Roman concrete began to be used for interior construction. The exterior surfaces of concrete structures were regularly faced with stone, at first with small irregular fragments (*opus incertum*) and later with carefully cut square or lozenge-shaped pieces arranged to form a network pattern (*opus reticulatum*). Towards the close of the period it had come to be the fashion to veneer the faces of buildings with slabs of travertine or marble. Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar were among those who added much to the appearance of Rome by erecting new and imposing public edifices. Caesar also developed extensive plans for rebuilding the city but had to leave these to be carried out in part by Augustus. Sulla commenced the reconstruction of the Capitolium or temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which had been burned in 83 B.C., and Pompey erected on the Campus Martius Rome's first permanent theater (55 B.C.). Another important building of the time was the Tabularium or Public Record Office built on the west side of the Forum by Quintus Catulus, the consul of 78 B.C. Its ruins are the most striking example of republican architecture found in Rome today. Rome suffered heavily from great fires, of which seven are recorded for this period; and, in spite of the addition of a goodly number of fine buildings, it still presented a comparatively drab and unimpressive appearance when compared with the larger cities of the Greek East.

Religion. In religion this period witnessed a striking decline of interest and faith in the public or official cults of the Roman state. This was in part due to the influence of Greek mythology, which changed the current conceptions of the Roman divinities, and to Greek philosophy with its varying doctrines as to the nature and powers of the gods. The latter especially affected the upper classes of society, upon whom fell the duty of maintaining the public cults. From the time of the Gracchi the public priesthoods declined in importance, and in many cases they were used solely as tools for political purposes. The increase in the numbers of the priestly colleges and the substitution of election for co-optation brought in many members unversed in the ancient traditions, and the holders of the priesthoods in general showed great ignorance of their duties, especially with regard to the ordering of the state calendar. Some religious associations like the Arval Brotherhood ceased to exist, and knowledge of the character of some of the

minor deities was completely lost. Some patrician priesthoods, which involved serious duties and restricted the freedom of their incumbents, were avoided as much as possible. At the same time the private religious rites, hereditary within family groups, fell into decay. While the attitude of educated circles towards the state cults was thus one of indifference or skepticism, it is hard to speak of that of the common people. Superstitious they were beyond a doubt, but in the performance of the state cults they had never actively participated. The more emotional cults of the Oriental type made a greater appeal to them if we may judge from the difficulty which the Senate experienced in banishing the priests of Isis from the city.

Stoicism and Epicureanism. The philosophic systems which made the most converts among the educated Romans were Stoicism and Epicureanism. The former, as we have seen, had been introduced to Rome by Panaetius, whose teaching was continued by Posidonius. It appealed to the Romans as offering a practical rule of life for men engaged in public affairs. On the other hand, the doctrine of Epicurus that men should withdraw from the annoyances of political life and seek happiness in the pursuit of pleasure, that is, intellectual pleasure, was interpreted by the Roman as sanctioning sensual indulgence and became the creed of those who gave themselves up to a life of ease and indolence.

Education. Education at Rome from the time of the Gracchi to the age of Cicero and Caesar continued to be dominated by Greek influences. After receiving his primary instruction at the hands of an elementary teacher (*ludi magister*), the pupil went to the school of a *grammaticus*. Here he followed a standard curriculum which included literature, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. These subjects were known as the liberal arts (*artes liberales*). Greek literature furnished the chief instructional material, and the mathematical and scientific subject matter was also drawn from Greek sources. It was noticeable that the Romans failed to develop the same interest in mathematics and music that was characteristic of the Greek mind. They were content to study the former just so far as it was of practical use and preferred to leave the latter subject to professionals. Higher education was received in special schools of oratory and philosophy or was gained by private study and intercourse with distinguished men. The teaching of philosophy and oratory was conducted mainly by Greek professors, and in the case of the latter subject Greek was the regular language of instruction. A reaction against these Greek rhetorical schools, perhaps because of their expensiveness and popularity among the aristocracy, caused the establishment of a rival Latin school by Plotius Gallus, who followed Roman models and trained his pupils in the Latin tongue. His school was suppressed for political reasons by the censors of 92 B.C. but seems to

have been revived at a later date. In addition to pursuing these advanced studies at Rome, it had become the fashion for well-to-do young Romans to complete their education in the schools of Greece, which might be called the universities of the day. Cicero, whose career illustrates very well the contemporary system of higher education, was one of this number. After finishing his preliminary studies, he remained for a time in Rome, where he regularly attended the speeches of well-known orators, received an introduction into Roman jurisprudence under Q. Mucius Scaevola, one of the leading jurisconsults of his age, studied Greek literature and the art of poetry, Roman history, Greek philosophy, and rhetoric with representatives of the Stoic school and the Academy, and consistently practised declamation, largely in Greek. Later he visited Greece, spending six months at Athens, where he pursued his philosophic and rhetorical studies to great advantage. From Athens he went to Asia Minor, where he visited several cities and ended his period of foreign study with a sojourn at Rhodes. In later life he was proud to acknowledge the educational debt which he owed to the teachers and schools of Greece. It is Cicero, too, who has voiced the finest conception of education known from ancient Rome. He emphasized the need of higher cultural studies, selecting history, jurisprudence, and philosophy as those which, supplementing literature and rhetoric, comprise the fields of learning necessary for the attainment of his cultural ideal—*humanitas*.

Literature. The last century of the Republic saw the completion of the amalgamation of Greek and Roman culture which had begun in the previous epoch. The resulting Graeco-Roman culture was a bilingual civilization based upon Greek intellectual and Roman political achievement, which it was the mission of the Empire to spread to the barbaric peoples of the western provinces. The age was marked by many-sided, keen, intellectual activity which brought Rome's cultural development to its height. Yet this Graeco-Roman culture was almost exclusively a possession of the higher classes.

The Drama. In the field of dramatic literature the writing of tragedy practically ceased, and comedy took the popular forms of caricature and the mime, or realistic imitation of the life of the lower classes. The former, as we have seen,[5] was derived from Oscan, the latter from Greek prototypes, but both dealt with subjects of everyday life and won great popularity in the theatrical exhibitions given at the public games.

Poetry. Catullus: 87–*ca.* 54 B.C. The best exponent of the poetry of the age is Gaius Valerius Catullus, a native of Verona in Cisalpine Gaul, who as a young man was drawn into the vortex of fashionable society at the capital.

[5] P. 95.

This new poetry appealed to a highly educated class, conversant alike with the literature of the Greek classic and Hellenistic periods, as well as with modern production, and able to appreciate the most elaborate and diversified meters. The works of Catullus show the wide range of form and subject which appealed to contemporary taste. Translations and copies of Greek originals find their place alongside epigrams and lyric poems of personal experience. It is his poetry of passion, of love and hate, which places him among the foremost lyric poets of all time.

Lucretius: 98–53 B.C. An exception among the poets of his time was Titus Lucretius Carus, who combined the spirit of a poet with that of a religious teacher. He felt a mission to free the minds of men from fear of the power of the gods and of death. To this end he wrote a didactic epic poem, *On the Nature of Things,* in which he explained the atomic theory of Democritus, which was the foundation of the philosophical teachings of Epicurus. The essence of this doctrine was that the world and all living creatures were produced by the fortuitous concourse of atoms falling through space and that death was simply the dissolution of the body into its component atomic elements. Consequently, there was no future existence to be dreaded. True poetic value is given to the work by the author's great imaginative powers and his keen observation of nature and human life. Lucretius made the Latin hexameter a fitting medium for the expression of sustained and lofty thought.

Oratory. It was through the study and practice of oratory that Roman prose attained its perfection between the time of the Gracchi and Julius Caesar. Political and legal orations were weapons in the party strife of the day and were frequently polished and edited as political pamphlets. Along with political documents of this type appeared orations that were not written to be delivered in the Forum or Senate chamber but were addressed solely to a reading public. Among the great forensic orators of the age were the two Gracchi, of whom the younger, Gaius, had the reputation of being the most effective speaker that Rome ever knew. Others of note were Marcus Antonius, grandfather of the triumvir, Lucius Licinius Crassus, and Quintus Hortensius Hortalus. But it was Cicero who brought to its perfection the Roman oration in its literary form.

Cicero: 106–43 B.C. Cicero was beyond question the intellectual leader of his day. He was above all things an orator, and until past the age of fifty his literary productivity was almost entirely in that field. In his later years he undertook the great task of making Hellenistic philosophy accessible to the Roman world through the medium of Latin prose, which in his hands attained its highest development as a vehicle for the expression of human thought. In addition to his speeches and oratorical and philosophic trea-

tises, Cicero left to posterity a great collection of letters, which were collected and published after his death by his freedman secretary. His correspondence with his friends is a mine of information for the student of society and politics in the last century of the Republic.

Historical Writing. The writing of history commanded a great deal of attention. Of those who continued the annalistic tradition, two are worthy of mention: Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, because he realized the unreliability of early Roman traditions and began his *Annals* with the sack of Rome by the Gauls, after which documentary evidence became available; and Valerias Antias, whose much less reliable work was one of the chief sources used by Livy. But more significant was Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86–36 B.C.), whom subsequent generations ranked as the foremost Roman historian. His reputation rested primarily upon his *Histories,* a detailed treatment of the period 78–67 B.C., which unfortunately is almost entirely lost. His shorter works, the *War with Jugurtha* and the *War with Catiline,* have been preserved. They reveal a bias in favor of the Populares and Caesar, but this did not blind him to the faults of his own party, nor does it impair his general reliability. He owed his reputation, however, more to his stylistic ability than to the historical significance of his writings. The biographer Cornelius Nepos also may be classed among the historians. Only parts of one of his works survive, a collection of biographies of eminent Romans and foreigners. The lives are both uncritical and lacking in redeeming literary qualities. But the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar on the Gallic and Civil Wars deserve high praise both as history and lucid exposition. Although partisan in the sense that they present the view which Caesar desired the Roman public to take of his conquests in Gaul and his conflict with the Senate, they are for the most part accurate in fact, particularly so in their treatment of military matters. Caesar was also an effective orator, but his speeches were never published.

Varro: 116–27 B.C. Of great interest to later ages were the works of the antiquarian and philologist, Marcus Terentius Varro, the most learned Roman of his time. His great work on Roman religious and political antiquities has been lost, but a part of his study *On the Latin Language* is still extant, as well as his three books *On Rural Conditions.* The latter give a good picture of farming as practiced on the plantations of the larger landholders during the period 67 B.C. to 54 B.C.

Jurisprudence. Roman law continued its development both in substance and in legal theory. Here, contacts with foreign legal systems and philosophies proved a fruitful stimulus. In Italy the praetor for aliens (*praetor peregrinus*) and in the provinces Roman governors had to administer law to foreigners. They had, therefore, to face the problem of providing a law

which would give substantial justice to the persons concerned. Since the Roman Civil Law strictly applied only to Roman citizens, it could not serve their purpose. They solved the problem by publishing in their edicts rules of law which could be enforced between Romans and aliens, as well as between aliens of different citizenships, when these were parties to suits in courts presided over by Roman magistrates. In this way there came to be formed a body of law applicable to free persons irrespective of their citizenship. This law possessed such advantages in its liberality, *i.e.,* freedom from technicalities, and its fairness (*aequitas*) that a great part of it was taken over into the Civil Law by the adoption of its rules in the edict of the urban praetor, particularly after the extension of Roman citizenship to all of Italy. From the Roman point of view this new element in the law was called the *ius gentium,* or Law of Nations, which they defined as "that part of the law which we apply both to ourselves and to foreigners." Through this channel the Civil Law accepted principles and usages which had been developed by Greeks and other foreign peoples but only when they had become thoroughly assimilated and adapted to Roman conditions. From Greek philosophy, the Roman juristic writers derived another concept of the Law of Nations as a law "common to all mankind." And from the same source they also received the idea of a Law of Nature (*ius naturae* or *naturale*), that is, a universal divine law which emanates from right reason, the power that governs the universe. This Law of Nature was at times looked upon as the source of the Law of Nations in its Greek sense, at times as identical with it. These philosophic concepts did not contribute anything to the substance of the Civil Law, but they provided Roman jurists with a philosophic justification of law as such and encouraged them to attempt to systematize Roman law in accordance with fundamental legal principles.

The most influential legal writers of the period were Quintus Mucius Scaevola, who compiled a systematic treatment of the Civil Law in eighteen books, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the contemporary of Cicero, and his pupil Aulus Ofilius, the friend of Caesar. Sulpicius was a most productive author, whose works included *Commentaries* on the Twelve Tables and on the Praetor's Edict, as well as studies on special aspects of Roman law. Ofilius was also a voluminous writer, notable as the first to arrange the Praetor's Edict in a systematic form. In general this epoch of Roman legal history is characterized by attempts to give systematic arrangements to the whole law or special parts of it, and this same tendency found expression in Caesar's project for a general codification of the law. As we have seen, important reforms in judicial administration were made both by Sulla and by Caesar.

PART III

The Principate or Early Empire: 27 B.C.–285 A.D.

CHAPTER XVI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPATE:[1] 27 B.C.–14 A.D.

Only a small quota of the extensive Roman and Greek literature which dealt with the history of the Roman Empire from 27 B.C. to 235 A.D. has survived. For the early part of this period as far as 96 A.D., the basic works are: Cassius Dio's *History*, of which the extant portion runs to 46 A.D.; the *Annals* of Tacitus, which, with some notable gaps, cover the years 14 A.D. to 66 A.D.; and the remains of the same author's *Histories*, which deal with the events of the year 69 A.D. and part of 70 A.D. These are supplemented chiefly by Suetonius' *Lives* of the emperors from Augustus to Domitian, the appropriate portion of Velleius Paterculus, whose history stopped with 30 A.D., and several brief historical surveys and biographical collections compiled in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. A great deal of historical information is also contained in the *Geography* of the Greek Strabo, written in 17–18 A.D. The inadequateness of the literary record is partially made good by the many thousands of Latin and Greek inscriptions from Italy and the provinces, and of Greek papyri from Egypt which illustrate in detail the administrative, economic, and social life of the time. An inscription which is at the same time a notable historical document is the record of his career composed by the Emperor Augustus and after his death set up in inscriptional form in Rome and in the provinces under the title of the *Deeds of Augustus* (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*).

I. THE PRINCEPS

The Settlement of 27 B.C. During his sixth and seventh consulships, in the years 28 and 27 B.C., Octavian surrendered the extraordinary powers which he had exercised during the war against Antony and Cleopatra and, as he later expressed it, placed the commonwealth at the disposal of the Senate and the Roman people. But this step did not imply that the old

[1] The spelling Principate (with a capital *P*) is used to distinguish the form of government prevailing between 27 B.C. and 284 A.D. from the principate as the office of the princeps.

machinery of government was to be restored without modifications and restrictions or that Octavian intended to abdicate his position as arbiter of the fate of the Roman world. Nor would he have been justified in so doing, for such a course of action would have led to a repetition of the anarchy which followed the retirement and death of Sulla; and, in disposing of his rivals, Octavian had assumed the obligation of giving to the Roman world a stable form of government. He might truly claim to have been called by the common consent of the Roman world to reorganize the government, and public sentiment was prepared to allow him great latitude in this task. The demand was for a strong administration, even if this could be attained only at the expense of the old republican institutions.

But while ambition and duty alike forbade him to relinquish his hold upon the helm of state, Octavian shrank from realizing the ideal of Julius Caesar and establishing an autocratic form of government. From this he was deterred both by the fate of his adoptive father and his own cautious, conservative character, which gave him such a shrewd understanding of Roman temperament. His solution of the problem was to retain the old Roman constitution as far as was practicable, while securing for himself such powers as would enable him to uphold the constitution and prevent a renewal of the disorders of the preceding century. What powers were necessary to this end, Octavian determined on the basis of practical experience between 27 and 18 B.C. And so his restoration of the commonwealth signified the end of a régime of force and paved the way for his reception of new authority legally conferred upon him.

The Imperium. Nothing had contributed more directly to the failure of the republican form of government than the growth of the professional army and the inability of the Senate to control its commanders. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary for the guardian of peace and of the constitution to concentrate the supreme military authority in his own hands. Consequently on January 13, 27 B.C., the birthday of the new order, Octavian, by vote of the Assembly and Senate, received for a period of ten years the command and administration of the provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Syria, that is, the chief provinces in which peace was not yet firmly established and which consequently required the presence of the bulk of the Roman armies. Egypt, which he had annexed to the Empire in 30 B.C., was also subject to his *imperium*. As long as he continued to hold the consulship, the *imperium* of Octavian was senior (*maius*) to that of the governors of the other provinces which remained under the control of the Senate. In effect, his solution of the military problem was to have conferred upon himself an extraordinary command which found its precedents in those of Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar but which was of such scope and duration that it made him the

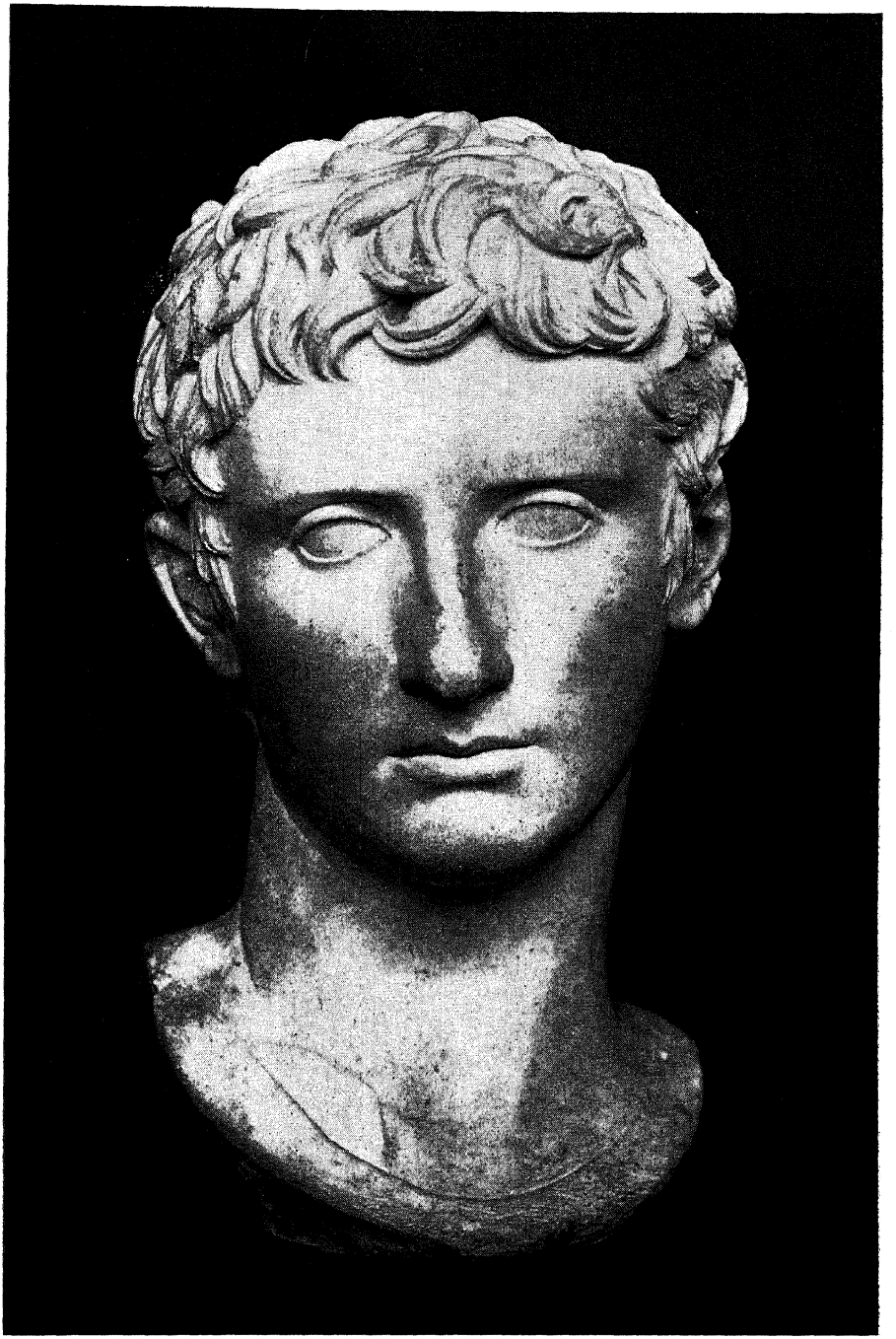
commander in chief of the forces of the Empire. This *imperium* Augustus never surrendered. When its first term was about to lapse in 18 B.C., he had it renewed for five years and subsequently for another term of five and three of ten years, thus preserving the continuity of his proconsular command until his death.

The Titles Augustus and Imperator. On January 16 of the same year the Senate conferred upon Octavian the title of Augustus (Greek, *Sebastos*), by which he henceforth was regularly designated. It was a term which implied no definite powers but, being an epithet equally applicable to gods or men, was well adapted to express the exalted position of its bearer. A second title was that of Imperator. Following the republican custom, this had been conferred upon Augustus by his army and the Senate after his victory at Mutina in 43 B.C., and in imitation of Julius Caesar he converted this temporary title of honor into a permanent one. Finally, in 38 B.C., he placed it first among his personal names (as a *praenomen*). After 27 B.C. Augustus made a twofold use of the term; as a permanent *praenomen,* and as a title of honor assumed upon the occasion of victories won by his officers. From this time the *praenomen* Imperator was a prerogative of the Roman commander in chief. However, during his principate Augustus did not stress its use, since he did not wish to emphasize the military basis of his power. But in the Greek-speaking provinces, where his power rested exclusively upon his military authority, the title Imperator was seized upon as the expression of his unlimited *imperium* and was translated in that sense by *autocrator.* From the *praenomen* imperator is derived the term emperor, commonly used in modern times to designate Augustus and his successors.

The Tribunician Authority: 23 B.C. From 27 to 23 B.C. the authority of Augustus rested upon his annual tenure of the consulship and his provincial command. But in the summer of 23 B.C. he resigned the consulship and received from the Senate and people the tribunician authority (*tribunicia potestas*) for life. As early as 36 B.C. he had been granted the personal inviolability of the tribunes, and in 30 B.C. their right of giving aid (*auxilium*). To these privileges there must now have been added the right of intercession and of summoning the Assembly (*jus agendi cum populo*). In this way Augustus acquired a control over comitial and senatorial legislation and openly assumed the position of protector of the interests of the city plebs. He was moreover amply compensated for the loss of civil power which his resignation of the consulship involved, and at the same time he got rid of an office which must be shared with a colleague of equal rank and the perpetual tenure of which was a violation of constitutional tradition. The tribunician authority was regarded as being held for successive annual periods, which Augustus reckoned from 23 B.C.

Supplementary Powers and Honors. At the time of the conferment of the tribunician authority, a series of senatorial decrees added or gave greater precision to the powers of Augustus. The most important of these concerned his *imperium.* Since he had resigned the consulship, he no longer had *imperium* within the *pomerium* of Rome, and outside it his proconsular *imperium* was no longer superior to that of other provincial governors of proconsular rank. To remedy this situation, he was granted the right to enter Rome without surrendering his *imperium;* and this was defined as *maius,* which made it higher than that of the proconsuls, who, consequently, would be subject to his orders. Among his new prerogatives was the right to introduce the first topic for consideration at each meeting of the Senate. It was probably in 23 B.C. also that Augustus received the unrestricted right of making war or peace, upon the occasion of the coming of an embassy from the king of the Parthians. In the next year he was granted the right to call meetings of the Senate. Three years later he was accorded the consular insignia, with twelve lictors, and the privilege of taking his seat on a curule chair between the consuls in office. These marks of honor gave him upon official occasions the precedence among the magistrates which his authority warranted. On the other hand, in 22 B.C. Augustus refused the dictatorship and the perpetual consulship, which were voted him at the insistence of the city populace; and in the same spirit he declined to accept a general censorship of laws and morals (*cura legum et morum*) which was proffered to him in 19 B.C.

The Principate. It was by the gradual acquisition of the above powers that the position which Augustus was to hold in the state was finally determined. This position may be defined as that of a magistrate, whose province was a combination of various powers conferred upon him by the Senate and the Roman people, and who differed from the other magistrates of the state in the immensely wider scope of his functions and the greater length of his official term. But these various powers were separately conferred upon him and for each he could urge constitutional precedents. It was in this spirit of deference to constitutional traditions that Augustus did not create for himself one new office which would have given him the same authority nor accept any position that would have clothed him with autocratic power. Therefore, as he held no definite office, Augustus had no definite official title. But the reception of such wide powers caused him to surpass all other Romans in authority, that is to say, in the influence which he was able to exercise in the state on account of his political position; hence he came to be designated as the *princeps, i.e.,* the first of the Roman citizens (*princeps civium Romanorum*). This was in accordance with good republican usage, for Pompey and other leading men of Rome had previously been



PORTRAIT HEAD OF AUGUSTUS

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

designated as *principes* by their contemporaries. From the word *princeps* arose the term principate to designate the tenure of office of the princeps, a term which we now apply also to the system of government that Augustus established for the Roman Empire. The crowning honor of his career was received by Augustus in 2 A.D., when the Senate, upon the motion of one who had fought under Brutus at Philippi, conferred upon him the title of "Father of His Country" (*pater patriae*), thus marking the reconciliation between the bulk of the old aristocracy and the new régime.

II. THE SENATE, THE EQUESTRIANS, AND THE PLEBS

The Three Orders. The social classification of the Romans into the senatorial, equestrian, and plebeian orders passed, with sharper definitions, from the Republic into the Principate. For each class a distinct field of opportunity and public service was provided, conforming as far as possible to previous traditions: for senators, the magistracies and the chief military posts; for the *equites,* a new career in the civil and military service of the princeps; and for the plebs, service as privates and subaltern officers in the professional army. However, these orders were by no means closed castes; the way lay open to able and successful men for advancement from the lower to the higher grades and for the consequent infusion of fresh vitality into the ranks of the latter.

The Senate and the Senatorial Order. The senatorial order was composed of the members of the Senate and their families. Its distinctive emblem was the broad purple stripe worn on the toga. Sons of senators assumed this badge of the order by right of birth; equestrians, by grant of the princeps. Of the former, however, those who failed to qualify for the Senate were reduced to the rank of equestrians. The possession of property valued at 1,000,000 sesterces ($50,000) was made a requirement for admission to the Senate.

The prospective senator, after completing a term of military service as a tribune in a Roman legion or a prefect of a detachment of auxiliary cavalry, was obliged to fill one of the minor city magistracies known as the board of twenty (*viginti-virate*), and then, at the age of twenty-five, to become a candidate for the quaestorship, which gave admission to the Senate. From the quaestorship the official career of the senator led through the regular magistracies, the aedileship or tribunate, and the praetorship, to the consulship. As an ex-praetor and ex-consul a senator might be appointed a promagistrate to govern a senatorial province, a legate to command a legion or administer an imperial province, or a curator in charge of some administrative commission in Rome or Italy.

During the Republic the Senate had been the actual center of the administration, and Augustus intended that it should continue to be so for the greater part of the Empire. Through the ordinary magistrates it should govern Rome and Italy, and through the promagistrates the senatorial provinces. Furthermore, the state treasury, the *aerarium Saturni,* supported by the revenues from Italy and the Senate's provinces, remained under the authority of that body. But to render it capable of fulfilling its task and to re-establish its prestige, the Senate, which now numbered over one thousand, had to be purged of many undesirable members who had been admitted to its roll during the recent civil wars. Therefore, in 28 B.C., Augustus in his consular capacity supervised a revision of the senatorial list whereby two hundred unworthy persons were excluded. On that occasion his name was placed at the head of the new roll as the *princeps senatus.* A second recension ten years later reduced the total membership to six hundred. A third, in 13 B.C., conducted by Augustus, and a fourth in 4 A.D. carried out through a specially chosen committee of three, left the number unchanged. The Senate was recruited automatically by the annual admission of the twenty retiring quaestors; but since tenure of the higher magistracies carried with it senatorial rank, the princeps could make use of recommendations to the praetorship and consulship as a means of appointing others who had not met the normal requirements for enrollment. In this way many prominent equestrians were promoted to the senatorial order.

In the latter part of the principate of Augustus, the prestige of the Senate was enhanced by its employment as a court of justice sitting under the presidency of the consuls for the trial of serious charges brought against members of its own order. Its decrees also gained added importance, although they had not yet attained the force of laws as they subsequently did. A new procedure was introduced in drafting senatorial decrees. Advisory committees of the Senate which functioned for terms of six months served as a liaison body between Senate and princeps and discussed in advance with him all important matters which were to be submitted to the Senate as a whole for this action.

The Equestrian Order. For the conduct of his share of the public administration, the princeps required a great number of assistants in his personal employ. For his legates to command the legions or his provinces with delegated military authority, Augustus could draw upon the senators, but both custom and the prestige of the Senate forbade their entering his service in other capacities. On the other hand, freedmen and slaves, who might well be employed in a clerical position, obviously could not be made the sole civil servants of the princeps. Therefore, Augustus drew into his service the equestrian order, whose business interests and traditional con-

nection with the public finances seemed to mark them out as peculiarly fitted to be his agents in the financial administration of the provinces.

The equestrian order in general was open to all Roman citizens in Italy and the provinces who were eighteen years of age, of free birth and good character, and possessed a census rating of 400,000 sesterces ($20,000). Admission to the order was in the control of the princeps and carried the right to wear a narrow purple stripe on the tunic and to receive a public horse, the possession of which qualified an equestrian for the imperial civil and military service. With the bestowal of the public horse, Augustus revived the long-neglected annual parade and inspection of the *equites* in Rome, a ceremony which, of course, those who lived in distant municipalities and the provinces could not attend.

Like the career of the senators, that of the equestrians included both military and civil appointments. At the outset of his public career the equestrian held several military appointments, which somewhat later came regularly to include a prefecture in an auxiliary infantry or cavalry corps, a tribunate of a cohort of the troops stationed in Rome, and a regular legionary tribunate. Thereupon he was eligible for a procuratorship, that is, a post in the imperial civil service, usually in connection with the administration of the finances. After filling several of these procuratorships, of which there were a great number of varying importance, an equestrian might finally attain one of the great prefectures, as commander of the city watch, administrator of the corn supply of Rome, commander of the imperial guards, or governor of Egypt. At the end of his equestrian career he might be enrolled in the senatorial order. Thus through the imperial service the equestrian order was bound closely to the princeps, and from its ranks there gradually developed a nobility thoroughly loyal to the new régime. At the same time the equestrian class itself was continually enlarged and rejuvenated by the admission of select members of the plebeian order, and in special cases even freedmen.

The Assemblies and the Plebs. The Assemblies, which had so long voiced the will of the sovereign Roman people, were not abolished, although they could no longer claim to speak in the name of the Roman citizens as a whole. They still exercised the functions of elective and legislative bodies, but their freedom in the choice of candidates for the public offices was restricted by Augustus' practice of recommending and actually canvassing for a certain number of candidates for the several magistracies, and his tribunician authority effectively controlled the laws submitted for their approval.

While the city plebs, accustomed to receive its free distributions of grain and to be entertained at costly public spectacles, was a heavy drain upon the resources of the state, the vigorous third estate in the Italian municipalities

supplied the lower officers of the legions. These were the centurions, who were the mainstay of the discipline and efficiency of the troops and who in many cases advanced to an equestrian career.

III. THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

The Reorganization of the Army. Upon his return to Italy in 30 B.C., Augustus found himself at the head of an army of about 500,000 men. Of these he released more than 300,000 from service and settled them in colonies or in their native municipalities upon lands which it was his boast to have purchased and not confiscated. This done, he proceeded to reorganize the military establishment. Accepting the lessons of the civil wars, he maintained a permanent, professional army, recruited as far as possible by voluntary enlistment. This army comprised two main categories of troops, the legionaries and the auxiliaries.

Legions and Auxiliaries. The legionaries were recruited from Roman citizens or from provincials who received Roman citizenship upon their enlistment. Their units of organization, the legions, each comprised nominally 6,000 men, of whom 120 were cavalry and the rest infantry, but often they were not maintained at full strength. By 13 B.C., apparently, there were 28 legions under arms; but when 3 were lost in Germany in 9 A.D. they were not replaced, so that the number remained at 25, giving a total of about 150,000 men. The auxiliaries, who took the place of the contingents of Italian allies of earlier days, were recruited from among the most warlike subject peoples of the Empire, and their numbers were approximately equal to those of the legionaries. They were organized in small infantry and cavalry corps (cohorts and *alae*), each 480 or 960 strong. At the expiration of their term of service, the auxiliaries were granted the reward of Roman citizenship both for themselves and their families.

The Praetorians. A third category of troops, which, although greatly inferior in number and military value to the legions and auxiliaries, played an exceptionally influential role in the history of the Principate, was the praetorian guard. This was the imperial bodyguard which attended Augustus in his capacity of commander in chief of the Roman armies. It owed its influence to the fact that it was kept in Italy, at first partly and later entirely at Rome, while the other troops were stationed in the provinces. Under Augustus the praetorian guard comprised nine cohorts, each 1,000 strong, the whole commanded by two praetorian prefects of equestrian rank. The praetorians were recruited exclusively from the Italian peninsula and enjoyed a shorter term of service and higher pay than the other corps. As part of the armed forces of the empire we should also reckon the police and

fire brigade of Rome since these had a military organization and were under the command of the princeps. Together they numbered 10,000 men.

Conditions of Service. It was not until 6 A.D. that the term of enlistment and the conditions of discharge were definitely fixed for the several classes of troops. From that date service in the praetorian guard was for sixteen years, in the legions for twenty, and in the *auxilia* for twenty-five. At their discharge the praetorians received a bonus of 5,000 denarii ($1,000), while the legionaries were given 3,000 denarii ($600) in addition to an assignment of land. The discharged legionaries were regularly settled in colonies throughout the provinces. What provision was made for veterans of the auxiliary forces is unknown. To meet this increased expense Augustus was obliged to establish a military treasury (the *aerarium militare*), endowed out of his private patrimony and supported by the revenue derived from two newly imposed taxes, a 5 per cent inheritance tax (*vincesima hereditatium*) which affected all Roman citizens and a 1 per cent tax on all goods publicly sold (*centesima rerum venalium*).

The Navy. For the policing of the coast of Italy and the adjacent seas, Augustus created a permanent fleet with stations at Ravenna and Misenum. Conforming to the relative unimportance of the Roman naval, in contrast to its military, establishment, the personnel of this fleet was recruited largely from provincials, although for some time imperial freedmen were admitted to naval service. As occasion demanded, special fleets were organized to cooperate in military expeditions.

The military system of Augustus strongly emphasized and guaranteed the supremacy of Italy and the Italians over the provincials. Both the officers and the *élite* troops were drawn almost exclusively from Italy or the latinized parts of the western provinces. In like manner the reservation of the higher grades of the civil administration, the second prop of Roman rule, for Roman senators and equestrians, as well as the exclusion of the provincial imperial cult from Italian soil, marked clearly the distinction between the conquering and the subject races of the Empire. Yet it was Augustus himself who pointed the way to the ultimate Romanization of the provincials by the bestowal of citizenship as one of the rewards for military service and by the settlement of colonies of veterans in the provinces.

IV. THE REVIVAL OF RELIGION AND MORALITY

The Ideals of Augustus. A counterpart to the governmental reorganization effected by Augustus was his attempt to revive the old-time Roman virtues which had fallen into contempt during the last centuries of the Republic. This moral regeneration of the Roman people he regarded as the

absolutely essential basis for a new era of peace and prosperity. And the reawakening of morality was necessarily preceded by a revival of the religious rites and ceremonies that in recent times had passed into oblivion through the attraction of new cults, the growth of skepticism, or the general disorder into which the public administration had fallen as a result of civil strife. But his religious policy was not directed merely towards a revival of neglected cults and customs. It also aimed to foster and guide new religious impulses that were stirring in the world of the day and to make use of these tendencies to strengthen the hold of Augustus himself upon the beliefs and loyalty of both Romans and provincials.

The Revival of Public Religion. One step in the direction of restoring the public state cults was the re-establishment of the ancient priestly colleges devoted to the performance of particular rites or the cult of particular deities. To provide these colleges with the required number of patrician members, Augustus created new patrician families. He himself was enrolled in each of these colleges and, at the death of Lepidus in 12 B.C., was elected chief pontiff, the head of the state religion. A second measure was the repair of temples and shrines which had lapsed into decay. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, those of Quirinus and Magna Mater, besides eighty-two other shrines of lesser fame, were repaired or restored by him. One of his generals, Munatius Plancus, renewed the temple of Saturn in the Forum.

Taking account of the fact that the confusion and uncertainty of the Civil Wars had greatly stimulated the worship of such deities as Fortune, Peace, Mercury the god of wealth, and Hercules the bestower of earthly goods, Augustus fostered the cults of these gods, building new shrines in their honor and linking himself with them in the public mind by giving them, in such forms as Fortuna Augusta, Pax Augusta, and Mercurius Augustus, the surname of Augustus which he himself enjoyed. He also sought to impress the people with the religious affiliations of the Julian gens to which he belonged and, consequently, with the divine atmosphere by which he himself was encompassed. With this in mind, he erected a new temple to Mars the Avenger on the Forum which he himself built and another to the deified Julius himself on the old Forum, at the spot where Caesar's body had been burned. On the Palatine Hill, adjacent to the residence of Augustus, arose the magnificent temple of Apollo, also a protector of the Julian house, whom Augustus honored as the giver of victory over his rivals and the savior of the state from the turmoil of the Civil Wars.

The Lares and the Genius Augusti. Among the divinities whose cult had again been quickened into life were the Lares, the guardian deities of the crossways and protectors of household peace and prosperity, whose worship was especially practised by the common folk. Between the years 12 and 7

B.C. each of the 265 precincts or *vici* into which the city of Rome was then divided was provided with a shrine dedicated to the Lares and the Genius of Augustus, that is, the divine spirit which watched over his fortunes. This worship was conducted by a committee of masters, annually elected by the inhabitants of each precinct. In this way the city plebs, while not worshipping the princeps himself, were yet encouraged to look upon him as their protector and guardian.

The Imperial Cult. A new religion which was to be symbolic of the unity of the Empire and the loyalty of the provincials appeared in the cult of Roma and Augustus, commonly known as the imperial cult. The worship of the goddess Roma, the personification of the Roman state, had sprung up voluntarily in the cities of Greece and Asia after 197 B.C. when the power of Rome began to supplant the authority of the Hellenistic monarchs for whom deification by their subjects was the theoretical basis of their autocratic power. This voluntary worship had also been accorded to individual Romans, as Flamininus, Sulla, Caesar, and Mark Antony. As early as 29 B.C. the cities of Pergamon in Asia and Nicomedia in Bithynia erected temples dedicated to Roma and Augustus and established quinquennial religious festivals called *Romaia Sebasta.* Other cities followed their example, and before the death of Augustus each province in the Orient had at least one altar dedicated to Roma and the princeps. Far from suppressing this spontaneous veneration of himself, Augustus accepted it and fostered and directed its development because he realized the political value of an expression of reverence and devotion of this sort.

From the East the imperial cult was officially transplanted to the West. In the year 12 B.C. an altar of Roma and Augustus was established at the junction of the rivers Rhone and Sâone, opposite the town of Lugdunum (modern Lyons), the administrative center of Transalpine Gaul apart from the Narbonese province. Here the peoples of Gaul were to unite in the outward manifestation of their loyalty to Roman rule. A similar altar was erected at what is now Cologne in the land of the Ubii between 9 B.C. and 9 A.D. Both in the East and in the West the maintenance of the imperial cult was imposed upon provincial councils, composed of representatives of the municipal or tribal units into which each province was divided.

The Municipal Cult of Augustus in Italy. The imperial cult in the provinces was thus the expression of the absolute authority of Rome and Augustus over the subjects of Rome; but for that very reason Augustus could not admit its development on Italian soil, for to do so would be to deny his claim to be a Roman magistrate, deriving his authority from the Roman people, among whom he was the chief citizen, and would stamp his government as monarchical and autocratic. Nevertheless in Italy itself there was a

strong tendency to see in Augustus a divine deliverer from war and strife and a guardian deity of peace and security. To many men he seemed the one destined to usher in a new world era. The poet Horace, in 27 B.C., acclaimed him as Mercury incarnate, and municipalities and individuals in southern Italy both spontaneously established his worship. But we find no evidence that this direct cult of Augustus was encouraged or even persisted in any official form. However, from the year 12 B.C. onwards, in many of the Italian municipalities there were created religious colleges of *Augustales* or priestly officers called *Seviri Augustales,* whose name indicates that they were concerned with some phase of the cult of the princeps. In all probability they served to maintain a cult of the Genius of Augustus, either alone or in conjunction with some other divinity such as Mercury or Hercules. As these Augustales were drawn largely from the class of freedmen who were no longer admitted wholesale to full Roman citizenship, Augustus both assured himself of the loyalty of these *libertini* and gratified their pride by encouraging a municipal office to which they were eligible. Other municipal institutions which at one and the same time served to reawaken an interest in religion, to maintain a martial spirit and military exercises, and to enhance the atmosphere of religious sanctity which surrounded the personality of Augustus were the associations or clubs of young men (*iuvenes*) that underwent a widespread revival and reorganization under his patronage. These clubs were not restricted to the municipalities but flourished in Rome also.

Social Legislation. Augustus was not content to trust solely to the moral effects of religious exercises but resorted to legislative action to check the degenerate tendencies of his age. The Julian Laws of 19 and 18 B.C. aimed at the restoration of the soundness of family life, the encouragement of marriage, and the discouragement of childlessness by placing disabilities upon unmarried and childless persons. These measures provoked great opposition, but Augustus was in earnest and supplemented his earlier laws by the Papian Poppaean Law of 9 A.D., which gave precedence to fathers over less fortunate persons among the candidates for public office. A commentary on the effectiveness of his earlier laws was the fact that both the consuls who sponsored this later one were themselves unmarried. By example as well as by precept Augustus sought to hold in check the luxurious tendencies of the age, and in his own household to furnish a model of ancient Roman simplicity.

In an effort to prevent the Italian element in the Roman citizen body from being swamped by the influx of masses of liberated slaves drawn largely from the Near East, Augustus sponsored two laws, the Fufian Caninian of 2 B.C. and the Aelian Sentian of 5 A.D. The former limited the number of slaves which a master could liberate by his will, and the latter

placed severe restrictions upon a slaveholder's right to set his slaves free during his lifetime. A Junian Law of uncertain date granted a new type of Latin citizenship to the very considerable number of former slaves who had been emancipated by their owners without the formalities necessary to secure for them Roman citizenship or, indeed, public recognition of their freedom. For the future also, slaves thus informally liberated joined this class of Junian Latins. Freedmen could no longer exercise the public rights of Roman citizens, although their sons enjoyed this privilege.

The New Era. By 17 B.C., Augustus felt that the foundations for a new era in the life of the Roman state had been securely laid. Accordingly in that year he celebrated the festival known as the Secular Games.[2] For this, the inaugural choral ode (the *Carmen Saeculare* or Secular Hymn) was written by the poet Horace.

V. THE PROVINCES AND THE FRONTIERS

Imperial Administration. Although the conferment of his great provincial command upon Augustus in 27 B.C. had the effect of dividing the Roman provinces into two classes, senatorial and imperial, and thus creating an administrative dyarchy, this division did not extend to matters of general imperial policy. Here unity was preserved by the definition of the proconsular *imperium* of the princeps as higher than that of the proconsuls and by the close co-operation which existed in matters of general interest between Augustus and the Senate. This is brought out very clearly in the fact that in 7–6 B.C. Augustus issued two edicts correcting abuses in the judicial administration of Crete and Cyrenaica, which together formed a senatorial province. Likewise, in 4 B.C., he published in Cyrenaica a decree passed by the Senate in the recommendation of which he had concurred. This decree greatly simplified and cheapened the process of bringing to trial a Roman official who was accused of having practised extortion in any province and at the same time established the Senate instead of the former jury court as the judicial body having cognizance of such cases. In announcing the decree to the provincials, Augustus wrote that it ought to "show to all the inhabitants of the provinces the pains taken by the Senate and himself to prevent any of their subjects being made the victim of unjust treatment or extortion." In these words we see the formulation of a policy of enlightened imperialism directed towards the welfare and not the spoliation of the subjects of Rome, which initiated a new era in the life of the provinces. In conformity with this program, provincial taxation was revised and put upon a sounder basis. This was a matter of prime importance since the main expense of the mili-

[2] From the Latin *saeculum,* a period currently thought of as a century in duration.

tary and civil establishment of the Empire was defrayed by the provincial revenues. As a basis for an accurate estimate of their resources for purposes of taxation and recruitment, Augustus caused a comprehensive census of the population and an evaluation of property to be taken in each newly organized district and provided for a systematic revision of the census in all the imperial provinces. In addition a general chart of the Empire was compiled on the basis of an extended survey conducted under the direction of Agrippa.

Senatorial and Imperial Provinces. Although, in general, it might be said that the imperial provinces were those which had garrisons of legionary troops and the senatorial were those without such garrisons, this distinction did not hold good in all cases. For periods of various lengths, the proconsuls of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Africa had legionary forces at their disposal and surrendered these only when the frontiers of the empire passed beyond their provinces. Nor was the original allotment of the provinces permanent. In 22 B.C., Augustus gave Gallia Narbonensis back to the Senate because the rapid progress of Roman colonization there had made it "more a part of Italy than a province." In the same way and for the same general reason the district of Baetica, comprising a large part of farther Spain, was made a senatorial province. Southern Greece, previously under the oversight of the governors of Macedonia, was also made a separate province and placed under the control of the Senate. On the other hand, Augustus in 11 B.C. took over Illyricum, where the progress of the Roman arms had been interrupted by the outbreak of the war with Antony and Cleopatra and where the Romans were confronted by warlike and restless peoples in the hinterland. Somewhat later Cilicia and, in 6 A.D., Sardinia became imperial provinces because of conditions which necessitated military action on the part of the Roman authorities. Finally, the new provinces organized by Augustus in the territories conquered by his generals remained under his control.

Outside of the two classes of provinces but really within the bounds of the Roman Empire, Augustus permitted the existence of a number of petty states usually called client kingdoms. They enjoyed internal autonomy and were not subject to taxation by Rome, but their foreign relations were controlled by the princeps, and they were bound to render military aid at his demand. Their rulers acknowledged Roman overlordship and in some cases were dependent upon Roman support for the maintenance of their authority. Kingdoms of this sort were Mauretania, Thrace, Judaea, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Lesser Armenia, of which Galatia and Judaea were transformed into provinces by Augustus himself.

The Provincial Officials. The representatives of Rome in the senatorial provinces continued very much as they were under the Republic. Governors for these provinces were selected by lot from the eligible ex-consuls and ex-praetors, of whom the former must have been ten, the latter five years out of office. All alike were now called proconsuls, although only Asia and Africa were reserved for those who had actually held the consulships. The term of office was still normally one year. Each proconsul had as his assistants a quaestor and three propraetorian legates whose appointment was approved by the princeps. In the imperial provinces the Roman officials were deputies of the princeps, and this fact is reflected both in their titles and in their conditions of service. As governors of the more important provinces with legionary garrisons, Augustus appointed legates of propraetorian rank (*legati Augusti pro praetore*) from senators who had held the consulship or praetorship without reference to the period which had elapsed since their magistracies. An exception was the governor of Egypt, who was an equestrian with the title of prefect although he had three legions under his orders. In the imperial provinces of lesser military importance garrisoned only by auxiliary troops, the governors were not senators but equestrians whose title was as a rule procurator, but sometimes prefect. Other officials in the larger provinces were the legates in command of the legions (*legati legionis*)—in Egypt prefects—who were subordinates of the legate of Augustus, and the imperial procurators who had charge of provincial finances and, being appointed directly by the princeps, were practically independent of the governors. There was no limit upon the term of service of any of the imperial officials, who were kept at their posts as long as they were efficient or until Augustus had need of them elsewhere. But since they were appointed by him they could also be dismissed at his pleasure. Both imperial and senatorial officials now received regular salaries, which removed one of the earlier causes of extortion on the part of provincial governors.

The Foreign Policy of Augustus. As we have seen, Augustus, since he was commander in chief of the Roman armies and in charge of the administration of the most important border provinces, was entrusted by the Senate with the direction of the foreign relations of the state. Here his aims conformed to the general conservatism of his policies and were directed towards securing a defensible frontier for the Empire which should protect the peace that he had established within its borders. His military operations were conducted with due regard to the man-power and the financial resources of the state. To secure the defensible frontier at which he aimed, it was necessary for Augustus to incorporate in the Empire a number of

border peoples whose independence was a menace to the peace of the provinces and to establish some client kingdoms as buffer states on the Roman frontiers.

The Settlement in Spain. The northwestern corner of the Spanish peninsula was still occupied by independent peoples, the Cantabri, Astures, and the Callaeci, who harassed with their forays the pacified inhabitants of the Roman provinces. To secure peace in this quarter, Augustus determined upon the complete subjugation of these peoples. In 26 B.C. he himself, and in the next year his lieutenants Antistius and Carisius conducted campaigns against them in their mountain fastnesses and, overcoming their desperate resistance, settled them in the valleys and secured their territory by founding colonies of veterans. A subsequent revolt in 20–19 B.C. was crushed by Agrippa. It was after the pacification of Spain that Augustus surrendered Baetica to the control of the Senate, while he created a new imperial province called Lusitania in the western part of the peninsula.

The Pacification of the Alpine Districts: 25–8 B.C. A similar problem was presented by the Alpine peoples, who not only made devastating raids into northern Italy but also occupied the passes in the west which offered the most direct routes between Italy and Transalpine Gaul. In 26 B.C. in the neighborhood of the Little St. Bernard occurred a revolt of the Salassi, who had been subdued eight years before. In the following year they were completely subjugated, and those who escaped slaughter were sold into slavery. In 16 B.C. the district of Noricum, *i.e.,* modern Tyrol and Salzburg, was occupied by Publius Silius Nerva, in consequence of a raid of the Noricans into the Istrian peninsula. In 15 B.C., the stepson of Augustus, Nero Claudius Drusus, crossed the Brenner Pass and forced his way over the Vorarlberg range to Lake Constance, subduing the Raeti on his way. On the shores of Lake Constance he met his elder brother, Tiberius Claudius Nero, who had marched eastwards from Gaul. Together they defeated and subjugated the Vindelici. On the north the Danube was now the Roman frontier. A number of isolated campaigns completed the subjugation of the remaining Alpine peoples by 8 B.C. Raetia and Noricum were organized as procuratorial provinces, while the smaller Alpine districts were placed under imperial prefects.

Gaul and Germany. Caesar had left the land of Gallia Comata crushed but still unsettled and not fully incorporated in the Empire. It fell to the lot of Augustus to complete its organization, a task which was accomplished between 27 and 13 B.C. Subsequent to the transfer of Gallia Narbonensis to the Senate, Gallia Comata was divided into three districts: Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica, which, however, during the lifetime of Augustus formed an administrative unity under one governor with subordinate

legates in each district. The colony of Lugdunum was the seat of the administration, as well as of the imperial cult. No attempt was made to latinize the three Gauls by the founding of other Roman colonies: they remained divided into sixty-four separate peoples, called *civitates,* with a tribal organization under the control of a native nobility. As early as 27 B.C. Augustus took a census of Gaul and on this basis fixed its tax obligations. The rich lands of Gaul were as important a source of imperial revenue as its vigorous population was of recruits for the Roman auxiliary forces.

But the Gauls were restive under their new burdens and were in addition liable to be stirred up by the Germanic tribes who came from across the Rhine. An invading horde of Sugambri in 17 B.C. defeated a Roman army, and, upon a renewed inroad by the same people in 12 B.C., Augustus determined to cross the Rhine and secure the frontier of Gaul by the subjugation of the Germans to the north. The Germans, like the Gauls at the time of the Roman conquest, were divided into a number of independent tribes usually at enmity with one another and hence incapable of forming a lasting combination against a common foe. Individually they were powerful and courageous, but their military efficiency was impaired by their lack of unity and discipline.

Drusus, conqueror of the Raeti, was appointed to command the Roman army of invasion. He first secured the Rhine frontier by the construction of a line of fortresses stretching from Vindonissa (near Basle) to Castra Vetera (near Xanten); the latter and Mogontiacum (Mainz) were his chief bases. Then, crossing the river, in four campaigns (12–9 B.C.) he overran and subjugated the territory between the Rhine and the Elbe. His operations were greatly aided by his fleet, for the use of which he constructed a canal from the Rhine to the Zuider Zee in order to give it a shorter and safer route to the mouth of the Elbe. The co-operation of the fleet also facilitated the conquest of the coast peoples, among them the Batavi, who became firm Roman allies. On the return march from the Elbe in 9 B.C., Drusus was fatally injured by a fall from his horse. His brother Tiberius succeeded him in command and strengthened the Roman hold on the transrhenane conquests. Drusus was buried in Rome, whither Tiberius escorted his corpse on foot, and was honored with the name Germanicus.

The Middle and Lower Danube. To the east of the Adriatic the Roman provinces of Illyricum and Macedonia were subject to constant incursions of the Pannonians, Getae (or Dacians), and Bastarnae, peoples settled in the middle and lower Danube valley. Marcus Licinius Crassus, Governor of Macedonia, in 30 and 29 B.C. defeated the Getae and Bastarnae, crossed

the Balkans, carried the Roman arms to the Danube, and subdued the Moesi to the south of that river. It required a considerable time, however, before the various Thracian tribes were finally pacified, and a client kingdom under the Thracian prince Cotys was interposed between Macedonia and the lower Danube. Meantime, the Pannonians had been conquered in a number of hard-fought campaigns which were brought to a successful conclusion by Tiberius (12–9 B.C.), who made the Danube the Roman boundary. The contemporaneous conquest of Pannonia and of Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe was one of the greatest feats of Roman arms and reveals the army of the Empire at the height of its discipline and organization. In 13 B.C., during a lull in these frontier struggles, the Senate voted the erection of an altar to the peace of Augustus (the *ara pacis Augustae*), in grateful recognition of his maintenance of peace within the Empire.

The Revolts in Illyricum and Germany. For several years following the death of Drusus no further conquests were attempted until 4 A.D., when Tiberius was again appointed to command the army of the Rhine. After assuring himself of the allegiance of the Germans by a demonstration as far as the Elbe and by the establishment of fortified posts, he prepared to complete the northern boundary by the conquest of the kingdom of the Marcomanni, in modern Bohemia, between the Elbe and the Danube. In 6 A.D. Tiberius was on the point of advancing northward from the Danube, in co-operation with Gaius Saturninus, who was to move eastwards from the Rhine, when a revolt broke out in Illyricum which forced the abandonment of the undertaking and the conclusion of peace with Maroboduus, the king of the Marcomanni. The revolt, in which both Pannonians and Dalmatians joined, was due largely to the fact that these tribes had not been thoroughly subjugated but also to some degree to the severity of the Roman exactions, especially the levies for the army. For a moment Italy trembled in fear of an invasion; in the raising of new legions even freedmen were called into service. But the arrival of reinforcements from other provinces enabled Tiberius after three years of ruthless warfare utterly to crush the desperate resistance of the rebels (9 A.D.). The organization of Pannonia and Moesia as separate provinces followed the re-establishment of peace.

Until the last year of the war in Illyricum the Germanic tribes had remained quiet under Roman overlordship. But in 9 A.D., provoked by the attempt of the new Roman commander, Publius Quinctilius Varus, to subject them to stricter control, they united to free themselves from foreign rule. In the coalition the Cherusci and Chatti were the chief peoples; and Arminius, a young chieftain of the Cherusci, was its leading spirit. Varus

and his army of three legions were surprised on the march in the Teutoberg Forest and completely annihilated. Rome was in panic over the news, but the Germans did not follow up their initial success. Tiberius was again sent to the post of danger and vindicated the honor of Rome by two successful expeditions across the Rhine. But no attempt was made to recover permanently the lost ground. The frontier of the Elbe was given up for that of the Rhine with momentous consequences for the future of the Empire and of Europe. The coast peoples, however, remained Roman allies, and a narrow strip of territory was held on the right bank of the Rhine. The reason for this retreat to the Rhine lay in the weakness of the Roman military organization, already strained to the utmost by the Illyrian revolt and the difficulty of finding recruits for the Roman legions among the Italians. The cry of Augustus, "Quinctilius Varus, give back the legions!" gives the clue to his abandonment of Germany.

The Eastern Frontier. In the East alone was Rome confronted by a power which might claim to be a match for her military strength on the basis of having defeated disastrously two invading Roman armies. The conquest of this, the Parthian kingdom, appeared to Augustus to offer no compensation comparable to the economic and military effort it would entail, and therefore he determined to rest content with such a reassertion of Roman supremacy in the Near East as would wipe out the shame of the defeats of Crassus and Antony and guarantee Roman territory from Parthian attack. He was prepared to accept the natural frontier of the Euphrates as the eastern boundary of Roman territory. Between the Roman provinces in Asia Minor and the upper Euphrates lay a number of client kingdoms, Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia, and Commagene. At the death of Amyntas, king of Galatia, in 25 B.C., his kingdom was made into a province; but the others were left under their native dynasts. Across the Euphrates lay Armenia, a buffer state between the Roman possessions and Parthia, which was of strategic importance because it commanded the military routes between Asia Minor and the heart of the Parthian country. To establish a protectorate over Armenia was therefore the ambition of both Rome and Parthia. During the presence of Augustus in the East (22–19 B.C.), Tiberius placed a Roman nominee on the Armenian throne and received from the Parthian king, Phraates IV, the Roman standards and captives in Parthian hands, a success which earned Augustus the salutation of *imperator* from his troops. Later Phraates sent four of his sons as hostages to Rome. But the Roman protectorate over Armenia was by no means permanent. By about 6 A.D. the national, pro-Parthian faction which was in the majority had gained the upper hand. Between 1 B.C. and 2 A.D. Gaius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, restored

Roman influence; but subsequently none of the several Roman appointees to the Armenian throne was able to retain his position for any length of time, and, at the death of Augustus, the kingdom then without a ruler had escaped from Roman control. Meantime, the northern flank of Asia Minor had been made secure through the organization of the Bosporan Kingdom as a client state by Agrippa in 14 B.C.

To the south of the Roman province of Syria lay the kingdom of Judaea, which was ruled by Herod the Great from about 37 B.C. to his death in 4 B.C. His kingdom was then divided among his three sons, but in 6 A.D. Judaea proper was made an imperial province under the administration of a procurator.

In Arabia, Augustus sought to bring under Roman control the rich spice land of Arabia Felix, which occupied the southwestern coast of the peninsula. This would have given the Romans control of the trade between the Mediterranean and India by way of the Red Sea, for it was the point of transshipment of goods from India, and Somaliland as well, on their way to the markets of Syria and Egypt. Relying upon the support of the Nabataean Arabs, who controlled the region to the south and east of the Dead Sea, Aelius Gallus, the Roman commander, in 25 B.C. assembled a large force in Egypt and transported it across the Red Sea to the Arabian shore. In the following year he marched southward through a desert region where his troops suffered severely from lack of food and water. Shortage of these necessities at length forced him to abandon his expedition and to return ingloriously to Egypt.

Egypt and North Africa. Meanwhile in 25 B.C. Egypt itself had been invaded by the Ethiopians, who ravaged the upper part of the country. They were defeated and driven out by the prefect Gaius Petronius. Petronius pursued them far into the Sudan and took their capital, Napata. He then secured the southern frontier of Egypt by annexing and garrisoning a border district to the south of the First Cataract. Although the attempt to invade Arabia Felix was a complete failure, through Egypt Rome came to control a very large share of the trade with India since, owing to the recent discovery of the character of the monsoon winds in the Indian Ocean, large numbers of merchant ships began to make annual voyages from the Red Sea ports of Egypt directly to India and Ceylon.

Further to the west on the North African coast, Augustus enlarged the old province of Africa by annexing to it the kingdom of Numidia. He then appointed the former Numidian king, Juba II, whose wife was Cleopatra the daughter of Mark Antony, to be king of Mauretania (25 B.C.), which he re-established as a client kingdom. This placed the restless tribes of Algeria and Morocco under the rule of a dependable ally of Rome.

The conquests of Augustus established in their essential features the future boundaries of the Roman Empire. At his death he left it as a maxim of state for his successors to abstain from further expansion.

VI. THE ADMINISTRATION OF ROME

Police and Fire Protection. It had been the intention of Augustus that the administration of the city of Rome, like that of Italy, should be conducted by the Senate through the public magistrates. Nevertheless, because some very important branches of the government of the city were either neglected or mismanaged, he felt compelled, partly in response to popular appeals, to organize them on an efficient basis and assume continuous responsibility for them. Of prime importance, since the days of the Gracchi, was the problem of the policing of Rome and the suppression of mob violence which had been a threat to orderly government. To a certain extent the formation of the praetorian guard served to overawe the city mob and to prevent any revolutionary movement arising in that quarter, even though at first only three of the praetorian cohorts were stationed in the city. But in order to check nonpolitical disorders, suppress crime, and carry on other police functions, Augustus found it advisable to organize three urban cohorts, each originally of 1,500 men, who were regarded as soldiers and ranked above the legionaries but below the praetorians. At the death of Augustus the command of these cohorts was held by the City Prefect (*praefectus urbi*), whose office was made permanent and who was appointed from among the senators of consular rank.

For other administrative purposes, Augustus between 12 and 7 B.C. caused Rome to be divided into 14 regions which in turn were subdivided into 265 precincts (*vici*). Each region was put in charge of one of the regular tribunes or aediles. Almost equally important with the problem of police was that of protection against fire, which had been neglected almost completely by the government under the Republic. As early as 21 B.C., Augustus had tried to improve the situation by supplying the aediles who were responsible for this sphere of city government with a force of 600 slaves. But since this arrangement proved ineffective, in 6 A.D. he created a special corps of 7,000 men to serve both as a fire brigade and as night police. This corps was organized in 7 cohorts, one for every two of the 14 regions, and was commanded by an equestrian appointee of the princeps whose title was Prefect of the Watch (*praefectus vigilum*).

The Grain Supply. Another vital problem was that of maintaining an adequate supply of grain for the city, which on several occasions under the Republic had presented such difficulties that extraordinary measures had

to be resorted to in order to save the citizens from starvation. But no permanent solution had been reached. A famine in 22 B.C. produced so serious a situation that the Senate was forced to call upon Augustus to cope with it. He did so by assuming a temporary curatorship of the grain supply, and from that time onward he may have exercised a general oversight in the matter. The actual administration, however, seems to have remained for some time in the hands of two special aediles whose office Caesar had created for this purpose. But at the next crisis, in 6 A.D., they were replaced temporarily by two senatorial curators, who soon gave way to an equestrian Prefect of the Grain Supply (*praefectus annonae*). His duty was to see that there was always an adequate amount of grain imported into Rome to supply the market at a reasonable price. It is doubtful whether he was in charge of the regular monthly distribution of free grain to the city plebs, a task which was carried out by other equestrian prefects of lower rank. By 2 B.C., the number of the recipients of the grain dole had been fixed at 200,000 properly registered citizens. With the creation of the Prefecture of the Grain Supply, Augustus definitely assumed control of and responsibility for the whole problem of the city's grain supply.

Other aspects of the government of Rome which were taken away from the annual magistrates were turned over to permanent commissions composed of senatorial curators of consular or praetorian rank. Such were the commissions in charge of the aqueducts, of the temples and other public buildings, and that established in the year after the death of Augustus to supervise the banks and channel of the Tiber in order to prevent floods in the city.

A parallel encroachment upon the Senate's administrative control of Italy, likewise in the interests of efficiency, was made when Augustus in 20 B.C. was entrusted with the administration of the Italian highways. This he also carried on through a commission of senatorial curators.

VII. THE PROBLEM OF THE SUCCESSION

The Policy of Augustus. In theory the position of the princeps was that of an officer who derived his powers from the Senate and the Roman people, and hence the choice of his successor lay legally in their hands. However, Augustus realized that to leave the field open to rival candidates would inevitably lead to a recrudescence of civil war. Therefore he determined to designate his own successor and to make the latter's appointment a matter beyond dispute. Furthermore, his own career as the son and heir of Julius Caesar warned him that this heir to the principate must be found within his own household, and his precarious health was a constant

reminder that he could not await the approach of old age before settling this problem. Therefore, from the early years of his office, he arranged the matrimonial alliances of his kinsfolk in the interests of the state without regard to their personal preferences, to the end that in the event of his decease there would be a member of the Julian house prepared to assume his laborious task. Yet the unexpected length of his life caused Augustus to outlive many of those whom he from time to time looked upon as the heirs to his position in the state.

Marcus Marcellus and Agrippa. Augustus had no sons and only one daughter, Julia, by his second wife Scribonia. But Livia Drusilla, whom he took as his third wife in 38 B.C., brought him two stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus. Yet not one of these but his nephew, Marcus Marcellus, was his first choice for a successor. Marcellus received Julia as his wife in 25 B.C., the next year at the age of nineteen he was admitted to the Senate, and in 23 B.C., as aedile, he won the favor of the populace by his magnificent public shows. When Marcellus died in 23 B.C., Augustus turned to his loyal adherent Agrippa, to whom Julia was now wedded. In 18 B.C. Agrippa received proconsular *imperium* and the *tribunicia potestas* for five years, powers that were reconferred with those of Augustus in 13 B.C.

Tiberius. But in the next year Agrippa died, and Augustus, regarding his eldest stepson Tiberius, the conqueror of Noricum, as the one best qualified to succeed himself, forced him to divorce the wife to whom he was devoted and to marry Julia. At that time he was given the important Illyrian command, and in 6 B.C. the tribunician authority was granted him for a five-year term. But Tiberius, recognizing that he was soon to be set aside for the two elder sons of Agrippa and Julia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom Augustus had adopted and taken into his own house, and being disgusted with the flagrant unfaithfulness of Julia, retired into private life at Rhodes, thereby incurring the deep enmity of his stepfather.

Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Gaius and Lucius Caesar assumed the garb of manhood (the *toga virilis*) at the age of fifteen in 5 and 2 B.C., respectively. On these occasions Augustus held the consulship and gave each son in turn the title *princeps iuventutis,* which designated them as the new heads of the equestrian order. They were exempted from the limitations of the *cursus honorum* so that each might hold the consulate in his twentieth year. In 1 A.D. Gaius was sent to the East with proconsular *imperium* to settle fresh troubles in Armenia. There in the siege of a petty fortress he received a wound from which he died in 4 A.D. Two years previously Lucius had fallen a victim to fever while on his way to Spain. In the meantime Augustus had experienced another blow in his discovery of the scandalous conduct of Julia. Her guilt was the more unpardonable in view of

the efforts of her father to restore the moral tone of society. She was banished to the island rock of Pandataria, her companions in crime were punished, most with banishment, one with death on a charge of treason (1 B.C.). Her elder daughter, also called Julia, later met the same fate for a like offence.

Tiberius Again. At the death of Gaius Caesar, Augustus turned once more to Tiberius, who had been permitted to leave Rhodes at the intercession of Livia. In 4 A.D. he was adopted by Augustus and received the *tribunicia potestas* for ten years. In 13 A.D. his tribunician power was renewed, and he was made the colleague of Augustus in the *imperium*. Tiberius himself had been obliged to adopt his nephew Germanicus, the son of Drusus, who married Agrippina, the younger daughter of Agrippa and Julia. Thus before his own death Augustus had set the precedent of designating the successor in the principate by association in authority, and adoption where necessary.

VIII. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AUGUSTUS

The Death of Augustus. In 14 A.D. Augustus held a census of the Roman citizens in the Empire. They numbered 4,937,000, an increase of 826,000 since 28 B.C. In the same year he set up in Rome an inscription recording his exploits and the sums which he had expended in the interests of the state. One copy of this was found inscribed on the walls of the temple of Roma and Augustus at Ancyra (modern Angora) in Asia Minor and hence is known as the Monument of Ancyra. Another, less complete, has been discovered at Antioch in Pisidia. On August 19, 14 A.D., Augustus died at Nola in Campania, at the age of seventy-six.

An Estimate of His Statesmanship. Opinions have differed and probably always will differ upon the question whether or not Augustus sought to establish a disguised form of monarchical government. In his favor stands the fact that, although he seized power by illegal means when as a young man he was confronted or allied with rivals who sought his destruction, after the fate of the state was in his hands and he had re-established an orderly form of government he conscientiously restricted himself to the use of the powers which were legally conferred upon him. So ably did he conciliate public opinion that the few conspiracies formed against his life and power had no serious backing and constituted no real danger to himself or his system. To have effected so important a change in the constitution with so little friction is proof of statesmanship of a high order.

His principate marked the beginning of a new epoch in Roman history and determined the course of the subsequent political development of the

Empire. And the system he inaugurated finds its greatest justification in the era of the Roman Peace which it ushered in.

The Weaknesses of His System. Yet it must be admitted that this system contained two innate weaknesses. Firstly, it was built up around the personality of Augustus, who could trust himself not to abuse his great power, and secondly, the princeps, as commander in chief of the Roman army, was immeasurably more powerful than the second partner in the administration, the Senate, and able to assert his will against all opposition. Now, as has well been observed, the working of the Principate depended upon the cooperation of the Senate and the self-restraint of the emperors; consequently, when the former proved incapable and the latter abused their power, the inevitable consequence was an autocracy. That Augustus realized this himself towards the end of his life is highly probable; yet as the one who brought order out of chaos and gave peace to an exhausted world his name will always be one of the greatest in the history of Rome or indeed of the human race.

CHAPTER XVII. THE PRINCIPATE UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS AND FLAVIANS: 14–96 A.D.

The establishment of the Principate produced a profound change in the character of Roman political history. Politics as practised during the Republic was no longer possible. Under the new régime there was no place for rival factions or statesmen with conflicting political programs. The princeps might permit critics but dared not suffer opponents. Consequently the political history of Rome narrows to matters of foreign relations and events at the capital where associates and officers of the princeps strove for a dominant voice in his councils. Although it could not yet be said that the will of the princeps was the law of the state, it certainly determined the policy of the government and the character of the laws. Hence the personality of the ruler was a matter of the greatest importance for the empire as a whole and had a great effect upon the welfare and happiness of both Romans and provincials. It is not surprising, then, to find that the historians of the Principate focus their attention largely upon the personal relations of the emperors with their households, their officers, and the Senate, and upon the wars of the time, neglecting the less spectacular but highly significant developments in administration, law, religion, society, and economic life.

I. TIBERIUS: 14–37 A.D.

Tiberius Princeps. At the death of Augustus, Tiberius Caesar by right of his *imperium* assumed command of the army and through his tribunician authority convoked the Senate to pay the last honors to Augustus and decide upon his successor. Like Julius Caesar, Augustus was deified; and a priestly college of Augustales, chosen from the senatorial order, was founded to maintain his worship in Rome. In accordance with a wish expressed in his will, his widow Livia was honored with the name Augusta. In the same way the title of Augustus was bequeathed to Tiberius, who now received from the Senate and Assembly the other honors and powers which his predecessor had made the prerogatives of the princeps. His *imperium,* how-

ever, was conferred for life and not for a limited period. The ease of his succession shows how solidly the principate was established at the death of its founder.

In the person of Tiberius, who by birth was a member of the Claudian *gens,* by adoption of the Julian, these two noble houses were united, and from this Julio-Claudian line came the first four successors of Augustus in the principate.

Character and Policy. Tiberius was now fifty-five years of age. He had spent the greater part of his life in the public service and consequently had a full appreciation of the burden of responsibility which the princeps must assume. He was the incarnation of the old Roman sense of duty to the state and at the same time exhibited the proud reserve of the Roman patricians. Stern in his maintenance of law and order, he made an excellent subordinate; but when called upon to guide the policy of state, he displayed hesitation and lack of decision. The incidents of his marriage with Julia and his retirement at Rhodes, which practically amounted to exile, had rendered him bitter and suspicious, and he utterly lacked the personal charm and adaptability of his predecessor. Thus he was temperamentally unsuited to the position he was called upon to fill, and this was responsible for his frequent misunderstandings with the Senate. Such an incident occurred in the meetings of the Senate after the death of Augustus. Tiberius, conscious of his unpopularity, sought to have the Senate press upon him the appointment as the successor of Augustus and so feigned reluctance to accept, a course which made the senators suspect that he was laying a trap for possible rivals. Yet there was no princeps who tried more conscientiously to govern in the spirit of Augustus or upheld more rigidly the rights and dignity of the Senate. At the beginning of his principate he transferred from the Assembly to the Senate the right of the election to the magistracies, thus relieving the senators from the expense and annoyance of canvassing the populace.

Mutinies in Illyricum and on the Rhine. Two serious mutinies followed the accession of Tiberius, one in the army stationed in Illyricum, the other among the legions on the Rhine. Failure to discharge those who had completed their terms of service and the severity of the service itself were the grounds of dissatisfaction. The Illyrian mutiny was quelled by Tiberius' own son Drusus and the army of the Rhine was brought back to its allegiance by his nephew Germanicus, the son of his brother, the elder Drusus, whom Tiberius had adopted at the command of Augustus in 4 A.D. Germanicus had married Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa and Julia, and was looked upon as the heir of Tiberius in preference to the latter's younger and less popular son, Drusus.

The Campaigns of Germanicus: 14–17 A.D. To restore discipline among his troops and relieve them from the monotony of camp life, as well as to emulate the achievements of his father, Germanicus, without the authorization of Tiberius, led his army across the Rhine. The German tribes were still united in the coalition formed in the time of Varus and, under their leaders Arminius and Inguiomerus, offered vigorous opposition to the Roman invasion. Nevertheless, in three successive campaigns (14–16 A.D.) Germanicus ravaged the territory between the Rhine and the Weser and inflicted several defeats upon the Germans. Still Arminius and his allies were by no means subdued, and the Romans had sustained heavy losses. One army had narrowly escaped the fate of the legions of Varus, and twice the transports of Germanicus suffered through storms in the North Sea. For these reasons Tiberius forbade the prolongation of the war and recalled Germanicus, trusting for the future to diplomacy rather than force of arms. With his departure, each of the three Gauls (Aquitania, Belgica, and Lugdunensis) was made an independent province; and two new administrative districts called Upper and Lower Germany, under legates of consular rank, were created on the left bank of the Rhine. The financial administration of the two Germanies, however, remained united with that of *Gallia Belgica*. Freed from the danger of a Roman invasion, the Germanic tribes led by Arminius now engaged in a bitter struggle with Maroboduus, king of the Marcomani, which ultimately led to the overthrow of the latter's kingdom. Not long afterwards Arminius himself fell a victim to the jealousy of his fellow tribesmen (19 A.D.).

Eastern Mission and Death of Germanicus: 17–19 A.D. After his return from Gaul, Germanicus was sent by Tiberius on a special mission with an *imperium* outranking that of the provincial governors to settle affairs in the East, where the Armenian question had again become acute. Once again an Armenian king, this time happily the choice of his own people, received his diadem from the hand of the representative of Rome. In general, while in the East Germanicus displayed the same indifference to the policy of the princeps as he had done in the West. Not only did he issue coins bearing his own likeness,[1] but he violated the rule established by Augustus that no senator should visit Egypt without special permission. During his stay in Egypt he took it upon himself to alleviate a famine in Alexandria by distributing grain stored in the public granaries. This visit earned him a severe rebuke from Tiberius, who had good reason to be alarmed by his irresponsible conduct. In Syria, a bitter quarrel developed

[1] It has been suggested that these coins, which commemorated the re-establishment of Roman influence in Armenia, were issued by the emperor Gaius, son of Germanicus, in memory of his father, but of this there is no proof.

between Germanicus and Piso, the legate of the province. Accordingly, when Germanicus fell ill and died there, many accused Piso of having poisoned him. Although the accusation was false, Piso was called to Rome to stand his trial on that charge as well as upon the better-founded ones of insubordination and violence. Finding that the popularity of Germanicus had biased popular opinion against him and that Tiberius refused him his protection because he had attempted to assert his rights by armed force, he committed suicide. Agrippina, the ambitious wife of Germanicus, believed that Tiberius from motives of jealousy had been responsible for her husband's death. She openly displayed her hostility to the princeps and by plotting to secure the succession for her own children helped to bring about their ruin and her own.

The Plot of Seianus. In 23 A.D. occurred the death of Drusus, who since the decease of Germanicus had been looked upon as the logical heir to the principate. Later, it is revealed that he had been poisoned by the praetorian prefect Seianus. Grieving over the loss of his son and possibly disturbed by the conduct of Agrippina, whose elder sons Nero and Drusus were now next in line for the place held by Augustus and himself, Tiberius withdrew from Rome in 26 A.D. and took up his residence on the island of Capri off the Bay of Naples. His removal gave rise to further misunderstandings between himself and the Senate, but of much greater importance was the opportunity it furnished for the able and ambitious Seianus to perfect the plot which he had formed to secure the principate for himself. With the son of Tiberius already out of the way, he intrigued to remove from his path the members of the house of Germanicus. On charges of treason, Nero and Agrippina were deported from Italy, and the former was forced to commit suicide. The young Drusus was imprisoned in Rome. Seianus shared the consulship with Tiberius and received from the Senate proconsular *imperium* in the provinces. He had also persuaded the princeps to sanction his betrothal to Julia, Tiberius' own granddaughter. But he overplayed his hand. Tiberius became suspicious and then received proof of the conspiracy. He acted with secrecy and energy. Seianus and many of his supporters were arrested and executed. Agrippina, however, was left to die in exile, and her son Drusus perished in his prison.

The Last Years of Tiberius. The discovery of Seianus' treachery seems to have affected the reason of the aging princeps. His fear of treachery became an obsession. The law of treason (*lex de maiestate*) was rigorously enforced, and many persons were condemned to death, among them Agrippina and her sons. The senators lived in terror of being accused by informers (*delatores*), and in their anxiety to conciliate the princeps they were only too ready to condemn any of their own number. It was with

undisguised relief that they heard the news of his death on March 16, 37 A.D., in his seventy-eighth year.

The memory of his later years caused Tiberius to pass down in the traditions of the senatorial order, represented by Tacitus and Suetonius, as a ruthless tyrant and to obscure his real services as a conscientious and economical administrator. His parsimony in expenditures of the public money won him unpopularity with the city mob but was a blessing to the provincials, to whose welfare Tiberius directed particular attention, while he vigorously protected them against the oppression of imperial officials. During his rule the peace of the Empire was disturbed only by a brief rising in Gaul (21 A.D.) and a rather prolonged struggle with Tacfarinas, a rebellious Berber chieftain, in Numidia (17–24 A.D.).

II. GAIUS CALIGULA: 37–41 A.D.

Accession. Tiberius left as his heirs his adoptive grandson Gaius, the sole surviving son of Germanicus, better known by his childhood name of Caligula, acquired in the camps on the Rhine, and his grandson by birth, Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus. Upon Gaius, the elder of the two, then twenty-five years of age, the Senate immediately conferred the powers of the principate. The resentment of the senators towards his predecessor found vent in refusing him the posthumous honor of deification. Gaius adopted his cousin but within a year had him put to death.

Early Popularity. The early months of his rule seemed the dawn of a new era. The pardoning of political offenders, the banishment of informers, the reduction of taxes, coupled with lavishness in public entertainments and donations—all made Gaius popular with the Senate, the army, and the city plebs. However, he was a weakling in body and in mind; and a serious illness, brought on by his excesses, seems to have left him mentally deranged. In any event, his undisciplined character succumbed completely to the temptations of the power placed in his hands.

Absolutism His Ideal. Reared in the house of Antonia, daughter of Antony and Octavia, in company with eastern princes of the stamp of Herod Agrippa, he naturally came to look upon the principate as an autocracy of the Hellenistic type. In his attempt to carry this conception into effect, the vein of madness in his character led him to ridiculous extremes. Not content with claiming deification for himself and his sisters, he built a lofty bridge connecting the Palatine Hill with the Capitoline, so that he might communicate with Jupiter, his brother god. He prescribed the sacrifices to be offered to himself and was accused of seeking to imitate the Ptolemaic custom of sister marriage. Thoroughly consistent with ab-

solutism was his scorn of republican magistracies, his disregard of the rights of the Senate, and his attempt to have himself saluted as *dominus* or "lord."

The Conflict with the Jews. His demand for the acknowledgment of his deification by all inhabitants of the Empire brought Gaius into conflict with the Jews, who had been exempted from this formal expression of loyalty. In Alexandria there was a large Jewish colony, which not only enjoyed exceptional privileges but laid claim to citizenship in the city and consequently was hated by the Alexandrians. These seized the opportunity of a visit of Herod Agrippa, king of a petty Jewish principality, to insult the Jewish community by burlesquing him and his followers. Then, in order to avoid the consequences of this mockery of a friend of Gaius, they sought to show their loyalty by forcing the Jews to worship images of the princeps. The refusal of this demand furnished the mob with a pretext for sacking the Jewish quarters and forcibly installing the statues in some of their synagogues. The Jews sent a delegation to plead their case before Gaius but could obtain no redress. In the meantime Gaius had ordered Petronius, the legate of Syria, to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, by force, if need be. The prudent Petronius, however, seeing that this would bring about a national revolt among the Jews, delayed obeying the order, and the death of Gaius relieved him of the necessity of executing it at all.

Tyranny and Its End. In less than a year the reckless extravagance of Gaius had exhausted the immense surplus Tiberius had left in the treasury. To secure new funds he resorted to openly tyrannical measures, extraordinary taxes, judicial murders, confiscations, and forced legacies. By these means money was extorted not only from Romans of all classes but provincials also. Ptolemy, king of Mauretania, was executed for the sake of his treasure and his kingdom claimed as a province. With the annexation of Mauretania, the Roman encirclement of the Mediterranean was at last complete.

Gaius contemplated invasions of Germany and of Britain, but the former ended with a military parade across the Rhine and the latter with a march to the shores of the Strait of Dover. The fear awakened by his rule of capricious violence soon resulted in a conspiracy against his life. In January, 41 A.D., he was assassinated by a tribune of the praetorian guards whom he had grossly insulted and others who feared that they might fall victims to his caprice. His wife and infant daughter shared his fate.

III. CLAUDIUS: 41–54 A.D.

Nomination and Appointment. In their enthusiasm at the death of Gaius, the Senators debated the possibility of restoring the Republic. But

they were soon made to realize that they were not in control of the situation. The praetorian guard, some of whom had discovered and dragged from his hiding-place the uncle of the murdered princeps, Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus, saluted this younger brother of Germanicus as Imperator. In spite of its reluctance, the Senate found itself obliged to acquiesce in his nomination and to grant him the title Augustus together with the powers and honors that constituted the principate. Claudius rewarded the services of the praetorians with a generous donation, an act that set an extremely regrettable precedent. The new princeps was already over fifty years old but without any real experience in public life. Because of his ungainly appearance and the general impression of ineffectiveness which he created, Claudius had never been considered seriously as a potential candidate for the principate. He was learned but pedantic, obstinate yet lacking in energy and resolution. These weaknesses led to his being almost completely dominated by persons of stronger will with whom he came into close relations, in particular, his favorite freedmen and his four successive wives.

Government Policy. As a thoughtful student of Roman history, Claudius was inclined towards conservatism in his general policy and endeavored to govern in the spirit of Augustus and Tiberius. Towards the Senate he showed the greatest respect and did all within his power to force it to take an active part in governmental affairs. He did, however, assume the censorship in 47 A.D. for the traditional term of eighteen months, an office which Augustus had avoided because it placed its holder directly in control of the roll of the senators. But in this office he followed the practice of the Republic and took a colleague. Claudius did a great deal to check abuses in the application of the law of treason and to restrain the zeal of professional informers. Nevertheless, in spite of this, a considerable number of senators and equestrians were executed on charges of treason, some owing to complicity in real conspiracies and others through the ill will of the freedmen advisers of Claudius and his last two wives, Messalina and Agrippina, who made use of the court of the princeps himself to destroy those who stood in their path. In the administration of the public treasury, and of roads and public works in Rome and Italy, the princeps encroached still further upon the Senate's sphere of action. Of particular importance was the building of a new harbor with docks and warehouses at Ostia in order to improve the facilities for handling the grain supply of Rome. But the most significant innovation was the establishment of a number of secretaryships in the household of the princeps, whose holders had clearly defined duties in connection with public activities of their master. As the holders of these posts were personal servants of the princeps and not officers of state, they were appointed from among his freedmen, and there can be little or no doubt that their influence

was responsible for the change. In fact, the ablest and most ambitious among them occupied the newly created offices. Pallas, as *a rationibus,* became secretary of the *fiscus* or imperial treasury which was then established as a central department for all the public revenues that passed through the hands of the princeps; his rival Narcissus was made secretary of the correspondence (*ab epistulis*). Other secretaryships were those in charge of petitions addressed to the princeps (*a libellis*), of the judicial investigations or trials which he conducted (*a cognitionibus*), and of the imperial library (*a studiis*). Through the first four of these positions, the freedmen secretaries supervised practically all branches of the government directed by the princeps and so came to have a great influence upon his decisions and policies. Since they lacked the traditional ideals and restraints of the Roman nobility, it was not unnatural that they should abuse their power to amass riches for themselves by the sale of their favors, and some of them accumulated great fortunes in this way. It was due to their influence that many freedmen were given appointments as imperial procurators and that the latter officials in the provinces were granted judicial authority in matters affecting the claims of the *fiscus.*

The Provinces. Following the precedent of Julius Caesar rather than that of Augustus, Claudius decided upon the annexation of Britain. In this, apparently, he was motivated by an exaggerated estimate of the resources of the island and the advisability of popularizing himself with the legions by a successful campaign conducted under his auspices, but there was also some justification for the expedition in the fact that the free Belgian tribes of Britain were somewhat of a menace to the peace of the Gallic shore. In 43 A.D., his legates Aulus Plautius, Flavius Vespasianus, and Ostorius Scapula overran Britain as far as the Thames. Claudius himself was in nominal command at the crossing of the Thames and the occupation of the Belgian royal town of Camulodunum (Colchester), which was made a Roman colony and the capital of the province of Britain which was formed out of the conquered territory. With the erection of a temple to Rome and Augustus at Camulodunum, the imperial cult was set up in the new province. After the return of Claudius to Rome, the Roman authority was extended steadily over wider areas on the island. In North Africa, Claudius found himself faced by a revolt which had broken out in Mauretania as the result of the attempt of Gaius to convert that kingdom into a province. After two years of hard fighting the resistance of the natives was crushed, and Mauretania was divided into two imperial provinces, Mauretania Caesariansis in the east and Mauretania Tingitania (Tangier) in the west (42 A.D.). Another new province was formed in 46 A.D. by the annexation of the client kingdom of Thrace upon the death

of the native ruler. This policy was also carried out in Judaea where, at the death of King Herod Agrippa in 44 B.C., the greater part of the country was placed under an imperial procurator.

Throughout the provinces in general, Claudius was active in founding colonies and in promoting the organization of provincial towns as Roman or Latin municipalities. While censor he defended before the Senate, in a speech which has been preserved in part, his liberality in the extension of Roman citizenship and apparently enrolled some Gallic notables among the senators. At any rate, he caused the public magistracies to be opened to all Roman citizens in Gaul, which meant that henceforth they were on the same footing as the Romans in Italy with respect to admission to the senatorial order. The census taken in 47–48 A.D. showed 6,944,000 Roman citizens, nearly a million more than in the time of Augustus. Claudius personally devoted a great deal of attention to problems of provincial administration. Here he showed himself to be a shrewd and competent ruler, who saw to it that his subordinates on the whole maintained a high degree of efficiency and integrity. His reply—recently found on a papyrus from Egypt —to the petition of the Alexandrians for permission to form a city council throws a favorable light upon his statesmanship.

Agrippina the Younger and the Death of Claudius. In 48 A.D. a crisis occurred in the household of the princeps. His wife Messalina became infatuated with a young noble named Gaius Silius, and their relations gave rise to a belief that they were conspiring to have Silius seize the principate. The freedmen of Claudius felt their position endangered and decided that Messalina must be removed from the scene. Their spokesman Narcissus induced Claudius to issue an order for her execution and saw that it was carried into effect. But it was Pallas who induced the princeps to take as his fourth wife his own niece Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, whose ambitions were to prove fatal to her husband. By Messalina, Claudius had a son, known as Britannicus, and a daughter, Octavia. The former was looked upon as the future successor of Claudius, but Agrippina determined to secure the principate for her own son Domitius, whose father was her first husband Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus. In 50 A.D., she succeeded in having Claudius adopt Domitius with the name of Nero Claudius Caesar. A year later, when only thirteen years old, he was given the title *princeps iuventutis* and granted proconsular *imperium* outside of Rome. Thus he was openly designated as the future princeps. In 53 A.D. he married Octavia, his sister by adoption. But Narcissus still championed the cause of Britannicus; and Agrippina, who feared that further delay would endanger her plans, caused Claudius to be poisoned.

IV. NERO: 54–68 A.D.

The First Five Years. The accession of Nero was expected, and his appointment to the principate was carried through without opposition or delay, since Agrippina had taken care to secure the support of the praetorians by promise of a handsome donative. Nero was only sixteen years old when he succeeded Claudius, and for a number of years the government was actually carried on by his most influential advisers, the praetorian prefect Afranius Burrus from Gallia Narbonensis and Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the famous philosophic writer from Spain, whom Agrippina had appointed as his tutor in 49 B.C. Under their direction, the administration while strongly autocratic in tone was both highly efficient and conducted with proper consideration of the best interests of the empire as a whole. But Agrippina did not mean to be deprived of an active share in the councils of state and attempted to act as regent for her son and to retain the influence which she had acquired during the later years of the life of Claudius. But in this she was opposed both by Nero himself and by his able advisers, who catered to his baser instincts in their efforts to keep him under their control. In 55 A.D. Nero caused his adoptive brother Britannicus to be poisoned, through fear that he might prove a rival. Finally, under the influence of his mistress, Poppaea Sabina, the wife of Titus Salvius Otho, he had Agrippina murdered (59 A.D.). Thereupon he divorced Octavia, who was later banished and put to death, and married Poppaea.

Nero at the Helm. Freed from the fear of any rival influence, Nero, now twenty-two years of age, began to take the reins of government into his own hands. After the death of Burrus in 62 A.D., Seneca lost his influence over the princeps, who took as his chief adviser the worthless praetorian prefect, Tigellinus. The Senate, whose support had been courted by Burrus and Seneca, now found itself without any influence; and, since his wanton extravagances emptied the treasury, Nero was forced to resort to oppressive measures to satisfy his needs. The sole object of his policy was the gratification of his capricious whims. An ardent phil-Hellene, he sought to introduce into Rome Greek gymnastic and artistic competitions of the Hellenistic type. In the conviction that he was an artist of extraordinary genius, he hungered for the applause of the successful performer and in 65 A.D. publicly appeared in the theatre as a singer and musician. Nothing could have more deeply alienated the respect of the upper classes of Roman society. Eager to duplicate his theatrical successes in the home of the Muses, in 66 A.D. Nero visited Greece and exhibited his talent at the Olympian and Delphic games.

The Fire in Rome and the First Persecution of the Christians: 64 A.D. In

64 A.D. a tremendous fire, which lasted for six continuous days and broke out a second time, devastated the greater part of the city of Rome. Subsequently, Nero was accused of having caused the fire, but there is absolutely no proof of his guilt. He did, however, seize the opportunity to rebuild the damaged quarter on a new plan which did away with the offensive slum districts and to erect his famous "Golden House," a magnificent palace and park on the Esquiline. Popular opinion demanded some scapegoat for the disaster, and Nero's advisers laid the blame upon the Christians in Rome, probably because they were known to be unpopular with the masses. Many Christians were brought to trial and condemned on charges of anarchistic tendencies and suffered painful and ignominious deaths. This was the first persecution of the Christians conducted by the Roman imperial government.

The Armenian Problem: 51–67 A.D. In 51 A.D. an able and ambitious ruler, Vologases, came to the Parthian throne. When the Roman client king of Armenia was captured and killed by the neighboring Iberians, Vologases seized the opportunity and put his brother Tiridates on the Armenian throne. When the news reached Rome after the accession of Nero, Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo was sent to Asia Minor to reassert the Roman suzerainty over Armenia. But it was not until late in 57 A.D. that he was able to organize and train his forces for their task. In two campaigns he overran Armenia and set up a Roman nominee as king (60 A.D.). Vologases had been unable to oppose Corbulo because of a serious rebellion in his own empire. In 61 A.D., however, he set out to re-establish his brother in his lost kingdom. Upon failure of negotiations with Rome, he invaded Armenia in force, blockaded the Roman governor of Cappadocia, Caesennius Paetus, who had tried to anticipate the Parthian attack, and forced him to purchase his safety and that of his troops by agreeing to the Roman evacuation of Armenian territory (62 A.D.). The situation was saved by Corbulo, then legate of Syria, who was finally entrusted with the sole command of operations and forced Vologases to meet the Roman terms (63 A.D.). Tiridates retained the Armenian throne but acknowledged the Roman overlordship by coming to Rome to receive his crown from Nero's hands.

The Revolt in Britain: 60 A.D. Under Claudius the Romans had extended their dominion in Britain northwards as far as the Humber and westwards to Cornwall and Wales. In 59 A.D. Suetonius Paulinus occupied the island of Mona (Anglesea), the chief seat of the religion of the Druids. While he was engaged in this undertaking, a serious revolt broke out among the Iceni and Trinovantes, who lived between the Wash and tne Thames. It was caused by the severity of the Roman administration and in particular by the ill treatment by Roman procurators of Boudicca, the queen of the Iceni, who headed the insurrection. The Roman towns of Camulodunum (Col-

chester), Verulamium (St. Alban's), and Londinium (London) were destroyed; and 70,000 Romans were said to have been massacred. A Roman legion was defeated in battle, and it was not until Paulinus returned and united the scattered Roman forces that the insurgents were checked. The Britons were decisively defeated, and Boudicca committed suicide.

The Conspiracy of Piso: 65 A.D. About 62 A.D. there began a long series of treason trials in Rome, occasioned partly by the desire to confiscate the property of the accused and partly by the suspicion which is the inevitable concomitant of tyranny. The resulting insecurity of the senatorial order naturally produced a real attempt to overthrow the princeps. A wide-reaching conspiracy, in which one of the praetorian prefects was involved and which was headed by the senator Gaius Calpurnius Piso, was discovered in 65 A.D. Among those who were executed for complicity therein were the poet Lucan and his uncle Seneca. Later notable victims of Nero's vengeance were Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus, Stoic senators, whose guilt was their silent but unmistakable disapproval of his tyrannical acts. No man of prominence was safe; even the famous general Corbulo was forced to commit suicide in 67 A.D.

The Rebellion of Vindex: 68 A.D. Upon Nero's return from Greece, upon which he had bestowed the gift of "freedom," a more serious movement began in Gaul where Gaius Julius Vindex, the legate of the province of Lugdunensis, raised the standard of revolt and was supported by the provincials, who were suffering under the pressure of taxation. Vindex was joined by Sulpicius Galba, governor of Hither Spain, and other legates. The commander of Upper Germany, Verginius Rufus, who remained true to Nero, defeated Vindex; but the revolt spread to the troops of Verginius himself, and these hailed their commander as Imperator. He, however, refused the honor and gave the Senate the opportunity to name the princeps. Nero's fate was sealed by his own cowardice and the treachery of the prefect Nymphidius Sabinus, who bought the support of the praetorian guards for Galba. The Senate followed their lead, and Nero, who had fled from Rome, killed himself with the help of a faithful freedman. With Nero's death the Julio-Claudian dynasty came to an end.

V. THE FIRST WAR OF THE LEGIONS OR THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS: 68–69 A.D.

The Power of the Army. The year 68–69 A.D. witnessed the accession of four emperors, each the nominee of the soldiery. Whereas up to this time the praetorians had exercised the right of acclamation in the name of the army as a whole, now the legions stationed on the various frontiers asserted for

themselves the same privilege. As Tacitus expresses it, the fatal secret of the Empire was discovered, namely, that the princeps could be nominated elsewhere than in Rome. Although the principate may be said to have been founded by the universal consent of the Roman world, nevertheless, from its inception the power of the princeps had rested directly upon his military command, and the civil war of 68–69 A.D. showed how completely the professional army was master of the situation.

Galba: 68 A.D. Galba, who succeeded Nero, was a man of good family but moderate attainments and soon showed himself unable to maintain his authority. That he would have been held "fit to rule, had he not ruled," is the judgment of Tacitus. He had never been enthusiastically supported by the Rhine legions nor the praetorians; and his severity in maintaining discipline, added to his failure to pay the promised donative, completely alienated the loyalty of the guards. At the news that the troops in Upper and Lower Germany had declared for Aulus Vitellius, legate of the latter province (Jan. 1, 69), Galba sought to strengthen his position by adopting as his son and destined successor, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, a young man of high birth but no experience. By this step he offended Marcus Salvius Otho, the one-time husband of Nero's wife Poppaea Sabina, who had been one of Galba's staunch adherents and hoped to succeed him. Otho now won over the disgruntled praetorian guards, who slew Galba and Piso and proclaimed Otho Imperator.

Otho: January–April, 69 A.D. The Senate acquiesced in their decision, but not so the legions of Vitellius, which were already on the march to Italy. They crossed the Alps without opposition but were checked by the forces of Otho at Bedriacum, north of the Po. Without waiting for the arrival of adequate reinforcements from the Danubian army, Otho ordered an attack upon the Vitellians at Cremona. His army was defeated, and in despair he took his own life.

Vitellius: April–December, 69 A.D. Thereupon Vitellius was recognized as princeps by the Senate, and his forces occupied Rome. Vitellius owed his nomination to the energy of the legates Valens and Caecina and, although well-meaning and by no means tyrannical, showed himself lacking in energy and force of character. He was unable to control the license of his soldiery, who plundered the Italian towns, or his officers, who enriched themselves at the public expense, while he devoted himself to the pleasures of the table.

Meanwhile the army of the East, which had recognized Galba, Otho, and, at first, Vitellius also, set up its own Imperator, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, who as legate of Judaea was conducting a war against the Jews. Vespasian himself proceeded to occupy Egypt and thus cut off the grain supply of Rome while his ablest lieutenant, Mucianus, set out for Italy. The Danubian

legions, who had supported Otho, now declared themselves for Vespasian and, led by Antonius Primus, marched at once upon Italy. The fleet at Ravenna espoused Vespasian's cause, and Caecina, who led the Vitellians against Primus, contemplated treachery. His troops, however, were loyal but were defeated in a bloody night battle at Cremona, and the way lay open to Rome. Vitellius then opened negotiations and offered to abdicate, but his soldiers would not let him and suppressed a rising in Rome led by the brother of Vespasian. Thereupon the city was stormed and sacked by the army of Primus. Vitellius himself was slain.

Vespasian: December, 69 A.D. Vespasian obtained his recognition as princeps from the Senate and the troops in the West. He entered Rome early in 70 A.D.

VI. VESPASIAN AND TITUS: 69–81 A.D.

Rebellion in Gaul and Germany: 69 A.D. The new princeps inherited from his predecessors two serious wars, both national revolts against Roman rule, the one in Gaul and Lower Germany, the other in Judaea. The movement in Lower Germany was headed by Julius Civilis, a Batavian chieftain, formerly an officer in the Roman service, who won over the eight Batavian cohorts attached to the Rhine army. At first he posed as a supporter of Vespasian against Vitellius, but at the news of the former's victory he renounced his allegiance to Rome and called to his aid Germanic tribes from across the Rhine. At the same time the Gallic Treveri and Lingones, the former led by Julius Classicus and Julius Tutor, the latter by Julius Sabinus—all three nobles who had served as Roman officers and enjoyed Roman citizenship—rose in rebellion and sought to establish an empire of the Gauls with its capital at Trèves (Augusta Treverorum). They were joined by the Roman legions stationed on the Rhine. The remaining peoples of Gaul, however, refused to join the revolt, preferring the Roman peace to a renewal of the old intertribal struggles.

Upon the arrival of an adequate Roman force despatched by Mucianus, Vespasian's representative in Rome, the mutinous legions returned to their duty, the Treveri and Lingones were subdued, and Civilis was forced to flee into Germany. The Batavi returned to their former status of Roman allies under the obligation of furnishing troops to the Roman armies (70 A.D.). But Rome had seen the danger of stationing national corps under their native officers in their home countries. Henceforth the auxiliaries were no longer organized on a national basis and served in provinces other than those in which they were recruited. The use of native chiefs as commanders of auxiliary units recruited among their own tribesmen was also given up.

Friction in Judaea. From the year 6 A.D. Judaea had formed a Roman procuratorial province except for its brief incorporation in the principality of Herod Agrippa I (41–44 A.D.). During this time the Jews had occupied a privileged position among the Roman subjects, being exempted from military service and the obligation of the imperial cult, notwithstanding the design of Caligula to set up his image in the temple at Jerusalem. These privileges were the source of constant friction between the Jews and the Greco-Syrian inhabitants of the cities of Palestine, which frequently necessitated the interference of Roman officials. Another cause of unrest in Judaea was the pressure of the Roman taxation, which rendered agriculture unprofitable and drove many persons from the plains to the mountains to find a livelihood through brigandage. But a more deep-seated cause of animosity to Roman rule lay in the fact that the Jewish people were a religious community and that for them national loyalty was identical with an uncompromising devotion to their religion. They resented the rule of foreigners not merely because it meant loss of political freedom but because it was an offence to their religion. And the situation was not helped by the incompetence and lack of understanding displayed by Roman officials whose actions needlessly wounded Jewish susceptibilities. But the Jews themselves were not united. There were an upper class of wealthy landholders and also a lower class of less well-to-do persons which included a large number of impoverished peasants. The former made up the party of the Sadducees, who monopolized the higher religious offices including that of the High Priest. Opposed to them were the Pharisees, who supplied most of the lower priesthoods and laid great stress upon the strict observance of the provisions of Jewish law in all aspects of human relations. In general, the Sadducees were inclined to co-operate with the Romans and in turn were supported by Rome, whereas the Pharisees were strongly nationalistic and consequently anti-Roman. It is improbable that the Pharisees actually sought to bring about a revolt, but they kindled a fire which they could not control and strengthened the development of a party of direct action, the Zealots, who aimed to liberate Judaea from the Romans by force, trusting in the support of Jehovah. By 66 A.D. all Judaea was in a ferment, and it required but little incitement to produce a national revolt.

The Jewish Rebellion: 66–70 A.D. Hostilities broke out in 66 A.D. in Jerusalem, where the Roman garrison was driven out by the rebels. At the same time the decision of the Roman government that Jews were not entitled to citizenship in Caesarea, the Roman capital of the province, provoked a riot in which the Greek population massacred the Jews. Similar outbreaks occurred in other towns of Judaea, now one party and now the other being the aggressor; and the disorders spread beyond the bounds of

Judaea to Syria and Egypt. The Romans awoke to the seriousness of the situation when the legate of Syria, Cestius Gallus, who had marched on Jerusalem, was forced to beat an ignominious retreat.

Late in 67 A.D. Vespasian was appointed to the command of an army of 50,000 assembled for the reconquest of Judaea. In this and the following year he reduced the open country and isolated fortresses and was ready to begin the blockade of Jerusalem, where the majority of the Jews had fled for refuge. But upon hearing of Nero's death, he postponed his attack on the city and did not resume active operations until after the accession of Vitellius. Shortly afterwards, however, his own elevation to the principate caused a further suspension of hostilities for ten months, during which factional strife raged fiercely within the city.

The conclusion of the war Vespasian entrusted to his eldest son Titus, who at once began the siege of Jerusalem (70 A.D.). The city had a triple line of fortifications, and within the inner wall were two natural citadels, the temple and the old city of Mount Zion. The population, augmented by great numbers of refugees, suffered terribly from hunger but resisted with the fury of despair. But experience and numbers told; the walls were stormed, and then the Romans forced their way into the temple, which was destroyed by fire. Mount Zion still held out but in the end was taken by assault. Jerusalem was destroyed, and Judaea became a province under an imperial legate. The political community of the Jews was dissolved, and they were subjected to a yearly head-tax of two denarii (40 cents) each, payable to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in consideration of which they enjoyed their previous immunities. Titus commemorated his victory by the arch which still stands near the Roman Forum. One of its reliefs represents the spoils from the temple which were borne in the triumphal procession at Rome.

Vespasian's Administration. Vespasian was the first princeps who did not belong to the old Roman nobility. He was a native of the Italian municipality of Reate, and his father had been of only equestrian rank. Both he and his brother, however, had won admission to the Senate. In order to establish a link between his family and the Julio-Claudian line, he followed the example of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius in assuming the name of Caesar, which began to take on the character of a title rather than that of a family name. From this time its use became a prerogative of the family of the princeps. He also made regular use of the term Imperator at the beginning of the imperial name, a practice which had fallen into neglect under the successors of Augustus but was revived in the later years of Nero.

The new princeps was not a man of brilliant attainments but possessed the humble virtues of tenacity, sobriety, and industry, together with a

homely wit, that fitted him to deal with a situation which required firmness, tact, and patience rather than bold innovations. He was a competent general, who had the respect of the soldiery, and he was expert in handling public finances. Vespasian received the powers and titles of the principate by virtue of a senatorial decree which was confirmed by a law of the Assembly, yet with characteristic realism he dated the beginning of his rule from the day of his salutation as Imperator by the troops in the East. In 74 A.D. he assumed the censorship with Titus as his colleague and took a census of the empire. At the same time he filled the ranks of the Senate, which had been depleted by executions and the recent civil wars. He took this opportunity of introducing into the Senate many distinguished provincials, of making extensive grants of citizenship in the provinces, and of bestowing the status of Latins upon all the non-Roman communities in Spain, as a step preliminary to their complete Romanization.

To the Senate, Vespasian accorded respect and recognition of its judicial authority, but he excluded it from any effective participation in the government. Nor did he trouble to disguise the fact that he was the real master in the state. At first some of the senators tried to assert for themselves and their colleagues a certain control over public policy, but their efforts came to naught, as did an attempt to prosecute the informers who had flourished under Nero. Very soon the great majority in the Senate reconciled themselves to the situation, and the subsequent friction which arose between Vespasian and certain small groups among the senators was entirely due to the intransigent attitude on the part of the latter. One of these groups, led by Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of the Paetus Thrasea whom Nero had put to death and like him a Stoic, indulged in a futile advocacy of republicanism in the form of a cult of Brutus and Cato the Younger. Priscus went so far as to abuse and insult the princeps on public occasions and brought upon himself the penalty of exile from Italy. Subsequently he was executed, probably for conspiracy, although the details are unknown. Another group of so-called philosophers, apparently Cynics rather than Stoics, were so violent in their attacks not only upon the princeps and the principate but upon orderly government in general that Vespasian banished professional astrologers and philosophers from the capital.

The most serious problem which Vespasian had to face was that presented by the public finances, for the extravagance of the preceding emperors had left the government in a state of bankruptcy and the provinces financially exhausted. It is reported that Vespasian estimated that the sum of $2,000,000,000 was required to make the essential outlays, but this figure obviously needs interpretation and we do not have the information necessary for this. To obtain the required amount, Vespasian found it obligatory to impose

new taxes and avoid all needless expenditures. Yet he not only succeeded in making the state solvent but was able to carry out extensive building operations in Italy and in the provinces. In Rome the Capitoline Temple, which had been burned in the fighting with the Vitellians, was rebuilt, a temple of Peace was erected on the Forum, and the huge Colosseum arose on the site of one of the lakes of Nero's Golden House. Vespasian also granted state support to the teachers of Greek and Roman oratory in Rome.

A problem of another sort was the restoration of discipline in the army, which had broken down in the conflict of 69–70 A.D. We have seen in connection with the repression of the revolt in Germany how the dangers of national loyalties among the auxiliaries were averted. It remained to deal with the citizen soldiery. Four of the mutinous legions from the Rhineland garrison were disbanded and replaced by new ones. The Praetorian Guard, which had been dissolved by Vitellius and replaced by detachments drawn from his legionaries, was reconstituted with cohorts of Italians as before. But in order to assure himself of its loyalty, Vespasian appointed his son Titus as its commander.

The Provinces and the Frontiers. The emperor's own efficiency and honesty were reflected in the character of the provincial officials whom he appointed and in the general tone of provincial government. He deprived Greece of the freedom which Nero had granted it and made it once more a senatorial province, while Sardinia and Corsica were again placed under imperial control. At the same time, Rhodes, Samos, and Byzantium lost their status of free and federate communities and were incorporated in adjacent provinces. A new province was formed out of the districts of Lycia and Pamphylia in Asia Minor. Most of these changes probably were made for the purpose of increasing the imperial revenues, but there were others that showed Vespasian's care for problems of frontier defence. The Roman hold on Britain was strengthened by the conquest of the Brigantes north of the Humber River and the Silures in southern Wales. Roman influence was reasserted among the German tribes on the right bank of the lower Rhine. In upper Germany, Vespasian annexed the territory between the Rhine and the upper Danube, including the Schwarzwald and Odenwald areas, thus obliterating a dangerous salient in the Roman frontier and shortening communications between the armies in Germany and in the Danubian provinces.

Further east on the Danube two strong camps for legionary troops were constructed at Carnuntum and Vindobona (modern Vienna). The Euphrates frontier was strengthened by the creation of a single large province embracing Galatia, Cappadocia, and some adjacent districts, as well as by the establishment of Roman garrisons at the important points

of Satala and Melitene, which controlled routes across the upper Euphrates into Armenia. To the south the client kingdom of Commagene, which Gaius had restored to its native dynasty, was added to Syria. The latter province was further enlarged by the extension of its eastern frontier to include several minor principalities, among them the important caravan city of Palmyra. In Africa, a brief campaign sufficed to quiet the Garamantes, who had disturbed Roman territory to the south of the Gulf of Syrtis.

Vespasian's Achievement. When Vespasian died in 79 A.D., he had reestablished order throughout the empire, rehabilitated its finances, and placed the government once more on a sound basis. He had also made certain that the succession should remain within his own family. For his achievements he well deserved the honor of being called the second founder of the Principate.

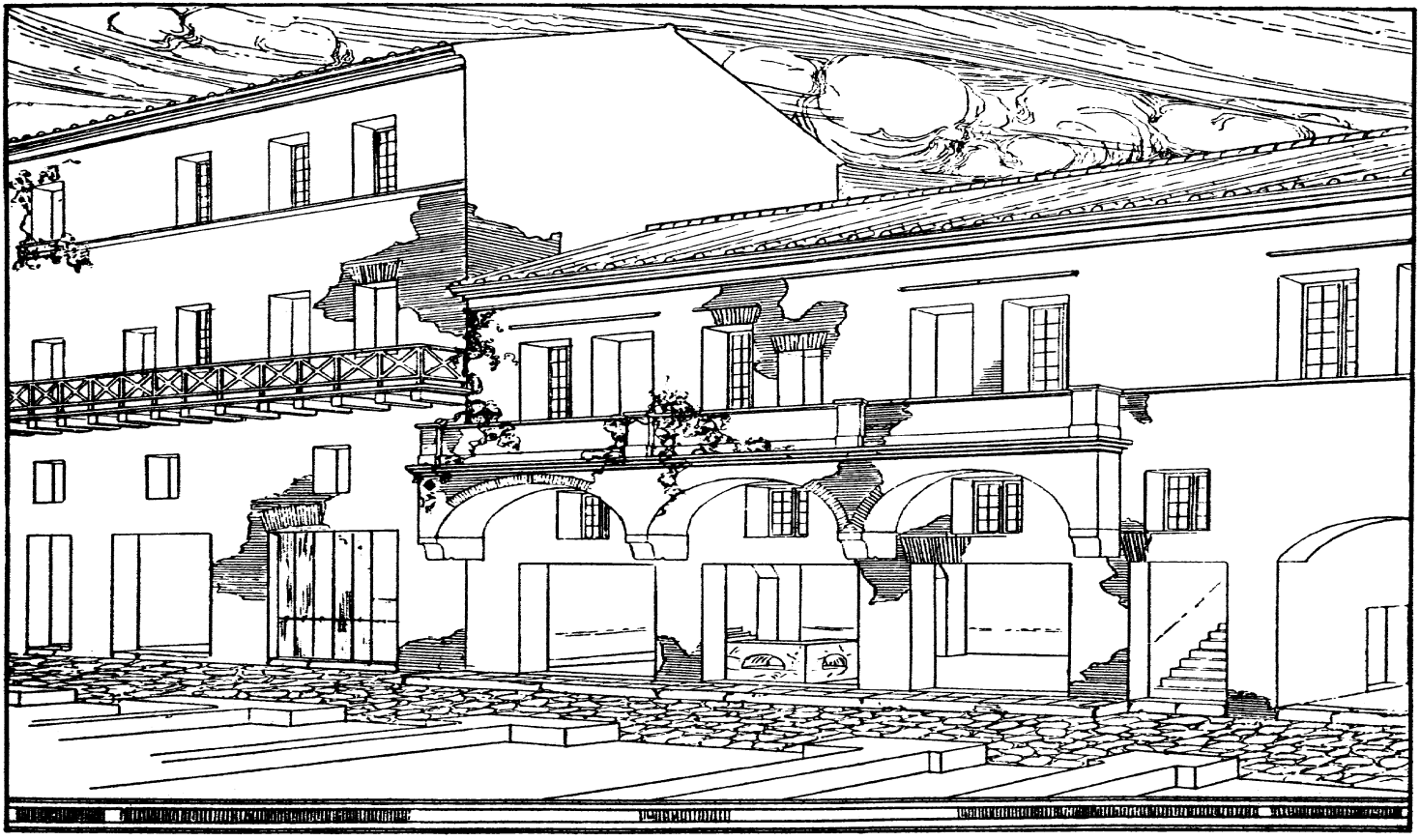
The Principate of Titus: 79–81 A.D. At the death of Vespasian, Titus was not only praetorian prefect but also a colleague of his father in the *imperium* and tribunician authority. This made his succession a matter of course, and without delay he received the powers and honors of the principate from the Senate. During his brief rule of little over two years, he showed himself in every respect thoroughly worthy of his high office. He rigorously repressed the professional informers, refused to punish those who conspired against himself, and, in spite of his geniality and generosity, kept a careful watch on the public finances.

Two great disasters marred his otherwise uneventful principate. In 79 A.D., an eruption of the volcano Vesuvius buried the cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabii near the Bay of Naples beneath a thick deposit of ash and lava. Thus protected, the buildings of these towns have been preserved from disintegration to a remarkable degree, and the excavation of Pompeii in particular has revealed with wonderful freshness the life of an Italian municipality under the early Principate. In the following year Rome was once more visited by a devastating fire, which raged for three days and destroyed Vespasian's new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Titus died following an attack of fever in September, 81 A.D. He was deeply mourned by the whole Roman world, and his memory was treasured as that of an ideal princeps. Like Vespasian, he received posthumous deification from the Senate.

VII. DOMITIAN: 81–96 A.D.

Autocratic Ideals. Titus was succeeded by his younger brother, Domitian, who was saluted as *Imperator* by the praetorians and received from the Senate without opposition the powers and titles of the principate on Septem-



A SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES IN OSTIA

ber 14, 81 A.D. Owing to his ambitious character, Domitian had not been given any active share in the government by either Vespasian or Titus. From the beginning of his principate he displayed autocratic tendencies, which grew continually stronger with the lapse of years. Significant of this were his numerous consulships and, in addition, his use of the censorship with, from 85 A.D. onwards, the title of perpetual censor (*censor perpetuus*). This latter power gave him complete control over the membership of the Senate. Even more emphatically does his policy come to light in the title "Lord and God" (*dominus et deus*), which seems to have been required after 86 A.D. from officials of his household and was used of him by contemporary writers, although he does not appear to have made official use of it himself. He seems also to have made the oath by the genius of the princeps obligatory in certain public documents. The same tendencies found expression in his establishment of the priestly college of the Flaviales, modelled on that of the Augustales in Rome, to perpetuate the worship of his deified father and brother. It was abundantly clear that he intended to place the Senate in a condition of subservience to himself and to concentrate in his own hands complete control of the government. Inevitably, such a course provoked hostility in the ranks of the Roman nobility, which resented also his philhellenic leanings, evidenced in the establishment of a festival in honor of Capitoline Jupiter in imitation of the Olympic Games and in other imitations of Greek practices.

In the winter of 88–89 A.D., Antonius Saturninus, the legate of Upper Germany, had himself saluted as *Imperator* by the two legions under his command at Mogontiacum (Mainz). He had counted upon the adherence of other provincial commanders and upon aid from the German Chatti, who invaded Roman territory on the right bank of the Rhine. But the Germans were unable to cross the river owing to the breakup of the ice which had temporarily bridged it, and Saturninus was defeated and killed by the governor of Lower Germany, who had remained loyal to the emperor. Alarmed at the outbreak, Domitian punished with relentless severity all those suspected of complicity in the conspiracy. Fearful of other plots against him, he began to suspect the leading men in the Senate and his most able officers and lent a ready ear to false accusations made by professional informers. Thus there began in Rome a reign of terror for the nobility, which not only left a legacy of enduring hatred towards himself and all his works but also strongly biased the attitude of the historian Tacitus towards the Principate and its founder. The so-called philosophers were banished again from Italy; many prominent persons were executed on trumped-up charges of treason, and others on the ground of "atheism." Among the latter were some notable converts to Judaism or Christianity, whose beliefs would run

counter to Domitian's leanings towards deification. His own cousin, Flavius Clemens, fell a victim to this charge; and the latter's wife, Domitilla, a niece of Domitian, who, if not an active Christian, was at least a patron of the Christian community in Rome, was exiled.

But Domitian cannot be dismissed as a mere tyrant. He was an energetic administrator who personally directed all branches of the government and required of his subordinates a high standard of public service. In Rome, he improved the water system, increased the facilities for storing grain and other provisions, and completed the work of restoration necessitated by the great fire of 80 A.D. This gave him the opportunity to rebuild the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on a truly magnificent scale and to restore the damaged public libraries, in which he displayed a particular interest. At the same time he completed other unfinished structures and built new ones. Among them were the temple of Vespasian and Titus and another of the Flavian Gens. At the Alban Lake he constructed for himself a splendid villa at great expense. The urban populace was kept content with shows of various sorts and with distributions of money, while the pay of the soldiers was increased by one third. These expenditures, added to the costs of border wars, placed a severe strain on the treasury.

In contrast to Vespasian, Domitian, who took over a financially sound state, was liberal in money matters and at first remitted unpaid taxes of five years' standing. He was, however, no careless spendthrift and insisted upon a strict exaction of future public revenues. His persecution of the senators has been blamed upon his desire to increase his income by confiscating the property of the condemned, but on the whole these judicial murders seem to have been due to political rather than economic reasons. Domitian's legislation was tinged with an old-fashioned Roman morality mingled with severity. He placed restrictions upon the performance of mimes and farces, tried to suppress various forms of vice, and made it more difficult for slaves to obtain their freedom. He enforced the death penalty for Vestal Virgins convicted of adultery and in one case revived the antiquated form of punishing by burying alive. Such cruelty shocked public opinion, all the more since the princeps himself had one of his nieces as his mistress. In spite of his personal use of informers, he punished many of those who brought unfounded accusations, along with the writers of defamatory or scurrilous attacks upon prominent persons. Owing to his influence, the administration of justice was in large measure freed from bribery and partiality. In the provinces Domitian pushed the work of Romanization which his father had undertaken. As governors and other provincial officers, he selected men of ability and integrity, with the result that the provinces flourished under

his rule. He did something to favor the small farmers by granting freehold possession to those who had established themselves on the odd lots of land not included in the regular surveys, but his attempt to check the spread of vineyards by forbidding the planting of new ones in Italy and the transformation of one half of those in the provinces into grain land was an unsound venture in agricultural legislation. At any rate, it does not seem to have been enforced rigorously, although the newer winelands of Gaul and the Danubian provinces may have been affected by it.

The Defense of the Empire. Although he did not depart radically from the Augustan precepts of nonexpansion, Domitian realized the value of military successes as a support for his autocratic program, and so he carried on a vigorous frontier policy. In Africa, a revolt of the tribes of the Nasamones in eastern Tripoli ended with their annihilation (85–86 A.D.), and energetic action was taken against other nomadic peoples in Mauretania who resented the Roman policy of fostering agriculture at the expense of pasturage. More important was the Roman expansion in Britain directed by the legate Julius Agricola, who commanded the province from 77 to 84 A.D.

After having seized the island of Mona (Anglesea), a stronghold of Druidism, and completed the subjugation of northern England, Agricola led his armies deep into Scotland. In the mountainous country beyond the Clyde and the Firth of Forth, he defeated the united Caledonians under their chief Calgacus (84 A.D.). His fleet, skirting the coast, sailed around the north of Scotland and reaffirmed the fact, discovered centuries before by a Greek navigator, that Britain was an island. With the northern frontier of Britain secured by his victory, Agricola was recalled without being able to carry out a projected invasion of Ireland. The military situation on the Danubian frontier required a concentration of effort in that quarter. In 83 A.D., Domitian himself led an army across the Rhine from Mogontiacum and carried out a successful campaign against the warlike Chatti, who were stirring up trouble in that area. As a result, the Romans occupied the region of the Wetterau between the Lahn and Main rivers as far as the crest of the Taunus mountains and protected this area by a chain of forts and watchtowers. During the revolt of Saturninus (89 A.D.), however, the Chatti overran part of this area; but the Roman frontier was re-established when the rebellion was put down. It was the experience with Saturninus which led Domitian to adopt the policy of not quartering more than one legion in any of the permanent frontier camps. At the same time he separated the financial administration of the two German provinces from that of Gallia Belgica, with which it had hitherto been united. Between the Upper

Rhine and the Danube, Domitian quietly advanced the line of fortified posts in order to shorten and strengthen the frontier and the communications in the angle of the two rivers.

A group of powerful peoples faced the Romans across the middle and lower Danube, and in dealing with them Domitian was less successful than on the Rhine. These were the Germanic Marcomanni and Quadi in Bohemia, the Sarmatian Iazyges between the Danube and Theiss rivers, and the Dacians, who occupied the greater portion of modern Hungary and Rumania. Of all these, the Dacians were the most dangerous for they had been welded into a strong state under an able king named Decebalus. In 85 A.D. a Dacian band crossed the Danube into Moesia, where they defeated and killed the Roman governor. Thereupon Domitian himself brought reinforcements and drove the invaders back across the river. But in attempting to invade Dacia, the praetorian prefect Cornelius Fuscus suffered a disastrous defeat, in which he and most of his army perished. In 88 B.C., a new Roman general, Tattius Julianus, was more successful and retrieved the honor of the Roman arms by a signal victory. But at this point the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges, who previously had been friendly to Rome, took up arms. Domitian hurriedly took the field against them and invaded their territory. Here, however, he met with a reverse that forced him to resort to diplomacy as well as to arms. He came to terms with Decebalus, who gave up his prisoners of war and formally acknowledged the overlordship of Rome but received in return an annual subsidy and the services of a number of Roman military engineers (89 A.D.). The conclusion of this treaty enabled Domitian to enjoy the honor of a double triumph over the Dacians and Chatti and to concentrate his attention on the Iazyges and their German neighbors. Nevertheless, it was not until 93 A.D. that order was re-established along the middle Danube. For the moment, Domitian had succeeded in relieving the Danubian provinces of the pressure to which they had been subjected; but, as events were to show, his settlement was only temporary. In the course of the Dacian war, the province of Moesia was divided in two, called, respectively, Upper and Lower Moesia.

Domitian's Assassination. The closing years of Domitian's rule were occupied largely with the trials of persons whom he suspected of enmity towards himself. No one, whatever his rank, seemed safe. In self-defence, some of those who feared they might fall victims to his suspicions decided to anticipate such a fate by striking first. A plot in which his wife Domitia and the two praetorian prefects were the leaders was formed against his life, and on September 16, 96 A.D. he fell a victim to the dagger of an assassin. His memory was cursed by an exultant Senate, and his name was erased from public monuments.

VIII. THE PRINCIPATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

At the death of Domitian the Principate had been in existence for one hundred and twenty-three years. During this period, with the exception of parts of the years 68 and 69 A.D., it had been monopolized by two dynasties: the Julio-Claudian, which included the descendants by blood and adoption of the founder, Augustus; and the Flavian, the family of its restorer, Vespasian. This reveals clearly the strength of dynastic loyalty on the one hand and on the other the desire of holders of the principate to found or to perpetuate a dynasty, which was voiced by Vespasian when he declared that either his sons should succeed him or no one. In the face of these tendencies it was out of the question for the Senate to try to exercise any freedom of choice in the selection of a new appointee. Its role was virtually limited to conferring the appropriate powers and honors upon a single candidate whose choice had been determined by forces beyond its control. But the application of the hereditary principle had not proved a thoroughly satisfactory basis for the selection of the holders of the *imperium,* since it had put at the head of the state such unworthy and incompetent rulers as Gaius and Nero, as well as the oppressive autocrat Domitian.

Another grave weakness in the system was the absence of any constitutional means of removing an unsatisfactory princeps from office. His powers were conferred upon him for life, and so long as he had the support of the praetorian guard and the rest of the military establishment, he could defy any attempt to deprive him of them. Therefore recourse was had to conspiracies leading to assassination or to open rebellion resulting in civil wars between troops stationed in different parts of the empire. The experiences of the year 68–69, however, were so disastrous and so fraught with danger to the empire as a whole that officers with any sense of responsibility long shrank from resorting again to this desperate expediency. Nevertheless, a certain standard of efficiency, justice, and personal conduct had come to be regarded as essential in a princeps; and failure to measure up to it endangered the life of the delinquent or, at least, led to the withholding of posthumous honors by the Senate. Indeed, the judgment of the senators, who voiced the opinion of the governing classes in general, in so far as it was not hampered by the wishes of the succeeding princeps, may be taken as evidence of the degree to which each holder of the principate met the exacting requirements of his office as set by Augustus and confirmed by public opinion. When Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus received the deification after death which had been accorded to Augustus, it meant that they had exercised their powers constitutionally. When, on the contrary, the Senate formally

execrated the memory of Gaius, Nero, and Domitian, it publicly expressed the view that their actions had been unconstitutional and hence were invalid. Again, when Tiberius, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius received neither deification nor execration, the Senate refused to endorse their acts but was not prepared openly to condemn them, an attitude which is easily understood in view of the short principates of the three last-mentioned emperors.

The attitude of the Senate was determined in large measure by the interpretation which each princeps placed upon his own position. Here two conflicting views had made themselves evident. The one was that the principate was a magistracy, that its holder was the first among his fellow citizens, that there was a legal limitation upon his authority, and that he must act in accordance with traditionally established procedures. This was the attitude of Augustus, of Tiberius, of Claudius, and also of Vespasian and Titus. The opposing view was that the principate was an autocracy, that the authority of the princeps was supreme in all spheres, that the Senate and all public officials were his subordinates, that he could disregard established rights and customs, and that he was not a magistrate in the Roman sense but rather a monarch of the Hellenistic type. Such was the position taken by Gaius and Domitian, who associated it with a claim for recognition as a deity by Roman citizens. Nero may also be considered to have looked upon himself as a ruler of this sort, although he did not press the question of deification. In the opinion of the senatorial order, the former was the "constitutional," the latter the "unconstitutional" interpretation, which the Senate felt bound to resent and which led inevitably to the persecution of that body by the emperors in question. But it had become abundantly clear that even under a constitutional principate the princeps himself must be the ruler of the state and that there was no room for independent action on the part of the Senate and the magistrates. The realization of this was responsible at times for a feeling of resentment on the part of some senators who maintained a futile cult of the ideals of the aristocratic republic and engaged in an entirely pointless criticism of the Principate as a form of government and of personal attacks upon certain emperors which provoked retaliation. However they may have felt, the principate could not be abolished, and more was to be gained by loyal support of a constitutional princeps than by hostile non-co-operation. For the empire as a whole, the new form of government had so far proved to be, in general, a distinct benefit.

CHAPTER XVIII. THE ROMAN PEACE AND THE MILITARIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT: 96–235 A.D.

The long period between the death of Domitian in 96 A.D. and that of Severus Alexander in 235 A.D. falls naturally into two parts. During the first of these, which closes with the decease of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D., the Roman Empire reached its maximum in territorial extent, in population, and in material prosperity. This was due to the happy combination of internal peace and good government which produced for the Mediterranean area as a whole a degree of security and well-being otherwise unexampled in its history for so long a time and has caused this epoch to be looked upon as the golden age of Roman imperialism. But in the latter part of the period, these enviable conditions were disturbed by oppression, by a renewal of civil war between the armies of the empire, and by economic difficulties, all of which combined to produce a crisis that threatened the very existence of the state. Unfortunately, we possess no adequate literary narrative for either half of the period. Of Dio's great work, which ran to 222 A.D., all that survives for these years are parts of the last two books, while for the rest we have to depend upon an epitome made in the eleventh century. The only even relatively contemporary history that has survived was written by another Greek, Herodian, who, shortly before 250 A.D., composed a narrative of the years 180 to 238 A.D. A series of imperial biographies beginning with that of Hadrian is supplied by the fourth-century compilation known as the Augustan History (*Historia Augusta*). For the period in question the *Lives* in this collection, although containing a good deal of worthless material, are based upon generally reliable sources. Of considerable historical worth are the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger, which contain his correspondence during his governorship of Bithynia in 111–113 A.D. Finally, there are the late epitomes and brief biographical collections which also have some value for the earlier period of the Principate. Owing to this comparative death of literary evidence, we are compelled to rely all the more upon contemporary inscriptions, papyri, coins, and material remains in order to gain even a reasonably complete picture of the civilization of the Roman Empire at its height.

I. NERVA: 96–98 A.D.

Nerva's Accession. Before making their fatal attack on Domitian, those involved in the conspiracy against him had selected a successor who would meet with the approval of the Senate. Their choice was Marcus Cocceius Nerva, one of the leading senators who was distantly related on his mother's side to the Julio-Claudian line. At the time Nerva was sixty years of age and had had a distinguished public career without, however, any experience in a military command which might have won him the support of the soldiery, among whom Domitian had enjoyed great popularity. Nevertheless, when the Senate appointed him princeps, the provincial armies acquiesced in their action; and the praetorians, whose commanders had taken an active part in Domitian's assassination, were quieted for the moment by a donative. The policy of the new princeps showed a strong reaction to that of his predecessor. He won the confidence of the nobility by taking an oath never to put a senator to death and by suspending the operation of the laws against high treason. He recalled political exiles and philosophers and permitted those who had suffered from the activities of informers to avenge their wrongs by prosecutions until these were carried to excess and had to be stopped.

Nerva and Italy. During his brief rule Nerva, as was natural in view of his previous experience, displayed a much greater interest in Italy than in the provinces. Immunity from the 5 per cent inheritance tax was extended more widely than heretofore, an improvement was made in the method of adjudicating controversies between the fiscus and private individuals, and an agrarian law provided for a distribution of lands to needy citizens. In addition, Nerva established an alimentary system for the benefit of poor farmers and the children of paupers. This scheme was extended and perfected by succeeding emperors.

The Selection of a Colleague and Successor. In spite of its honesty and respect for constitutional practice, the government of Nerva failed to win the prestige necessary to keep the praetorian guard under control. In 97 A.D. the guard got out of hand and put to death several of those who had taken a leading part in Domitian's assassination. After this, it was clear that the old, ailing, and childless princeps could save his authority and his life only by adopting as his successor a man who could enforce discipline upon the praetorians and receive the unanimous support of the legions, whose loyalty to Nerva was more than suspect. Therefore Nerva formally adopted as his son Marcus Ulpius Traianus, a tried soldier who was in command of the troops in Upper Germany. From the Senate, Trajan

received the title of Caesar, which marked him as Nerva's prospective successor, together with the tribunician authority and proconsular *imperium* which made him virtually a colleague of the princeps. Three months later, on January 25, 98 A.D., Nerva died peacefully in Rome, and a grateful Senate added his name to those of his predecessors in office who had been incorporated among the gods of the Roman state.

II. TRAJAN: 97–117 A.D.

A Provincial as Princeps. Upon the death of Nerva, Trajan automatically succeeded to the principate. A native of the Roman colony of Italica in Farther Spain, whose father nevertheless had had a distinguished career as a senator, he was the first princeps of provincial origin. His appointment indicates how the dominance of the strictly Italian element within the Empire was declining and how the Italian nobility was giving place to a new imperial nobility of wealthy provincials who had won recognition in the service of the state. Trajan himself possessed unusual qualifications for the high office to which he was called. His affability and modesty enabled him to work in harmony with the Senate and at the same time to enjoy the personal affection as well as the respect of civilians and soldiers alike. His military training had been unusually thorough; he was a general of outstanding merit, and his main interest was in military affairs. But he was also an energetic and conscientious administrator, who kept himself well informed on all governmental problems and displayed sound judgment in dealing with them. From the outset he held the reins of government with a firm hand. The praetorian guard was promptly brought under control, and senatorial governors who had taken advantage of Nerva's inertia to abuse their office were placed on trial before the Senate. But there was no suspicion of tyranny. Trajan repeated the oath of Nerva not to pronounce the death sentence upon a senator and rejected all ceremonies and customs associated with claims to deification.

Benevolent Paternalism. In Italy, Trajan extended the system of grants in aid for children of the poor, a step which had first been taken by private individuals in the case of municipalities in which they were interested and had been made a matter of public policy by Nerva. The government made loans to landholders at low rates of interest, and the income from this source was paid over to the municipal authorities, who used it for the support of needy boys and girls. At the same time in Rome children in large numbers were granted the right to share in the public distributions of grain. The primary purpose of this scheme seems to have been to encourage parents to raise children with the object of checking a decline in

the population of Italy. But the farm loans were also a stimulus to Italian agriculture, and in general the imperial government may have been trying to combat a threatened economic decline in Italy occasioned by the competition of the western provinces.

Another example of Trajan's benevolent paternalism is seen in his attempt to rehabilitate municipal finances. Some of the Italian municipalities became heavily indebted owing to mismanagement of public funds and an extravagant building program. In order to guide them out of their financial difficulties, the princeps appointed commissioners called curators to direct or advise the municipal authorities. This practice was not limited to Italy but extended to provincial towns as well. In special cases imperial officials were empowered to deal with problems of municipal finances over wide areas, like the commissioner who was entrusted with the task of restoring order in the free cities of Achaea. And the chief reason why Trajan took over for a time from the Senate the administration of Bithynia was that he might send out Pliny as his legate to put an end to the confusion that reigned in the administration of the municipalities of that province.

Trajan likewise showed his concern for the welfare of the provinces by improving the means of communication with the empire through extensive repairs to existing highways and the construction of many new ones. Some of the latter were designed primarily to serve military purposes, but at the same time they proved of advantage to trade and travel. In addition to the roads, the princeps supported on a generous scale the building of other useful public works such as aqueducts, bridges, canals, and harbor facilities. Rome also was the scene of numerous and costly building operations, of which the most notable was the construction of the magnificent forum named after Trajan himself. The generosity of the princeps revealed itself further in his liberal treatment of the citizens of the capital. He improved the harbor works at Ostia, where the grain for the city was unloaded, and gave encouragement to those engaged in milling and baking. His public distributions of money (*congiaria*) made on three successive occasions were on a scale far exceeding that of any of his predecessors, and the entertainments which he provided in celebration of his victories were unprecedented in their duration and splendor. Those which were given in 107 A.D. to mark the final victory over the Dacians lasted one hundred and twenty-six days, taken up largely with gladiatorial combats and wild-beast hunts.

Aggressive Imperialism: the Dacian Wars. In his foreign policy Trajan broke with the precepts laid down by Augustus and, confident in his own leadership and the strength of the imperial armies, reverted to the aggressive imperialism of the Republican era. His first objective was the conquest of Dacia, for Domitian's agreement with Decebalus was regarded in Rome

as both disgraceful and unsatisfactory since the existence of a strong Dacian kingdom was a perpetual menace to the peace of the lower Danubian provinces. The immediate cause of the opening of hostilities is unknown, but in 101 A.D. Trajan personally led an invasion of Dacia. He was opposed vigorously by Decebalus, who was still king of the Dacians and who proved himself a valiant opponent. In his first campaign, Trajan failed to obtain a decisive result, but in 102 A.D. he penetrated into the heart of Dacia and forced Decebalus to sue for peace. The Dacian king was obliged to give up the Roman technicians whom he had received from Domitian together with his military machines, to acknowledge Roman overlordship, and to render military service to the Empire. Trajan returned to Rome, where he celebrated his victory with a triumph. At his orders a permanent stone bridge was built across the Danube below the Iron Gates to secure communications with the northern bank. But Decebalus was not content to remain a Roman vassal and made preparations to recover his people's independence. In 105 A.D., he provoked a resumption of hostilities by an attack upon the Iazyges, who were Roman allies, which was followed by the annihilation of the small Roman garrisons left in Dacia to secure Roman influence. Trajan hastily left Rome for the front, where he held the Dacians in check while he concentrated a force for a new offensive and won the support of neighboring tribes who had joined Decebalus. In the following year, he invaded Dacia for the second time. His victory was complete, the Dacian capital was taken, and Decebalus in despair took his own life. Such of the Dacians as had not surrendered or did not abandon their country were hunted down and exterminated. Dacia was made a Roman province and was peopled with settlers from different parts of the Empire, particularly from Asia Minor and Syria. From the Dacian gold mines, which were placed under imperial control, came a steady income that helped materially to meet the increased governmental expenditure occasioned by Trajan's internal policy. The military significance of the occupation of Dacia was that the Romans now had a bulwark protecting the provinces to the south of the Danube and a vantage point for controlling the restless tribes both to the east and to the west of the new province. To commemorate his Dacian wars, Trajan erected a stone column one hundred feet high in his new forum. The column, which is still in place, is decorated with a spiral band of sculptured reliefs that give a vivid pictorial narrative of the operations of the successive campaigns.

In north Africa, Trajan continued the policy of his predecessors. He advanced the southern frontier of Numidia to the borders of the Sahara and thus opened up much new land for agricultural settlement. The desert tribes were held in check by stationing the legionary garrison of the province

at the strategic point of Lambaesis, not far from which was founded the colony of Thamugadi (Timgad).

The Invasion of Parthia. Even during his preoccupation with the Dacian question, Trajan found time to devote to problems of the eastern frontier. In 105 A.D., he ordered the governor of Syria to annex the kingdom of the Nabataean Arabs, which lay to the east of southern Syria and Palestine. This task was carried out without serious opposition, and the occupied territory was organized as the province of Arabia (106 A.D.). Possession of the region gave the Romans control of the caravan routes leading from the Arabian coast of the Red Sea northward to Damascus and the harbor towns of Syria.

A much more serious venture was Trajan's attempt to apply to the Armenian and Mesopotamian frontiers the methods which had proved successful on the Lower Danube. The opportunity came when about 110 A.D. the Parthian king Osroes deposed the Armenian ruler who held his crown as a gift of Rome and appointed as king a new member of the Parthian royal house without consulting the Roman emperor, thus breaking the arrangement that had preserved peace between Rome and Parthia since the time of Nero. Trajan, knowing that the Parthians had carried on negotiations with Decebalus, determined to take advantage of this infringement of Rome's treaty rights in Armenia in order to effect a settlement of the frontier difficulties in this quarter on an entirely new basis. Leaving Rome in the autumn of 113 A.D., he proceeded to the East and invaded Armenia in the course of the following summer at the head of a large army. Little resistance was encountered, the Armenian king was removed, and his country was made a Roman imperial province. From Armenia, Trajan led his forces into upper Mesopotamia, where the rulers of the several petty states either acknowledged his overlordship or took refuge in flight. After the Roman occupation of Armenia, this region for strategic reasons could not be left in Parthian hands, and like Armenia it received the status of a Roman province. Leaving garrisons in the newly won territories, Trajan withdrew to spend the winter of 114–115 A.D. in Antioch. After his conquest of Armenia, he added the name Optimus to the list of his official titles. The lack of opposition which he had thus far encountered decided Trajan to complete the conquest of Mesopotamia. In the spring of 115 A.D., he opened his offensive with an attack on Adiabene, a state on the left bank of the Tigris whose king remained loyal to his Parthian overlord. Adiabene fell an easy prey to the Roman arms, and from it was formed another province known as Assyria. The way was now open to the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon, which surrendered at the approach of the Roman Emperor. From here, during the winter of 115–16 A.D., Trajan sailed down the Tigris to the head of the

Persian Gulf, from which he returned to Babylon. There he learned that Assyria and Mesopotamia were in revolt and that Parthian armies were advancing on Assyria and Armenia. The situation was dangerous for the Romans. They had overrun rather than conquered the lands which they had annexed because Osroes was engaged in suppressing revolts among his own people and could not spare troops to oppose them. Now, however, he was in a position to attempt the recovery of his lost dominions. But Trajan and his generals proved equal to the emergency. After some initial defeats, the Roman armies recovered control of both northern and southern Mesopotamia. Assyria, however, was lost, and the Parthian invasion of Armenia was checked only by the surrender of a part of the country. Trajan felt that it would be too difficult a task to retain control of southern Mesopotamia, and so he turned it over to a Parthian noble who had deserted to the Romans and who was crowned at Ctesiphon as King of Parthia. Trajan himself withdrew to Antioch.

The partial surrender of the Roman conquests was to a considerable degree due to a serious rebellion of the Jews in the eastern provinces. This began in Cyrenaica in 115 A.D. and spread rapidly to Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. In its inception, the movement was an outgrowth of bickerings between the Jews and their Hellenic or Hellenized neighbors but developed into a challenge to Roman authority, particularly after the Parthian successes of 116 A.D. Wherever the Jews got the upper hand, they perpetrated horrible massacres upon the Greeks, who retaliated in kind when they found opportunity. Trajan acted promptly, and the rebels were ruthlessly suppressed. Order was restored everywhere except in Egypt, where fighting went on under Trajan's successor; but the scars of the conflict took long to obliterate.

The Death of Trajan. In the early summer of 117 A.D., Trajan made preparations for another campaign in Mesopotamia to support his appointee to the Parthian throne, who was unable to maintain his position. But worn out by his strenuous exertions of the preceding three years, he became ill and left Antioch for Rome. On the way he grew worse and died at Selinus in Cilicia about August 9, 117 A.D. When at the point of death, he adopted as his son his younger relative and one-time ward, Publius Aelius Hadrianus, whom he had left in command in the East. Trajan's conduct and achievements in war and peace alike caught the imagination of the Romans and caused his memory to be treasured through the following centuries. For later generations, he was the Optimus Princeps, the model emperor.

III. HADRIAN

Hadrian's Accession. When the report of Hadrian's adoption reached the army in Syria, the soldiers immediately saluted him as Imperator. He at once assumed the powers and titles of the principate, and when the news reached Rome the Senate could only accept the accomplished fact and confirm him in his authority. Hadrian, also a native of Italica, was a son of a cousin of Trajan's, had married Sabina, a granddaughter of Trajan's sister Marciana, and since early youth had been closely associated with his predecessor. Nevertheless Trajan had not marked him out as his successor by taking him as a partner in the *imperium* or the tribunician authority. Indeed, there were those who believed that the story of his adoption was a fiction devised by Trajan's widow, Plotina, who wished to secure the succession for Hadrian. But the new princeps had had a distinguished military career and enjoyed the loyal support and confidence of the army, so that he appears to have been the logical choice to follow his countryman in the principate. The only opposition to him seems to have come from a small number of Trajan's generals who were his natural rivals and may have resented his abandonment of Trajan's policies. At any rate four outstanding members of this group, among them the noted Moorish cavalry leader Lucius Quietus, were accused of conspiring against Hadrian in 118 A.D. and were condemned to death by the Senate before the princeps had returned to Italy. Upon his accession, Hadrian had made an unusually generous donation to the soldiers. When he arrived in Rome, he treated the city populace with like liberality, and soon after he remitted to defaulting taxpayers in Italy and the provinces the arrears of the past fifteen years, amounting to some $45,000,000.

Governmental Policy. Hadrian's accession continued the dominance of the provincial, and in particular of the Spanish, influence in the government of the empire. Far more than his predecessor, the new princeps took a broad imperial, as contrasted with a more traditionally Roman, conception of the character of the empire and the objectives of imperial policy. His early education had been predominantly Hellenic, and from this he derived both a great admiration for Hellenism in itself and a deep appreciation of its basic importance in the contemporary Greco-Roman civilization. It was not for nothing that he had been dubbed a "Greekling," a nickname which still implied a certain degree of scorn in some circles at Rome.

Hadrian was a man of restless energy and extraordinary versatility. Taking as his motto the philosophic dictum that "the ruler exists for the state, not the state for the ruler," he exhibited the most unsparing devotion to

duty in his endeavor to govern in accordance with this standard. There was no branch of the administration in which he did not display a zealous interest and upon which he failed to leave a profound impression. In order to acquaint himself thoroughly with the needs of the various sections of the empire and to take measures to promote their welfare, he made two extended tours through the provinces, one in 121–126 A.D., the other in 129–132 A.D., and altogether spent more than half of his principate on duty outside of Italy. Regarding the principate itself, he continued the attitude of Trajan. He treated the Senate with respect and consideration; he took an oath, which he carefully observed until towards the close of his career, not to condemn its members to death; but at the same time, he did not accord it any significant share in the government. Deeply and continuously immersed though he was in affairs of state, Hadrian yet found time to foster cultural interests and showed a keen appreciation of literary studies and of the various forms of art.

Defensive Imperialism. Trajan's invasion of Parthia had depleted the Roman treasury and failed to accomplish his purpose of settling the problem of the eastern frontier. The Roman hold on Armenia and Mesopotamia was precarious, and the Roman nominee to the Parthian throne could not maintain his position. In addition, trouble had broken out on the lower Danube, in Mauretania, and in Britain, while the Jewish revolt had not yet been completely suppressed. A period of peace and recuperation was a necessity, and Hadrian immediately took steps to secure it. He concluded peace with the Parthians, surrendering all claims to Assyria and Mesopotamia and reverting to the previous Roman policy of treating Armenia as a nominally client kingdom under a Parthian ruler who acknowledged Roman overlordship. In his frontier policy, Hadrian stood strictly upon the defensive. His ideal was a peaceful and prosperous state, adequately protected against attack from without, devoting its energies to the highest development of its economic and cultural resources. On all sides, he strengthened the border defences and their garrisons, particularly in Britain, where he ordered the construction of his famous Wall from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth, and along the frontier in Germany. As a result the imperial forces were gradually transformed into garrison troops, recruited for the most part from the border provinces, changes which later exercised a profound influence upon the fate of the empire. At the same time, under the Emperor's watchful eye the standards of discipline and efficiency among the troops were maintained at the highest level. The only serious military operation which Hadrian was called upon to undertake was the suppression of a new rebellion of the Jews in Palestine. This was occasioned by their resentment at the founding of a Roman colony at Jerusalem,

with an altar to Jupiter on the site of the former Temple of Jahweh, and Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision, which he regarded as inhumane. Under the leadership of Simon, called Bar Kochba (Son of the Star), the Jews seized Jerusalem and defied the Roman armies. Only after a struggle of two years (132–134 A.D.), in which both parties fought with great ferocity and the Jewish population of Judaea was practically exterminated, could the revolt be put down.

Administrative Reforms. To aid him in administering justice and framing legislation, Hadrian organized a council of eminent jurists. Under his auspices, Salvius Julianus, one of the most influential Roman legal writers, codified and edited the Praetor's Edict, which now embodied to a substantial degree the principles and procedures of the Roman Civil Law. In order to relieve the praetors' courts of their excessively heavy dockets, Italy outside of Rome was divided into four districts, each under a judicial officer of consular rank appointed by the emperor. This was a further step in the gradual breaking-down of the Senate's administrative control of Italy and in the approximation of its status to that of a province. One of the more significant of Hadrian's innovations was the permanent substitution of equestrians for freedmen as chiefs of the great secretarial bureaus in charge of the fiscus, the imperial correspondence, etc., a step which had been anticipated for a short time by Otho and in special cases by subsequent emperors. Another was the creation of the class of officials called advocates of the fiscus (*advocati fisci*) or prosecutors for the treasury, whose office was regarded as an alternative for the subordinate military commands in the equestrian public career. Hadrian also reorganized the system of the imperial post or government messenger service (*cursus publicus*) by placing it under the direction of a control bureau in Rome headed by a prefect. These and other changes greatly enhanced the importance of the equestrian class and its influence in the government of the empire. In the military, civil, and judicial administration alike, the principate of Hadrian marked the beginning of a new epoch.

Public Works. Hadrian's expert handling of the imperial finances enabled him to carry out a tremendous building program from which all parts of the empire benefited. He founded many cities; among them Antinoopolis in Egypt in honor of his favorite Antinous, who was drowned in the Nile, and Adrianople in European Turkey, which still preserves his name. He was particularly devoted to Athens, where he held the office of archon and where he completed the great temple of Olympian Zeus begun by the tyrant Peisistratus in the sixth century B.C., besides adding a new suburb known as "the city of Hadrian." In Rome, in addition to many lesser structures, Hadrian erected a magnificent double temple to Venus and Roma and his own

mausoleum, the present Castel Sant' Angelo. At Tibur (Tivoli) he built himself a splendid villa adorned with masterpieces of the sculptor's art.

The Choice of a Successor. Hadrian had no children and no intimate and trusted friends with whom he shared his plans. His aloofness created a feeling of suspicion towards him on the part of the Senate, which finally grew into definite hostility. In 136 A.D., he fell ill of a painful and incurable disease, which warned him that he must provide for a successor. His aged brother-in-law, who showed signs of aspiring to the principate, was executed together with his youthful grandson. The choice of the emperor fell upon a senator named Lucius Ceionius Commodus, whom he adopted as Lucius Aelius Caesar and caused to be clothed with the tribunician authority. But Aelius died early in 138 A.D., and thereupon Hadrian adopted another senator Titus Aurelius Antoninus, a member of a Roman family from Narbonese Gaul. Since Antoninus was well advanced in age, Hadrian made him in turn adopt the son of the deceased Commodus, Lucius Verus, and also Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, a nephew of the emperor's wife and, like her, of Spanish descent. Antoninus received both the *imperium* and tribunician authority and became Hadrian's partner in the principate. When Hadrian succumbed to his malady, on July 10, 138 A.D., the energetic action of his successor prevented the Senate from execrating his memory and secured his deification.

IV. THE ANTONINES: 138–192 A.D.

Antoninus Pius: 138–161 A.D. The death of Hadrian left Aurelius Antoninus in sole possession of the principate. His action in securing the deification of his adoptive father from the reluctant Senate won for him the title of Pius, as the personification of the Roman virtue of piety or sense of obligation in both divine and human affairs. His filial piety was shown still further in his completion of Hadrian's tomb and the erection of a temple for his worship as Divus Hadrianus. Just and mild in his public as well as his private life, Antoninus was able to act in perfect harmony with the senators, in accordance with whose wishes he removed the four judges whom Hadrian had appointed for the administration of justice in Italy.

In general, the policy of Antoninus was a continuation of that of Hadrian. Although called upon to repress serious frontier troubles in Britain and Mauretania, to check Parthian encroachments in Armenia by a vigorous remonstrance, and to put down some minor insurrections in the eastern provinces, he adhered strictly to a defensive frontier policy. He improved the border defences, notably in Rhaetia and in Britain, where he had an earthen wall built from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Forth well to the north of Hadrian's Wall. Unlike Hadrian, however, Antoninus refrained

from visiting the provinces in person because of the expense which imperial journeys caused the provincial communities. Owing to his careful handling of the public finances, he was able to give liberal entertainments to the Roman populace, carry out numerous building projects, and yet at the same time remit delinquent taxes. Probably the greatest achievement of this principate was in the field of Roman law. Not only did Antoninus lay great emphasis upon the impartial administration of justice, but the law itself was greatly liberalized through the introduction of principles of equity and began to receive at the hands of juristic writers the systematic form which it later displayed.

In 139 A.D., Antoninus conferred the title of Caesar upon the elder of his adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius, to whom six years later he gave his daughter in marriage. Then in 146 A.D. he caused the Senate to confer upon Marcus the tribunician authority and the *imperium* outside of Rome. Henceforward, Marcus was a junior partner in the principate. When Antoninus died in March, 161 A.D., he at once became sole princeps.

The Dual Principate: Marcus Aurelius (161–180 A.D.) and Lucius Verus (161–169 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius took as his colleague his adoptive brother, Lucius Verus, and for the first time a principate was inaugurated under the joint rule of two Augusti. But the real power rested in the hands of Marcus, for Verus was a weak character, indolent and sensual, whose chief merit was that in matters of government at least he loyally deferred to his brother's judgment. Marcus Aurelius himself was by nature a student and philosopher and a devoted follower of the Stoic rule of life. His truly noble character is revealed to us in the record of his communings with himself, which he wrote down and which are known to us as his *Meditations*. Fired by no ambition and lacking any enthusiasm for his task, he nevertheless undertook the government of the Roman Empire as a duty and devoted himself unsparingly to this service. It was a bitter irony that he, ideally fitted for peace, should have been called upon to spend his remaining years in an almost unceasing struggle to save the state from its external foes.

War with the Parthians: 161–165 A.D. At the very beginning of the new régime, the Parthian king, Vologases III, began hostilities with an invasion of Armenia. The Roman legate of Cappadocia, who led an army to meet the attack, was defeated and killed. The Parthians broke into Syria, where they won a victory over the Roman garrison and ravaged the country far and wide. In view of the critical situation, Marcus Aurelius sent Verus to the East, where, although he himself displayed neither energy nor capacity, his able generals restored the fortune of the Roman arms. In 163 A.D., Statius Priscus re-established Roman authority over Armenia and placed a new Roman vassal on the throne. Then, in 164–165 A.D., Avidius Cassius marched

into Mesopotamia and captured both Seleucia and the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon. But he was unable to reap the fruits of his victory since an outbreak of disease among his troops forced him to make a retreat in which the army suffered serious losses from sickness and hunger. For the moment the Parthians recovered their lost ground in Mesopotamia and even regained control of Armenia. Nevertheless, in 166 A.D., the Romans resumed the offensive, drove the Parthians out of northern Mesopotamia and permanently occupied it as far east as the Khabur river. A few years later they removed the Parthian governor of Armenia and made it once again a Roman client state. But these gains hardly compensated for the havoc wrought by the plague, possibly smallpox, which the soldiers returning from the East spread throughout the empire, where it caused a serious decline in population.

War on the Danubian Frontier: 167–175 A.D. Before the eastern situation had reached a satisfactory settlement, a much more serious condition had developed on the Danubian frontier. There, apparently in consequence of the pressure exerted upon them by migratory peoples further to the north, the Marcomanni, Quadi, Iazyges, and some lesser tribes united in an attempt to force their way into the Roman provinces. The army of the Danube, weakened by the withdrawal of strong detachments for service in the East, was unable to check their assaults; Noricum and Pannonia were overrun, and the barbarians reached Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic. Conditions were really critical, owing to the lack of adequate troops, the disorganization caused in army camps by the plague, and the depletion of the treasury through the expenses involved in the Parthian War, and Marcus Aurelius was forced to adopt heroic measures to cope with them. He raised money by auctioning off the treasures of the imperial household; he drafted slaves and gladiators into the army and even hired mercenaries among the Germans and Scythians. Marcus himself, accompanied by Verus, assumed direct command of the operations against the invaders. Aquileia was relieved of its besiegers, and the struggle for the recovery of Noricum and Pannonia began. While this was still in progress, Lucius Verus died of apoplexy (169 A.D.), leaving Marcus as sole Augustus. The latter continued to press the war with vigor, the barbarians were driven back across the Danube, and, in spite of a serious invasion of Dacia and a raid of a people called the Costoboci which penetrated the Balkan peninsula as far as Athens, the Romans definitely gained the upper hand. In 172 A.D., the emperor was able to cross the Danube and defeat the Quadi in their own territory. A similar fate met the Marcomanni in the following year. Both peoples were forced to surrender their captives, together with large numbers of cattle and horses, and to render military service to Rome, while some thousands of

them were settled on waste lands in the provinces under the obligation of tilling the soil and serving in the Roman armies. It remained to deal with the Iazyges and the Costoboci of eastern Galicia. These also were attacked in their homelands with the aid of the German allies of the Romans, while the Quadi were punished again for failure to observe the terms of their treaty. Marcus became convinced that the only way to obtain lasting peace was to follow the example set by Trajan in dealing with the Dacians, and he therefore laid plans to annex the lands of the Marcomanni and Sarmatians. But news of the rise of a usurper in Syria compelled him to forego this project and content himself with imposing the same terms on the Iazyges as he had upon the Marcomanni and Quadi (175 A.D.). The victories of the campaigns of 172–175 A.D. were commemorated by a column erected in Rome by Marcus' son and successor with reliefs depicting scenes from the military operations in imitation of Trajan's memorial of the Dacian Wars.

The Dual Principate Again: Marcus Aurelius and Commodus: 177–180 A.D. While he was engaged in combatting the barbarians of central Europe, the peace of the empire was further disturbed by an outbreak in Gaul, a rising of the Moorish tribes in Mauretania, and a serious rebellion of the herdsmen of the Nile Delta in Egypt. The last-mentioned revolt was put down only by the intervention of the famous general of the Parthian War, Avidius Cassius, who had been legate in his native province of Syria since 167 A.D., and since 169 A.D. had been entrusted with the general oversight of affairs in the East. Upon a false report of the death of Marcus, Cassius proclaimed himself emperor and won recognition in Syria, Judaea, Cilicia, and Egypt (175 A.D.). It was the news of this usurpation that forced Marcus to bring the war with the Iazyges to a hurried conclusion so that he could proceed to the East as soon as possible. Upon his arrival there, he found that the news of his approach had caused Cassius to be deserted and put to death by his own followers. But the episode had warned the princeps of the necessity of making proper provision for a successor. Accordingly upon his return to Rome, he had his son, Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, then a mere youth of sixteen, proclaimed Augustus and made his partner in office.

The Danubian Problem Once More: 178–180 A.D. It was not long until the restless tribes on the Danubian frontier caused fresh troubles which called Marcus Aurelius again to take command of Roman forces in the field, where he later was joined by Commodus. Once more he subdued the Marcomanni and the Quadi and again laid plans for the permanent Roman occupation of their territory, which included modern Bohemia and Moravia, in order to strengthen the defences of the empire in this quarter. But for a second time he was robbed of the fruits of his victory, on this occasion by

the hand of death. Marcus Aurelius died at Vindobona (Vienna) on March 17, 180 A.D., and the principate passed to Commodus whom he had enjoined to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

Commodus Sole Princeps: 180–192 A.D. Commodus, the ignoble son of a noble father, is one of the few in the long line of the Roman emperors of whom nothing good can be said. Although it may seem strange that Marcus Aurelius, who could not have been blind to his weaknesses, nevertheless took him as a colleague and so designated him as his successor, it must be remembered that, short of putting him to death, it was practically impossible to exclude him from the principate. One possibility, however, remained untried, namely, to have given him a senior colleague who might have stood to him in the same relation as Marcus himself had stood to Verus. It may have been that Marcus entertained the vain hope that the responsibilities of office would sober the young man or that he would take the advice of his father's tried and trusted subordinates.

Disregarding his parental injunctions, Commodus made peace with the Marcomanni and Quadi upon the same terms that they had previously enjoyed, and even these he subsequently relaxed. As soon as possible, he hastened back to Rome to enjoy the delights of the capital. Cowardly, cruel, and sensual, he gave himself up to a life of pleasure and left the conduct of the government in the hands of a succession of favorites who used their power to further their own interests. Proud of his physical strength, he sought to win the plaudits of the mob by appearing in the arena as a hunter of wild beasts or as a gladiator who incurred no risks in killing his opponents. His patron god was Hercules, whose emblems of club and lion's skin were depicted on his statues, and of whom he regarded himself the living manifestation.

Quite indifferent to any principles of government, Commodus scorned the Senate; and when a conspiracy against his life was detected, his vengeance fell heavily on the senatorial order. But by largesses and favors, he maintained the support of the praetorians, who in return protected him from his enemies. In spite of his neglect of his duties, the provincial commanders maintained the integrity of the empire. Border wars, with the Moors, with the Caledonians in Britain, and with other tribes in Dacia, were waged with success; but a mutiny of the troops in Britain was checked only by acquiescence in their demands. More alarming were the serious outbreaks within the empire, due apparently to economic distress. Gangs of robbers roamed throughout Italy, and in Gaul the disorderly elements formed bands large enough to capture cities and wage open war with the government forces.

The extravagance of the princeps and his associates emptied the treasury and created a financial crisis. Resort was had to informers, through whose

agency judicial murders were perpetrated with widespread confiscation of property. Meantime, Commodus took the final step in a despot's career by seeking deification and actually issued coins on which he appeared as a god. In his infatuation with gladiatorial exploits he finally determined to assume the consulate on January 1, 193 A.D. in a gladiator's costume. But on the preceding night he was strangled by his wrestling companion, who had been bribed by the praetorian prefect, Quintus Aemilius Laetus, who feared for his own safety, with the collusion of the favorite mistress and the chamberlain of the despicable ruler.

V. THE DYNASTY OF THE SEVERI: 193–235 A.D.

The Second War of the Legions: 193 A.D. The events of the years which followed the death of Commodus resemble those of 68–69 A.D., when the praetorian guard mutinied and appointed a princeps of its own choosing, only to find that the great frontier armies refused to acquiesce in its action and engaged in civil war to secure the succession for rival claimants of their own. At first, the praetorians accepted the nominee of their prefect Laetus, Publius Helvius Pertinax, a senator of humble birth but proved military and administrative capacity who was then City Prefect. His nomination met with the approval of the Senate, who readily accorded him the honors and power of the principate. But Pertinax was no tool of those who had raised him to power and maintained discipline in the guard with a firm hand. This, coupled with his economies necessitated by the exhausted condition of the treasury, cost him the support of both of the praetorians and the subordinates of the imperial establishment. After a brief rule of less than three months, he was murdered by a mutinous detachment of the guardsmen (March 28, 193 A.D.). Thereupon the praetorians, whose support was courted by two rivals for the vacant office, auctioned off the nomination to an elderly and wealthy senator, Marcus Didius Julianus, who promised them a donative of 25,000 sesterces ($1250) apiece. The Senate could do nothing but confirm their choice.

But the news of the death of Pertinax and the succession of Julianus provoked revolts in two of the great army corps of the empire, those of the East and of the Danubian frontier. Almost simultaneously Gaius Pescennius Niger, the legate of Syria, and Publius Septimius Severus, legate of Upper Pannonia, were saluted as Imperator by the troops under their command. The sympathies of both the people and the Senate in Rome seem to have been with Niger, but Severus was nearer to Rome and hastened to take advantage of his position in securing recognition of his claims. Assured of the support of the four legions on the Rhine, as well as of at least eleven of

the twelve stationed along the Danube, he marched rapidly upon Rome, assuming the name Pertinax to indicate that he regarded himself both as the avenger of the murdered princeps and an adherent of his principles of government. Julianus at first prepared to offer resistance, then tried vainly to make terms with Severus. When the praetorians prepared to save themselves by deserting their appointee, the Senate, which had been forced by Julianus to proclaim Severus a public enemy, now took courage to deify Pertinax, to condemn Julianus himself to death, and to ratify the nomination of Severus. A soldier murdered Julianus on June 1, and a few days later Severus entered Rome at the head of his troops. He distributed the customary donation to the soldiery and the populace, took an oath not to execute a senator without a trial before the Senate, and punished through its agency some of the supporters of Julianus. Besides executing those of the praetorians who had taken part in the murder of Pertinax, Severus had already disarmed and disbanded the whole guard, which he replaced by a new one of 15,000 veterans from the Danubian legions upon whose loyalty he could depend. But his position was by no means secure, since Pescennius Niger had obtained recognition in the eastern provinces, was in a position to cut off the Egyptian supply of grain to Rome, and had already sent an advance guard into Europe, where it occupied Byzantium, which commanded the crossing of the Bosporus. Before leaving for the East, however, Severus felt it necessary to guard against a revolt by the legate in Britain, Clodius Albinus, who like Niger was popular in Rome and was suspected of entertaining hopes of the principate. He therefore offered Albinus the position of Caesar, which would indicate that he was next in line for the succession and, when Albinus accepted, had this title conferred upon him by the Senate.

The War with Pescennius Niger; 193–194 A.D. Severus was now able to follow the troops which he had already dispatched to check the advance of Niger's army. Before he arrived at the scene of war, however, his generals had blockaded Byzantium and crossed over into Asia Minor, where they had won two military victories over their opponents, one near Cyzicus and the other near Nicaea. When Severus brought up reinforcements, Niger withdrew into Syria south of the Taurus mountains. In the spring of 194 A.D., Severus descended into Cilicia and defeated Niger in a decisive battle at Issus. Niger tried to escape into Parthia but was overtaken and killed. Heavy penalties were meted out to the individuals and communities who had supported him. Severus then determined to invade Mesopotamia, where the client state of Osrhoëne had revolted and Roman influence was endangered. Overrunning Osrhoëne and upper Mesopotamia as far as the Tigris, he sent an army across that river into Adiabene. But from these exploits he was recalled to meet a new danger in the western part of the empire

(December, 195 A.D.). In the meantime, however, Byzantium, which had held out against its besiegers for more than two years, was forced by famine to surrender. Its fortifications were destroyed, its officials and garrison put to death, the property of its citizens confiscated, and it was reduced to the status of a village dependent upon the neighboring city of Perinthus.

The Defeat of Clodius Albinus; 196–197 A.D. The situation which demanded the presence of Severus and his army in the West was brought about by the attempt of Albinus to secure his position by laying claim to the principate. He had gradually come to realize that Severus and his ambitious Syrian wife, Julia Domna, had no intention of allowing the succession to pass to him instead of to their own sons and that unless he acted with speed he could not escape the net which had been prepared for him. Acting in collusion with a large number of the senators in Rome, he had himself proclaimed Augustus by his soldiery and crossed over into Gaul, where he established his headquarters at Lugdunum. Severus replied by having Albinus declared a public enemy by the army in Mesopotamia and later causing it to proclaim his eldest son, Bassianus, better known as Caracalla, as Caesar with the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. In February, 197 A.D., the armies of the rival emperors faced each other at Lyons. After a desperate struggle, the Danubian legions gained the day, and Albinus in despair took his own life. Lugdunum, the richest city in the western provinces, was sacked and burned and never recovered its prosperity in ancient times. Severus was now the unchallenged ruler of the Empire and could take full vengeance upon his enemies. The erstwhile supporters of Albinus in Gaul, Germany, Britain, and Spain were relentlessly hunted down, and in Rome twenty-nine senators convicted of intriguing with him were hurried to execution. At the demand of Severus, the Senate confirmed the army's nomination of Caracalla as Caesar together with his use of the Antonine name, to which they added the title of Emperor Designate (*imperator destinatus*). After a short stay in Rome, Severus was called once more to the East because of the aggressive action of the Parthian ruler.

The Second Parthian War; 197–199 A.D. Taking advantage of Roman preoccupation with the struggle between the rival emperors, Vologases IV, King of Parthia, had invaded Armenia and northern Mesopotamia, where he laid siege to the Roman stronghold Nisibis. At the approach of Severus in the spring of 198 A.D., Vologases raised the siege of Nisibis and retreated before the Romans, who pressed on into Parthian territory. Seleucia on the Tigris was occupied without opposition; and Ctesiphon, which was vigorously defended, was taken and sacked. On his return march up the Tigris valley, Severus made a fruitless attempt to capture the strong rock fortress of Hatra, which had defied the efforts of Trajan to storm it. A second at-

tempt in 199 A.D. was equally unsuccessful. But northern Mesopotamia remained firmly in Roman hands and was organized as a province with Nisibis as its capital. On the other hand, the failure of the Parthians to check the Roman invasion and the destruction of their capital hastened the internal decay of their empire. After spending two more years in the East visiting Egypt and other provinces, Severus and his family returned to Rome in 202 A.D. to celebrate the tenth anniversary of his salutation as Imperator.

The Government of Septimius Severus. Severus was a native of Leptis Magna in Tripoli, which formed part of the Roman province of Africa. His family, although Romanized, was of Punic stock and retained traditions of Phoenician culture. Born to equestrian rank, he had begun his public life as an advocate of the *fiscus* but was admitted to senatorial status by Marcus Aurelius and thereafter followed the career of a senator. In spite of this, he exhibited to a greater degree than any of his predecessors a provincial point of view on problems of imperial government, an attitude in which he was strengthened by his Syrian wife and the Africans and Syrians whom he chose as his advisers. Possessed of wide administrative and military experience, endowed with considerable intellectual ability, determined, even ruthless in attaining his ends, Severus followed a consistent plan in his governmental policy and profoundly modified the structure of the principate. From the first he aimed to found a new dynasty, and as a necessary step towards this he proclaimed himself in 194 A.D. the son by adoption of Marcus Aurelius and so made himself the descendant and heir of the deified emperors since Nerva. To vindicate the honor of his family, he obliged the Senate to annul their condemnation of Commodus and to accord him deification as the army had already done at his instigation. The ruling family then became a deified household (*domus divina*), basing in large degree its claim to rule on its divine ancestry. No wonder that the term *dominus* came into regular use for a princeps with this background and that Rome as the imperial residence was called the "sacred" city.

Without any appreciation of the Roman traditions regarding the character of the principate and its constitutional position, Severus rode roughshod over the conventions observed by the ablest of his predecessors. He excluded the Senate from any share in the conduct of the government; even when he brought matters of state to their attention it was in the form of an address expressing his own point of view, which it ratified without discussion. The personnel of the Senate was profoundly altered by the admission of large numbers of provincials, particularly from Africa and Syria, as well as by the practice of nominating the sons of the highest legionary centurions to the military tribuneships that opened the senatorial career. He infringed upon the prerogatives of senators by appointing acting governors of equestrian

rank in place of senatorial legates, in substituting equestrians for senators in other administrative positions, and in placing the three legions which he raised for his second Parthian War under the command of equestrian prefects. The privileged position hitherto enjoyed by Italy in respect to the provinces was equally disregarded. Italians were excluded from service in the praetorian guard, and one of the newly raised legions was stationed on Italian soil in the vicinity of Rome. The old standing courts presided over by the praetors were abolished, and jurisdiction in the cases which they had tried was transferred to the City Prefect in Rome and within a circuit of one hundred miles of the city and to the Praetorian Prefect beyond that limit.

As the importance of the senatorial order declined, that of the equestrians in the imperial service rose correspondingly. In particular, the praetorian prefecture gained greatly in power and prestige. Not only did the prefect judge cases arising in Italy beyond the hundredth milestone from Rome, but he also as the deputy of the princeps heard appeals from provincial tribunals. The supervision of the transportation of grain to Rome was taken from the prefect of the grain supply and given to the praetorian prefecture. In the absence of the princeps, the praetorian prefect presided over his judicial council, which had really supplanted the Senate as a council of state; and he was the commander in chief of all the armed forces in Italy. From 193 to 205 A.D., this office was held by Gaius Fulvius Plautianus, who like Severus was born in Africa, at first with a colleague but alone after 200 A.D. Owing to the concentration of authority in his hands and the degree to which he enjoyed the confidence of Severus, his position was even more powerful than that of Seianus under Tiberius. In spite of his unpopularity with Julia Domna, Plautianus induced Severus to marry his daughter, Plautilla, to Caracalla, then co-Augustus with his father (202 A.D.). But Caracalla, instigated by his mother and personally resenting the influence of Plautianus, caused his downfall. He instigated a false charge of treason against his father-in-law and, when the latter denied the accusation, had him killed by a lictor in the presence of the princeps himself. Thereafter Severus revived the practice of having two praetorian prefects in office at the same time, and his election of the jurist Papinianus as one of his new appointees testifies to the increased importance of the judicial duties of the prefecture.

Severus himself took a keen interest in legal questions, and this, added to the presence of several distinguished lawyers in his council, accounts for the numerous and important changes in the Roman law that date from his principate. In general, these follow the humanitarian tendencies shown in the legislation of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, liberalizing the provisions of the Roman law by introducing principles and prac-

tices drawn from legal systems of non-Roman origin that were in vogue in the Hellenistic East and in developing legal concepts based on Stoic philosophy. Characteristic also is the effort to protect the weaker members of society against oppression or exploitation by the stronger, and those of inferior political status (the *humiliores*) against the pressure of the official classes (the *honestiores*).

In his conception of the principate Severus regarded the army as the prime source of the imperial authority and accorded to the soldiery preferential treatment which accorded with this view. He owed his own nomination and his victory over his rivals to the legions under his command, and the importance which he attached to their role in the choice of a princeps is shown by his having them declare Albinus a public enemy, Caracalla a Caesar, and Commodus a *divus,* all before he brought these actions before the Senate for confirmation. We may regard the recruitment of the praetorian guard from selected legionaries, the creation of a new personal bodyguard of mounted troops (the *equites singulares*), and the garrisoning of the legion at the Alban Lake as intended to eliminate all hope of opposition to the ruler in Rome and Italy; but at the same time they served to create the nucleus of a mobile field force ready to operate where needed under the emperor's command. Although Severus increased the pay of the legionaries by one third, this probably did no more than compensate them for the rise in prices due to inflation of the currency. A greater evidence of his favor was the permission granted to the troops to contract legal marriages while still in service and to live with their families in settlements adjacent to the army camps. Veterans were excused from the obligations of office-holding and other public services in the municipalities in which they settled, while discharged centurions were freely admitted to equestrian status and positions in the imperial civil service. In spite of these and other concessions, there is no evidence that Severus relaxed the training and discipline of the soldiers nor that he deliberately fostered the provincialization of the legions by excluding Italians from the centuriate. Provincialization was the inevitable result of the Romanization of the provinces and of the recruitment of the legions from the areas in which they had their permanent quarters. But there can be little doubt that the policy of Severus made the army more conscious of its superiority to the civilian elements in the Empire.

Severus paid great attention to the welfare of the provincials. He endeavored to secure them protection from outside attack as well as from internal disorders. The border defences were repaired or improved, and much was done to stimulate municipal prosperity as well as to repair the losses caused by the civil wars and the brigandage which followed in their wake. Antioch, once punished for its support of Niger, recovered its auton-

omy, as did Byzantium, which was rebuilt on a generous scale. Syria and Britain were each divided into two provinces, and Numidia was separated from Africa, probably with a view to weakening the influence of the governors concerned. The governors, now generally called *praesides,* found themselves strictly supervised and prevented from exploiting the provincials under their authority. Great attention was paid to municipal organization, including the rights and duties of the different classes of the population. For fiscal reasons, Alexandria and the native towns of Egypt were granted municipal councils, which there as elsewhere now became responsible for the collection of local taxes and the performance of other obligations devolving upon the local administrative centers. Although the associations of businessmen and craftsmen who had to undertake certain public services were exempt from other duties, their own responsibilities were more clearly defined and sharply enforced. In Syria, the Danubian provinces, and particularly in Africa the imperial policy bore fruitful results. These regions also profited greatly from imperial generosity in the construction of public works of various sorts.

Severus inherited an empty treasury and at the outset of his principate had to undertake two costly wars. His building program, his generosity to the city populace and the soldiers, and an increase in the military and civil services added to the normal expenses of the government. The need of more money was met in part by depreciating the silver coinage by about 20 per cent, so that the denarius contained only some 50 per cent of precious metal. But to a far greater extent the additional revenue was provided from the wholesale confiscation of property of those who had supported his rival, Albinus. The extent of these properties was so great that for their administration it was necessary to create a separate treasury department called the *Res* or *Ratio Privata* (the Private Purse). Although, as the name indicates, the estates of the *Res Privata* were regarded as the personal property of the princeps, the officials in charge of this department were regular members of the imperial service, and the revenues which they administered were used largely to meet the costs of government.

War in Britain and the Death of Severus; 208–211 A.D. The withdrawal of the troops of Albinus from Britain in 196 A.D. had so weakened its garrison that the province had suffered repeated raids of the Caledonians from the northern part of the island. The Romans had been forced to give up the land between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and even Hadrian's Wall itself had been breached and destroyed. But between 204 and 207 A.D. the Roman commanders gradually got the situation in hand and rebuilt the Wall as well as fortifications farther south. In 208 A.D. Severus himself took the field, accompanied by both his sons, very probably to give the latter a



THE CAPITOLIUM AT DOUGGA (THUGGA) IN ROMAN AFRICA
Built under Aurelius and Lucius Verus

chance to share in a victorious war. Caracalla, the elder, had been saluted as Augustus by the army as early as 198 A.D., while at the same time his younger brother Geta had been made Caesar. After a successful campaign in which he penetrated far into Scotland, Severus conferred the title of Augustus upon Geta also (209 A.D.). But fighting was resumed in 210 A.D. and also in the following year. In the course of his preparations for the campaign in 211 A.D., Severus died at Eburacum (York) in February at the age of sixty-five. Caracalla thereupon made peace with the Caledonians and, accompanied by Geta, returned to Rome, where they completed the funeral rites for their father and secured him the honor of deification.

Caracalla:[1] *211–217 A.D., and Geta: 211–212 A.D.* The bitter enmity which had long smoldered between the two brothers broke out into open flame with the removal of their father's restraining influence. Each sought to build up a strong body of supporters among the officials and soldiers. Their mother made every effort to reconcile them, but in vain, and after barely more than a year of joint rule, Caracalla found the opportunity to have Geta murdered. Alleging that he had acted in self-defence because of a conspiracy directed against him, he won over the praetorians by bribes and put to death a large number of those who were suspected of favoring the cause of Geta. Among them was the prefect Papinian.

Internal Policy. Caracalla was a weak character, cruel and cunning, superstitious and given to debauchery. He deserves to rank with Caligula, Nero, and Commodus as a thoroughly unworthy holder of the principate. His early elevation to the rank of Augustus without the chastening influence of a career of public service had strengthened his natural tendency to despotic conduct and created in him a complete scorn of constitutional practice. The advice attributed, perhaps wrongly, to his father to enrich the soldiery and neglect all else may well be taken as the most consistent trait in his policy. He courted their good will by a general increase of their pay by one half and by frequent and lavish donations. Soon after the assassination of Geta, in 212 A.D., Caracalla issued the famous *Constitutio Antoniniana* (Antoninian Constitution), by which he conferred Roman citizenship upon all free residents of the Empire who had not yet received it. Those affected were primarily the provincials who according to Roman law had the status of aliens or Latins, and this grant was the logical culmination of the policy of his predecessors in bestowing citizenship upon provincial communities and upon veterans of the auxiliary corps in the military establishment. It is difficult to understand what motives led Caracalla to take this step, apart from a general adherence to the provincial policy of his dynasty and per-

[1] So-called because of his custom of wearing a modified form of the *caracalla*, a close-fitting Gallic coat.

haps a vainglorious exhibition of his own power in an act of such universal beneficence. His advisers may have suggested the advantages of simplifying the financial and judicial administration by abolishing distinctions which no longer had any practical usefulness. At all events, the immediate effects of the constitution were so slight that it excited little comment from contemporaries, and not until later times did it come to be looked upon as a most significant event in the Romanization of the provinces. On the whole, Caracalla took little interest in matters of internal administration, leaving them to the care of his mother, the imperial council, and the higher officials, who carried on the government in the spirit of Severus.

Germanic and Parthian Wars. On the other hand, Caracalla devoted a great deal of attention to military matters and personally assumed command of his armies in the field. In 213 A.D. he conducted a successful campaign against the Alamanni, a newly formed group of Germanic peoples who threatened the province of Raetia. He then proceeded against some of the tribes on the upper Rhine, whose attack he bought off and whom he won over as Roman allies by the payment of subsidies. Under his direction, the frontier fortifications in Raetia and Upper Germany were greatly strengthened.

After settling affairs on the northern frontier, Caracalla in 214 A.D. proceeded to the East, where he sought to imitate the feats of his hero, Alexander the Great, whose reincarnation he believed himself to be. Owing to the struggle between two brothers, Vologases V and Artabanus, for the Parthian throne, conditions seemed favorable for an attack upon Rome's eastern rival. But the opening of hostilities was deferred by the desire of Vologases to avoid war and his yielding to Caracalla's demands. Caracalla then visited Egypt, where for some uncertain reasons he massacred large numbers of the people of Alexandria. Upon his return to Syria, he treacherously seized the kings of Osrhoëne and Armenia and then demanded that Artabanus, who in the meantime had gotten control of Parthia, give him his daughter in marriage. When Artabanus refused, Caracalla invaded and ravaged Media without meeting any opposition (216 A.D.). He made preparations to renew his attack in the following spring but was assassinated near Carrhae on April 8, 217 A.D. by orders of the praetorian prefect, Marcus Opellius Macrinus.

Macrinus and Diadumenianus: 217–218 A.D. Macrinus was saluted Imperator by Caracalla's army and was recognized without opposition as the new princeps by the Senate. He at once bestowed the title of Caesar upon his young son Diadumenianus, whom he later proclaimed Augustus. Macrinus was a native of Mauretania and the first equestrian to attain the principate without having entered the senatorial order. He had owed his

advancement to his administrative and legal talents and displayed both moderation and good sense in his conduct of the government. But he lacked the prestige of a successful general and sought to win support for himself by generous donations to the soldiery and citizens of Rome, by deference towards the Senate, and by securing the deification of Caracalla to placate the adherents of the house of Severus. Defeated by Artabanus in Mesopotamia, he purchased peace from the Parthians for a large sum of money and also made considerable concessions to the Armenian king. Such conduct alienated what little good will he had managed to develop among the troops.

The Restoration of the Severan Dynasty; the Role of Julia Maesa. Taking advantage of this situation, the members and followers of the house of Severus in Syria attempted to regain the principate for their dynasty. The leading spirit in the movement was Julia Maesa, sister of Julia Domna, who had died soon after the murder of her son Caracalla. As claimant to the imperial power, Maesa presented the fourteen-year-old Varius Avitus Bassianus, son of her daughter Julia Soemias and a Syrian notable of senatorial rank. Bassianus was a grand-nephew of Julia Domna and hence, by marriage, of Septimius Severus also. A considerable part of the Syrian army was won over and saluted Bassianus as Imperator under the name of Marcus Aurelianus Antoninus. The forces which remained loyal to Macrinus were defeated (June, 218 A.D.), and both he and his son were subsequently captured and killed. Bassianus assumed the imperial titles and was accepted as princeps by the Senate. A few governors and legates who opposed his claims were put to death.

Elagabalus: 218–222 A.D. Bassianus by hereditary right was priest of the Sun God worshipped under the name of Elagabal at Emesa and hence was himself generally known as Elagabalus. Of all the holders of the principate, there was none so unworthy to exercise its powers as this Syrian youth. Devoted as he was to the sensuous ritual of his oriental divinity, he transferred its cult image, a conical black stone, to Rome and endeavored to establish its worship as that of the supreme deity of the Roman world. To the imperial titles he formally added that of "most exalted priest of the Unconquered Sun God Elagabalus." Giving himself over almost entirely to ritual ceremonies and debauchery, he appointed worthless favorites to the highest offices in the state. His grandmother, Julia Maesa, really directed the government. Realizing the hostility that was developing against Elagabalus and conscious of his complete ineptitude for rule, she prevailed upon him to adopt his cousin Alexianus, son of Julia Mamea, as Marcus Aurelius Alexander and to appoint him Caesar (221 A.D.). But Elagabalus repented of his decision and tried to rid himself

of Alexander. Thereupon the praetorians, instigated probably by Maesa and Mamea, massacred Elagabalus and his mother along with many of his despised associates (222 A.D.). The memory of the late princeps was condemned and the god Elagabalus sent back to his Syrian home.

Severus Alexander: 222–235 A.D. The principate passed without incident to Alexander, who took the cognomen Severus in order to emphasize his affiliation with the dynasty which the latter had established. Like his cousin, the new Augustus at the time of his accession was a mere boy of fourteen, quite incompetent to rule alone. Accordingly a special council of state consisting of sixteen prominent members of the Senate was set up to exercise the functions of a regency. Nevertheless, the real power lay in the hands of the grandmother and mother of the young princeps. When the former died in 226 A.D., the latter acquired additional influence. Already enjoying the rank of Augusta, she soon acquired the high-sounding title "Mother of Augustus and the camps and the Senate and the fatherland" (*mater Augusti et castrorum et senatus et patriae*) which was indicative of the dominant position she held in the state. Her jealousy of a rival caused her to drive even her son's wife into exile. In general, the policy of the government continued the traditions established by Septimius Severus. Attempts were made to strengthen the finances and at the same time to improve the efficiency of the administration. The spread of elementary education seems to have been encouraged, and abuses in the application of the law of treason were corrected. The good will of the aristocracy was won through the formation of the council of regency and the admission of senators to the emperor's advisory legislative council. At the same time, however, the prestige of the praetorian prefecture was enhanced by the admission of some, although not all, of the prefects to senatorial rank while still in office. But the control of the soldiery presented a problem of crucial importance.

Mamea's training had made her son both studious and virtuous, but as he grew up Alexander showed himself lacking in courage and self-reliance and never emancipated himself from his mother's tutelage. Consequently, he was utterly unfitted for military command and failed to win the respect of the armies. In 228 A.D., the praetorians got out of control and murdered their prefect Domitius Ulpianus in the imperial palace itself without the princeps being able to protect him or at the time to punish those responsible for the mutiny. Alexander's incompetence as a general was all the more disastrous since new and exceedingly aggressive foes began to threaten the integrity of the Empire. In 226 or 227 A.D. the Parthian Empire of the Arsacids was overthrown by a rebellious vassal Ardaschir (Artaxerxes), king of Persia, who founded a new Persian Empire ruled by his own dynasty.

the Sassanids. This recrudescence of the Persian Empire was accompanied by a revival of the national Mazdean or Zoroastrian religion in the form of a state church. The nationalistic character of the new state was also reflected in its foreign policy, for it laid claim to all the territories which had once formed a part of the old Persian Empire, including the Asiatic provinces of Rome as well as Egypt. After an unsuccessful attack on Armenia, Ardaschir invaded Roman Mesopotamia in 230 A.D. and again in 231 A.D. Although he won no great successes, the situation in the Near East had become dangerous; and since all attempts at negotiation failed, Alexander was compelled to take the field against him. In the spring of 232 A.D., the Romans tried to invade Persian territory by three separate routes. Nowhere were they successful, and one division suffered a severe defeat. But the Persians' losses were so heavy that they could not exploit their victory. Although no formal peace was made, the Roman frontier was restored, and Alexander returned to Rome to celebrate an unmerited triumph (233 A.D.).

Alexander's return to the West was hastened by news that Germanic tribes were threatening the frontiers of the Rhine and the Danube. Preparations were made for an attack upon the Alemanni, and the princeps accompanied by his mother took command of the army with his headquarters at Mainz. Influenced, however, by Mamea, he preferred to trust to negotiations rather than force and bought peace from the barbarians at the price of a subsidy. But this cost him the respect of his troops, who were ready to fight and who, in addition, were disgruntled at his subservience to his mother, whom they accused of parsimony. A mutiny broke out, led by Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus, a Thracian of peasant origin who had risen from the ranks to high command. Alexander and Mamea were put to death, and Maximinus was proclaimed Augustus (235 A.D.). With his rebellion the Empire entered upon a half century of internal confusion and civil war.

VI. THE PRINCIPATE FROM NERVA TO SEVERUS ALEXANDER

The five emperors from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius inclusive are often called the "good emperors" as if they alone had been worthy rulers of the Empire. While such an interpretation is inadmissible, the term does point a contrast between the legal character of their administrations and the insecurity felt under their predecessor Domitian and the lack of any principles in the government of their immediate successor Commodus. It also reflects the favorable opinion of the senatorial class upon the constitutionality of their principates when compared with the autocratic tendencies of Domitian and the military monarchy of the Severi. Moreover, the high level of capacity displayed by Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius

showed the general advantages of selection by adoption over selection on the dynastic principle which brought Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus to the principate. By the former four emperors, also, the army had been kept under strict control and had not interfered with imperial nominations, but with the death of Commodus first the praetorians and then the legionary corps again arrogated to themselves the right to select their imperator. Once again also the soldiery exhibited a strong feeling of dynastic loyalty, which accounts for the Severan restoration in the person of Elagabalus. But under the later Severi, even this sense of loyalty vanishes under weak rulers before the realization by the troops that the fate of the Empire rested in their hands. Nevertheless, the formal action of the Senate remained necessary to confer the appropriate authority on the new princeps. With Marcus Aurelius, Verus, and Commodus, and later with Septimius Severus and his sons, we see the principate held in partnership by two or more Augusti, a situation which foreshadows the regular practice of the later Empire. But the only attempt really to share the burdens of the office with a colleague was made by Aurelius in the case of Verus, whom he had associated with himself not so much for this reason as out of respect for the intentions of their adoptive father. His conferment of the rank of Augustus upon Commodus, like the action of Severus with respect to Caracalla and Geta, was motivated primarily by concern for the succession. Significant is the attempt of Septimius Severus to establish the legitimacy of his dynasty by claiming descent from Marcus Aurelius, thus gaining as ancestors the deified emperors from Nerva. His example was followed by Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, both of whom fictitiously claimed Caracalla as a parent. Notable also was the role played by the Syrian princesses of the house of Severus, who followed, but with greater success, the example set by Agrippina, the mother of Nero.

This period saw the Senate surrender to the princeps and his officers all active participation in the government of Rome, Italy, and the Empire. And the process went on just as steadily under the constitutional as under the autocratic emperors. The extension of the functions of the prefects of the watch and grain supply and of the commissions which Augustus and his successors had set up to superintend the construction and maintenance of public works in Rome and Italy deprived most of the regular city magistrates of any real sphere of responsibility. Consequently, when under Severus Alexander the tribunate and the aedileship ceased to be required steps in the senatorial career, these offices soon disappeared. From the time of Augustus, senatorial curators had presided over the public works commissions, but Claudius had added equestrian procurators who took over the real direction of their activities. Finally, Severus dispensed

with the curators and placed the procurators in charge. As early as Nero, the control of the old public treasury (the *aerarium Saturni*) had virtually been taken out of the hands of the Senate by the appointment as its directors of two prefects of praetorian rank designated by the princeps. Thereafter, the diversion of its revenues into the hands of ministers of the princeps caused it to diminish steadily in importance until after Severus it gradually sank to the condition of a municipal treasury for the city of Rome. By the time of Nero, the Senate had lost any real freedom in the elections to the various magistracies, and between his principate and the death of Severus it had also been deprived of any effective share in legislation. The Assembly had rapidly declined in importance during the first century A.D., and no trace of its activity can be found later than the time of Nerva. For a time this resulted in enhancing the legislative importance of the Senate, whose decrees acquired the validity of law. But in the course of the second century the influence of the princeps encroached more and more upon the Senate's freedom of discussion and action until under the Severi it enjoyed only the purely passive function of registering its approval of decrees drafted by orders of the princeps and read to it by his representative. As we have seen, the expansion of the judicial functions of the urban and praetorian prefects resulted in the abolition of the standing courts of the praetors which indirectly came under the supervision of the Senate, and that body's judicial competence was reduced to the trial of its own members on charges of treason. Nevertheless, although the Senate had lost heavily both in competence and in prestige, it still remained an influential body both because of its traditions and of the standing of its individual members and the class to which they belonged. The senatorial order was drawn from the wealthy landed aristocracy of the Empire, and the promotion of distinguished equestrians to the Senate at the close of their careers in the imperial service assured it a steady influx of men of proved administrative and military capacity. In spite of the liberal admission of provincials, up to the time of Septimius Severus the Italian element still retained a slight preponderance; thereafter it became numerically inferior owing to the generous enrollment of senators from Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, who came to outnumber those from the western provinces. The decline of the Italian and western senators was accentuated still more by the vengeance of Severus for their sympathy with his rivals, particularly Clodius Albinus. But the hostility of Severus and most of his house towards the Senate was due not merely to what he might have termed their disloyalty. Rather it expressed the attitude of one trained in the imperial equestrian service, a provincial indifferent to the constitutional traditions of Rome, and a convinced believer in the monarchical character of the principate. Just in so far as the Senate seemed

to be opposed to this interpretation and to stand as a reminder of another constitutional ideal, it provoked his resentment and attacks upon its few remaining prerogatives. Even under Severus Alexander there was no real revival of the Senate's power, although concessions were made to its prestige which conciliated its members and won their approbation. One important right still remained vested in the Senate—the power to confer or withhold deification; but even here its freedom to act in accordance with its opinions was occasionally hampered by the pressure of the new princeps.

Great as was the extension of the powers of the principate in the public administration, it was equalled if not surpassed in the fields of legislation and jurisdiction. Not only did the princeps legislate through the controlled decrees of the Senate but he had acquired independent legislative authority through the development of the edictal power which he exercised by virtue of his *imperium*. Like other magistrates, he could issue edicts valid during his term of office within the sphere where his *imperium* was effective. He could also hand down *decreta* or judicial verdicts and issue responses to the petitions of his subordinates or private persons under his authority, as well as mandates or instructions to the officials who were subject to his orders. Originally, the edicts were valid only during the principate of their author, and the other pronouncements merely applied to the specific cases or individuals to whom they were directed. In course of time, however, all these constitutions, as they came to be called, gained recognition as establishing rules of public and private law which remained in force unless they were definitely revoked by another imperial constitution. It was the jurisconsults of the imperial judicial council created by Hadrian who found a constitutional basis for the authority of the princeps in legislative matters. Gaius, a legal writer of the middle second century, enumerates the constitutions of the emperors along with the other sources of Roman law and then goes on to say: "A constitution of a princeps is what an emperor has authorized by decree, edict or letter. Nor is it ever doubted that this has the force of law, since the emperor himself receives his *imperium* by a law." [2] That is to say, the act which conferred the *imperium* on a princeps transferred to him the legislative authority of the Roman people itself. By the third century, the imperial constitutions had become the regular form for legislative enactments.

The evidence does not seem adequate to support the view that from the time of Augustus the princeps had a legal right of jurisdiction over Roman citizens in Rome and Italy. Strictly speaking, his right to pronounce judgment upon persons of senatorial rank was not recognized even under the

[2] *Institutes*, I, 5 Compare the parallel statement in Justinian, *Institutes*, I, 2, 6.

Severan emperors. There is no doubt, however, that the influence of the princeps gravely affected the administration of justice in the Senate and the other tribunals. Frequently, moreover, emperors with autocratic or tyrannical leanings abused their power by extending their right to hold preliminary investigations (*cognitiones*) to cover the pronouncement and execution of sentences, and at times they openly used the force at their command to execute their personal orders as if these were legal judgments. Yet such conduct was always regarded as unconstitutional and provoked great resentment. The case was quite different with the judicial authority that the princeps derived from his *imperium*. By virtue of this authority he had the right to pronounce judgment in cases arising in the military establishment, the imperial service, and the provinces under his command. His appointees, the imperial officials, administered justice in their respective spheres only by virtue of the authority which he delegated to them, and consequently appeals from their decisions might be directed to him. In the time of Hadrian this appellate jurisdiction of the princeps was extended by the constitutional lawyers to include appeals from all sources, for, they argued, since the emperor derived his powers from the people and hence acted in place of the people, an appeal to him was the exercise of the age-old citizen's right of appeal from the action of a magistrate to the judgment of the people met in assembly. With the extension of the judicial powers of the praetorian prefect, the city prefect, and the prefects of the watch and grain supply, and the consequent disappearance of the courts of the praetors and minor city magistrates, all jurisdiction in Rome and Italy, except for the limited civil jurisdiction of local municipal courts, was exercised by appointees of the princeps subject to appeals to himself. Thus the princeps came to concentrate in his hands the supreme jurisdiction for the whole of the Roman world.

The principate of the third century, the ultimate source of all administrative, legislative, and judicial activity, was by no means the same office as that organized by Augustus or re-established by Vespasian. It had advanced far along the road to autocracy and had assumed many of the characteristics of a monarchy. Yet, in theory, in its titulature, its form of investiture, and other features it still preserved the traditions of its magisterial character. A jurist like Ulpian might declare that the princeps was above the laws, but there were still influential circles in the state who were not prepared to accept a ruler clothed with the symbols which expressed autocratic power to the Greco-Roman world.

CHAPTER XIX. THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

I. THE RISE OF THE IMPERIAL BUREAUCRACY

The Responsibility of the Princeps. The necessary counterpart to the assumption of administrative duties by the princeps was the development of an imperial civil service, the officials of which were nominated by the princeps and promoted or removed at his pleasure. In this Augustus had taken the first steps by the establishment of equestrian procuratorships and prefectures and the opening up of an equestrian career, but the number of these posts greatly increased with the extension of the administrative sphere of the princeps at the expense of the Senate. The idea of conducting the government through various departments manned by permanent salaried officials was absolutely foreign to the Roman Republic, which employed such servants only for clerical positions of minor importance in Rome. However, the chaotic conditions which had resulted from the republican system showed the need of a change, and the concentration of a large share of the administration in the hands of the princeps both required and gave the opportunity for the development of an organized civil service. This development was unquestionably stimulated and influenced by the incorporation in the Roman Empire of the kingdom of Egypt, which possessed a highly organized bureaucratic system that continued to function unchanged in its essential characteristics. As the control of the princeps over the imperial administration widened at the expense of the Senate, the imperial officials took over an ever increasing share of the government, until by the end of the rule of the Severi it was largely carried on through their hands.

Equestrians or Freedmen. At first the imperial civil service lacked system, and there was little or no connection between the various administrative offices in Italy and in the provinces. Augustus and his immediate successors conducted the administration as part of their private business, keeping in touch with the imperial officials through the private secretaries of their own households, that is to say, their freedmen, who, in another capacity, conducted the management of the private estate of the princeps. As we have

seen, an important change was introduced under Claudius, when his influential freedmen caused the creation within the imperial household of a number of secretaryships with definite titles that indicated the sphere of their duties. The establishment of these secretaryships in the imperial household tended to centralize more completely the imperial administration and to give it greater uniformity and regularity. At the same time the influence of the freedmen who occupied these important positions was responsible for the admission of freedmen to many of the minor administrative procuratorships. But the freedmen did not maintain indefinitely their hold upon the imperial administrative service. Otho, Domitian, and Trajan in turn chose secretaries from among their equestrian employees, and Hadrian generalized this practice, so that only occasionally thereafter did any of these important posts fall into the hands of freedmen favorites of the emperors. This step transformed what were till then secretaryships of the palace into true secretaryships of state with a consequent improvement of their official status as well as of the traditions which governed the conduct of their holders. Hadrian was also responsible for the removal of freedmen from most of the imperial procuratorships in the provinces.

The Expansion of the Service. The second century saw a great expansion of the imperial service with the object of promoting administrative efficiency. Trajan placed equestrian procurators in charge of the census in the provinces; more imperial officials were required to collect the inheritance taxes paid by the increasing number of Roman citizens residing outside of Italy and an even larger number to manage the many properties which successive emperors inherited in different parts of the Empire. Here also, Hadrian exercised a powerful influence. Under him the system of farming the revenues was virtually abolished, and government employees took the place of the private contractors who had handled this branch of the public business. He likewise created the post of advocate of the fiscus, whose holders prosecuted the claims of the state against delinquent taxpayers, and set up an equestrian prefect in Rome to direct the administration of the imperial post, which served to carry official dispatches and transport officers travelling on imperial business throughout the Empire. Soon prefects of the post, like advocates of the fiscus, appeared in the provinces also. With the placing of the general oversight of the imperial service in the hands of the praetorian prefects by Septimius Severus, the process of centralization reached completion. A bureaucratic system of government had developed, elaborate, highly specialized, and at the same time well co-ordinated.

Augustus had insisted upon a preliminary military career preceding appointment to adminstrative procuratorships, and this prerequisite was not formally abandoned under his successors. Claudius, however, while

maintaining the obligation in general, began the practice of dispensing with it in particular cases. With Hadrian these dispensations became general, and many equestrians had a purely civil career in the government service upon which some of them entered as advocates of the fiscus. When Severus opened the posts in the civil administration to veteran officers upon their completion of a long period of military service, he restored in a sense the idea of a qualifying military career.

Salary Classes in the Imperial Service. The ordinary career of an official in the imperial administrative service included a considerable number of procuratorships in various branches of the administration, both in Rome, Italy, and the provinces. Although from the time of Augustus a definite salary was attached to each of these offices, it was not until the principate of Hadrian that four distinct classes of procurators were recognized on the basis of the relative importance of their offices expressed in terms of pay. These four classes, known as *sexagenarii, centenarii, ducenarii,* and *tercenarii,* who received respectively an annual salary of 60,000, 100,000, 200,000, and 300,000 sesterces, remained unchanged until the close of the third century. At that time the highest class included the imperial secretaries of state, whose title was now that of *magister,* or master. The salary of the four chief equestrian prefectures was probably higher still.

The Equestrian Order. It has been pointed out before how the senatorial order was recruited from the upper class of the equestrians. A good example of such advancement is seen in the case of the praetorian prefects, who after the time of Trajan frequently entered the Senate with the rank of ex-consuls and in the third century were generally promoted to the senatorial office of city prefect. The vacancies in the upper ranks of the equestrians caused by this and similar promotions were filled from the lower grades of the order, which in turn were recruited from still lower classes, such as freedmen, soldiers (that is, officers of low commissioned rank), and the municipal and provincial aristocracies. The effect of this process was to transform the equestrians from a national Roman to an imperial cosmopolitan body. After the first century the proportion of admissions from Italy and the West declined, that from Africa and Asia Minor increased in the second century, and that from Syria, Egypt, and Arabia showed a similar advance in the third. This increase in the recruits of eastern origin coincides with the period of the maximum number of admissions from the freedman class.

The general tendency of the age, which placed ever growing emphasis upon official prestige, rank, and precedence, had led to the appearance of an hereditary title—that of *clarissimus* (most distinguished or noble)—for members of the senatorial order. At first informal and unofficial, by the

second century this title had passed into formal, official usage. Following the example of the senatorial order, the equestrians also acquired titles of honor, which depended upon their official rank. From the time of Hadrian the title *vir eminentissimus* (most eminent) was the prerogative of the praetorian prefects. Under Marcus Aurelius appear two other equestrian titles, *vir perfectissimus* (most perfect) and *vir egregius* (honorable). In the third century the latter was borne by all the imperial procurators, while the former was reserved for the higher prefectures (apart from the praetorian), the chief officials of the treasury, and the imperial secretaries.

The Administration of the Imperial Finances. (*a*) The Fiscus. The most important branch of the civil administration was that of the public finances, which merits special consideration. Augustus did not centralize the administration of the provincial revenues which were at his disposal but created a separate treasury or *fiscus* for each imperial province. He did, however, establish the *aerarium militare* at Rome for the control of the revenues destined for the pensioning of veteran troops. Furthermore, Augustus drew a sharp distinction between the public revenues, which were administered by the princeps in his magisterial capacity, and the income from his own private property or patrimony (*patrimonium*). For the expenditure of the former he acknowledged a strict accountability to the Senate. The policy of Augustus was followed by Tiberius and Caligula, but under Claudius a central *fiscus* was organized at Rome for the administration of all the public revenues of the princeps. The provincial *fisci* disappeared, and the military treasury became a department of the *fiscus*. This new imperial *fiscus* was under the direction of the secretary of the imperial treasury (*a rationibus*). From this time the princeps ceased to hold himself accountable for the expenditure of the public imperial revenues, and the *fiscus* or imperial treasury assumes an independent position alongside of the old *aerarium* of the Roman people, which, as we have shown, it ultimately deprived of all share in the control of the public finances. Nevertheless, the distinction between the public and private revenues of the princeps was still observed, and his *patrimonium* was independently administered by a special procurator.

(*b*) The Patrimonium. But with the extinction of the Julio-Claudian house and the accession of Vespasian, the patrimony of the Caesars passed as an appendage of the principate to the new ruler. It then became state property, and as it had grown to enormous size owing to the inheritances of Augustus and the confiscations of Caligula and Nero, the *patrimonium* was organized as an independent branch of the imperial financial administration. The personal estate of the princeps was henceforth distinguished as the private patrimony (*patrimonium privatum*).

(*c*) The Res Privata or Private Purse. This situation continued until

the accession of Septimius Severus, whose enormous confiscations of the property of the adherents of Niger and Albinus were incorporated in his personal estate. This, the *patrimonium privatum,* was now placed under a new department of the public administration called the *ratio* or *res privata.* The old *patrimonium* also became in time a subordinate branch of the *res privata.* The title of the secretary of the treasury in charge of the *fiscus* was now changed to that of *rationalis,* while the new secretary in charge of the private purse was called at first *procurator,* and later *magister, rei privatae.* The reform of Severus, which gave to the private income of the princeps a status in the administration comparable to that of the public revenues, is a further expression of the monarchical tendencies of his rule. At the close of the Principate the two great treasuries of the Empire were the *fiscus* and the private purse.

Under the Republic there had grown up in Rome a class of professional government clerks from whom the various magistrates, including provincial governors, recruited the greater part of their office personnel. After the establishment of the Principate this practice was continued by most of the appointees of the Senate. Imperial officials, however, made use of imperial freedmen and slaves or, particularly if they exercised military authority, soldiers who were detailed from their units for this type of service. Such extensive use was made of the latter that the titles of the various posts in these offices were taken largely from those in use in the military administrations. Under the Severi these administrative bureaus came to be staffed to a large extent with discharged army veterans, and the servile element disappeared. By this time the various grades of clerks, accountants, recorders, stenographers, and messengers enjoyed permanent tenure and received standardized wages. They had become an integral and essential part of the imperial bureaucracy.

II. THE ARMY AND THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIERS

The Provincialization of the Legions and the Praetorians. It will be recalled that the military policy of Augustus aimed at securing the supremacy of the Roman element in the Empire by restricting admission to the legions to Roman citizens and to freeborn inhabitants of provincial municipalities who received a grant of citizenship upon entering the service. The gradual abandonment of this policy is one of the most significant facts in the military history of the Principate.

Under the Augustan system the legions in the West were recruited from Italy and the Romanized provinces of the West, the eastern legions from the Greek East and Galatia. But the increasing reluctance of the Italians

to render military service led to the practical, although not to the theoretical, exemption of Italy from this burden, which now rested more heavily upon the Latinized provinces. An innovation of utmost importance was the introduction of the principle of territorial recruitment for the legions by Hadrian. Henceforth these corps were recruited principally from the provinces in which they were stationed, and consequently freedom from the levy was extended to the ungarrisoned provinces, Baetica, Narbonese Gaul, Achaea, and Asia. The effect of Hadrian's reform is well illustrated by a comparison of the homelands of the soldiers in the legions stationed in Egypt under the early Principate with those in the same legions in the time of Marcus Aurelius. The lists of the veterans discharged from these legions under Augustus or Tiberius show that 50 per cent were recruited from Galatia, 25 per cent from the Greek municipalities in Egypt, 15 per cent from Syria and the Greek East, and the remainder from the western provinces. A similar list from 168 A.D. shows 65 per cent from Egypt, the remainder from the Greek East, and none from Galatia or the West. In general, the consequence of Hadrian's policy was to displace gradually in the legions the more cultured element by the more warlike, but less civilized, population from the frontiers of the provinces. It was Hadrian also who opened the praetorian guard to provincials from Spain, Noricum, and Macedonia. As we have seen, Severus recruited the praetorians from the legions and so deprived the more thoroughly Latinized parts of the Empire of any real representation in the ranks of the army. The provincialization of the army was then complete.

The Auxiliaries. The auxiliary corps, unlike the legions, were raised by Augustus not from Roman citizens but from the non-Roman provincials and allies. His successors followed the same policy. At first the auxiliaries were recruited and stationed in their native provinces, but after the revolt of the Batavi in 68 A.D. they were regularly quartered along distant frontiers. From the time of Hadrian, they were generally recruited in the same manner as the legions, from the districts in which they were in garrison. The extension of Roman citizenship to practically the whole Roman world by Caracalla in 212 A.D. removed the basic distinction between the legions and the auxiliaries.

The Numeri. A new and completely foreign element was introduced by Hadrian into the Roman army by the organization of the so-called *numeri*, corps of varying size, recruited from the non-Romanized peoples on the frontiers, who retained their local language, weapons, and methods of warfare but were commanded by Roman officers. The conquered German peoples settled on Roman soil by Marcus Aurelius and his successors supplied contingents of this sort.

The Strength of the Army. At the death of Augustus the number of the legions was twenty-five; under Nero it was twenty-eight; under Trajan it was thirty; and Severus increased it to thirty-three, comprising over 180,000 men. A corresponding increase had been made in the numbers of the auxiliaries. From about 150,000 in the time of Augustus, they had increased to about 220,000 in the second century. The total number of troops in the Roman service at the opening of the third century was therefore about 400,000; probably the largest professional army the world has ever seen.

The System of Frontier Defence. A second momentous fact in the military history of the Principate was the transformation of the army from a field force into garrison troops. This was the result of the system developed for the defence of the frontiers. Augustus, for the first time in the history of the Roman state, endeavored to preclude the possibility of indefinite expansion by attaining a frontier protected by natural barriers beyond which the Roman power should not be extended. Roughly speaking, these natural defences of the Empire were the ocean on the west, the Rhine and the Danube on the north, and the desert on the east and south. At strategic points behind this frontier, Augustus stationed his troops in large fortified camps, in which both legionaries and auxiliaries were quartered. These camps served as bases of operations, and from them military roads were constructed to advantageous points on the frontier itself to permit the rapid movement of troops for offensive or defensive purposes. Such military roads were called *limites,* a name which subsequently was used in the sense of frontiers. The *limites* were protected by small forts manned by auxiliary troops. Although Claudius and Vespasian discarded the maxims of Augustus in favor of an aggressive border policy, they adhered to his system for protecting their new acquisitions in Britain and southern Germany. These conquests, however, and that of the Wetterau region by Domitian pushed the frontier beyond the line of natural boundaries and led to the attempt to construct an artificial barrier as a substitute.

The Germanic and the Raetian Limites. By the third century the Roman frontier in Germany was protected by a continuous system of fortifications and barriers which followed an irregular line around the area of Roman occupation from Rheinbrohl on the Rhine to Heinheim on the Danube, a total distance of about 345 miles. The northwestern section of this line was called the Germanic, the eastern section the Raetian, Limes. The dividing point was near Lorch on the borders of Germania Superior and Raetia. The final form of the Limites was attained only after a long period of development in which the line of the frontier itself was frequently changed and the system of defences underwent various alterations. Domitian laid the foundations of the system by constructing a continuous barrier along these fron-

tiers in the form of a low embankment of earth which in places gave way to wooden fences. Along this line were placed wooden watchtowers at irregular intervals, and some distance to the rear of it was a series of earthen forts, each garrisoned by a corps of auxiliaries and linked by roads to the line of the barrier. Gradually, under Domitian's successors, these wooden towers and earthern forts were replaced by more solid structures of stone. While the auxiliary troops were thus distributed along the frontiers in small detachments, Domitian broke up the larger legionary cantonments, so that after 89 A.D. no camp regularly contained more than a single legion. This had the effect of scattering the legions along the line of the frontiers as a support for the line of auxiliary forts. Trajan strengthened somewhat the fortifications of Domitian but laid greater stress upon improving the system of communication between the border provinces by building military highways along the northern frontier from the Rhine to the Black Sea, as he also did in Arabia and Africa. The principate of Hadrian marked a new stage in the development of the Germanic and Raetian Limites. Along their whole length he erected an unbroken palisade wall, constructed of the split trunks of oak trees set upright to a height of nine feet in a shallow trench. At the same time, in order to facilitate observations and signalling from the watchtowers, he shortened and straightened the line of the Limites which now ran in rectilinear sections as far as possible without regard to the natural configuration of the ground. The adoption of the new line brought about the abandonment of some of the older forts for newer ones of earth or of earth and wood placed close to the line of the palisade. Antoninus Pius, who carried on Hadrian's policy of strengthening the border defences, converted these advance forts into stone structures; and Commodus reinforced the barrier still more by substituting in some places a wall of stone for Hadrian's palisade. Finally Caracalla completed the process by providing the Raetian Limes with a wall of stone 6 to 9 feet high and 4 feet thick which ran uninterruptedly along its whole front for a distance of about 105 miles, while at the same time he caused a wide ditch to be dug along the Germanic Limes just behind the palisade. This system of fortifications was by no means impenetrable and was not intended to serve as a permanent barrier against large forces. But it enabled the Romans to control communications along the frontier and was a formidable obstacle in the way of raiding bands, whose entry would be reported with all speed to the nearest garrisons and who would experience great difficulty in escaping with their booty across the Limes in the face of a hot pursuit.

The Limes in Britain. It was Hadrian, here as elsewhere an innovator and organizer, who took the first steps to protect the province of Britain by a continuous barrier such as existed in Germany. In the time of Domitian,

Agricola had built a road guarded by forts placed at irregular intervals along the 76-mile stretch from Newcastle on the Tyne to the Solway Firth. Along this line under the direction of Hadrian between 122 A.D. and 127 A.D. there was constructed the system of fortifications known as Hadrian's Wall. It consisted of a massive stone wall about 20 feet high and 8 feet thick which linked a series of 14 forts, each accommodating a detachment of about 1000 auxiliaries. In front of the wall was a deep V-shaped ditch, 30 feet wide at the top. Incorporated in the wall were castles for garrisons of 100 men, situated at regular mile intervals. Between the castles were stone turrets likewise spaced at fixed intervals. This reconstruction of the Limes was completed in 126–127 A.D. In contrast to the Germanic Limes, the wall in Britain had considerable defensive value against more than mere raiding parties. But the Roman sphere of influence extended northward into Scotland, and in order to protect this outlying territory from the highland tribes Antoninus Pius in 143 A.D. built another wall 36 miles long from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde. This wall was constructed of turf blocks laid like bricks and contained some 20 forts of earth or earth and stone construction. Both the wall of Hadrian and that of Antoninus were partially destroyed by a Pictish invasion in 181 A.D. Severus later rebuilt Hadrian's Wall, but the wall in Scotland was permanently abandoned.

The Danubian Frontiers. Where the Danube itself served to mark the northern frontier of the Empire, it was defended by a line of auxiliary forts and legionary encampments on the Roman side of the stream. But the Roman advance to the north of the river, particularly the occupation of Dacia, led to the development of a system of frontier delimitation and defence similar to that in Germany and Raetia. However, only relatively short stretches of these Limites are traceable at present. An earthen wall running west to east for about 63 miles from the Danube to the Theiss protected that part of Moesia which lay to the north of the Danube in the enclave between these two rivers. The line of another Limes-wall has been found on part of the northern frontier of Dacia, and two lines of fortifications roughly parallel to the Aluta river seem to have formed part of the eastern defences of that province. Of the three walls that run from the Danube eastwards to the Black Sea near Tomi, one, a large wall of turf, belongs to the time before Trajan and formed a temporary Limes in that part of Moesia. The others seem post-Roman.

The Limites in Asia and Africa. Neither in Asia nor in Africa was there a continuous line of frontier defences, but the Limites were marked out by roads protected by chains of small forts and guard stations from which patrols operated. To the rear of the Limites proper, often at considerable distances, there were placed large fortified camps at strategic points. The

difference in the Limes organization of Britain and Europe from that of Asia and Africa is explained in part by the difference in the physical features of the boundary lands and in part by the difference of the character of the frontier peoples and frontier warfare on the northern from those on the eastern and southern borders of the Roman Empire.

The Imperial Navy. In considering the problem of imperial defence, one must not forget the important if subordinate part played by the Roman Navy. The two main fleets based on Misenum and Ravenna secured communications by sea between Italy and the provinces and served to convoy troops and supplies. In addition, provincial squadrons were maintained in Egypt, Syria, Mauretania, in the Black Sea, on the Danube and its tributaries, the Save and the Drave, on the Rhine, and in the English Channel. In addition to routine police duties, they suppressed piracy, checked barbarian raids, and helped the army in offensive and defensive operations.

The Consequences of the System of Frontier Defence. The result of the construction of permanent fortifications along the frontier was the complete immobilization of the auxiliary corps. Stationed continuously as they were for the most part in the same sectors from early in the second century and recruited in increasing proportion from among the children of the camps, it required only the granting to them of frontier lands by Severus Alexander, upon condition of their defending them, to complete their transformation into a border militia (*limitanei*). Meanwhile, a semimilitary status was given to the civilian population in certain frontier districts by the Severi, who concentrated them in small castles and other defensible posts. At the same time the scattering of the legions along the line of the frontiers made the assembling of any adequate mobile force a matter of considerable time. And the fortifications themselves, while useful in checking predatory raids by isolated bands and in regulating intercourse across the frontiers, proved incapable of preventing the invasion of larger forces. Consequently, when in the third century the barbarians broke through the Limites, they found no forces capable of checking them until they had penetrated deeply into the heart of the provinces.

The chaos which followed the death of Severus Alexander was the result of a military policy which left the richest and most highly civilized parts of the empire without any means of self-defence; created a huge professional army the rank and file of which had come to lose all contact with the ungarrisoned provinces, all interest in the maintenance of an orderly government, and all respect for civil authority; and at the same time rendered the army itself incapable of performing the task for which it was organized.

The Roman Army as a Civilizing Agency. On the other hand, the army had been one of the most influential agents in the spread of the material

and cultural aspects of Roman civilization. The great highways of the Empire, bridges, fortifications, and numerous public works of other sorts were constructed by the soldiers. Every camp was a center for the spread of the Latin language and Roman institutions, and the number of Roman citizens was being augmented continuously by the stream of discharged auxiliaries whose term of service had expired. In the *canabae*, or villages of the civilian hangers-on of the army corps, sprang up organized communities of Roman veterans with all the institutions and material advantages of municipal life. The constant movement of troops from one quarter of the Empire to another furnished a ready medium for the exchange of cultural, in particular of religious, ideas. To the ideal of a Roman Empire the army remained loyal throughout the Principate, although this loyalty came at length to be interpreted in the light of its own particular interests. Not only was the army the support of the power of the princeps, it was also the mainstay of the Roman Peace which endured with two brief interruptions from the battle of Actium to the death of Severus Alexander and was the necessary condition for the civilizing mission of Rome.

III. THE PROVINCES UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

It is to the provinces that one must turn to win a true appreciation of the beneficial aspects of Roman government during the Principate. As Mommsen [1] has said: "It is in the agricultural towns of Africa, in the homes of the vine-dressers on the Moselle, in the flourishing townships of the Lycian mountains, and on the margin of the Syrian desert that the work of the imperial period is to be sought and found." In this sphere the chief tasks of the Principate were the correction of the abuses of the republican administration and the extension of Greco-Roman civilization over the barbarian provinces of the west and north. How well this latter work was done is attested not merely by the material remains of once flourishing communities but also by the extent to which the civilization of Western Europe rests upon the basis of Roman culture.

The Provinces. At the establishment of the Principate there were about thirteen provinces, at the death of Augustus twenty-eight, and under Hadrian forty-five. In the course of the third century the last number was considerably increased. The new provinces were formed partly by the organization of newly conquered countries as separate administrative districts and partly by the subdivision of larger units. At times this subdivision was made in order to relieve a governor of an excessively heavy task and to improve the

[1] *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I, 5, trans. Dickson, Scribner's, 1906.

administration, and at times it proceeded from a desire to lessen the dangers of a revolt of the army by breaking up the larger military commands.

As we have seen, the provinces were divided into two classes, senatorial or public and imperial or Caesarian, corresponding to the division of administrative authority between the Senate and the princeps. The general principle laid down by Augustus that the garrisoned provinces should come under the authority of the princeps was adhered to, and consequently certain provinces were at times taken over by the latter in view of military necessities while others were given up by him to the Senate. As a rule newly organized provinces were placed under imperial governors, so that these soon came to outnumber the appointees of the Senate. With the extension of the administrative powers of the princeps and his control over senatorial appointments, the senatorial provinces inevitably passed more and more under his direction until in all but outward forms the distinction between the two types of provinces tended to disappear.

Administrative Officials. The governors of the senatorial provinces were entitled proconsuls, even if they were of praetorian rank. Asia and Africa, however, were reserved for ex-consuls. Following the law of Pompey, a period of five years intervened between the holding of a magistracy and a promagisterial appointment. Each proconsul was assisted by a *quaestor,* and by three propraetorian *legati* whose appointment was approved by the princeps. The imperial governors were of two classes, legates of Augustus (*legati Augusti*) and procurators. In the time of Hadrian there were eleven proconsuls, twenty-four legates of Augustus, and nine procurators, besides the prefect of Egypt. The subordinates of the legates of Augustus were the legates in command of the legions, and the fiscal procurators. The procuratorial governors, at first called prefects, were of equestrian rank and were placed in command of military districts of lesser importance which were garrisoned by auxiliaries only. An exception to this practice was made in the case of Egypt, which senators were forbidden to enter except by special permission of the princeps. Egypt was governed by a prefect who at first was the highest ranking equestrian official in the imperial service but later ranked just below the praetorian prefect. He had under his orders at first three and later two legions besides auxiliary corps. In place of the usual senatorial legates, these legions were commanded by legionary prefects of the equestrian order. From the time of Septimius Severus equestrian procurators frequently were appointed to act as deputy governors in imperial provinces normally commanded by senatorial legates. In the course of the second century the title *praeses* (plural *praesides*) came into general use to denote governors of senatorial rank in the service of the princeps.

Enlightened Imperialism. As under the Republic, the governors exer-

cised administrative, judicial, and, in the imperial provinces, military authority. However, with the advent of the Principate the government of the Empire aimed to secure the welfare and not the spoliation of its subjects, and hence a new era dawned for the provinces. As we have seen, Augustus inaugurated the new policy of enlightened imperialism with his two edicts of 7–6 B.C. which delivered the non-Roman provincials of Crete and Cyrene from the judicial oppression of the Romans residing there, and with his sponsorship of the Senate's decree of 4 B.C. which provided a more direct and less expensive method for the redress of wrongs suffered from provincial officials.[2] Following the example of the founder of the Principate, most of his successors took the interests of the provincials sincerely to heart; only a few allowed their subordinates to get out of hand and exploit those subject to their authority. If, in the long run, the imperial government proved too heavy a burden for the provinces, this was not due to lack of interest in their welfare but to other factors which nullified the beneficent aspects of imperial provincial policy. All the governors now received fixed salaries, and thus one of their chief temptations to abuse their power was removed. Oppressive governors were still to be found, but they were readily brought to justice; and condemnations, not acquittals, were the rule. It was from the exactions of the imperial fiscal procurators rather than from those of the governors that the provinces suffered under the Principate. Although the term of the senatorial governors, as before, was limited to one year, tried imperial appointees were frequently kept at their posts for a number of years in the interests of good government.

Provincial Taxation. It has been mentioned before that under Augustus the taxation of the provinces was revised to correspond more closely to their tax-paying capacity. Under the Principate these taxes were of two kinds, direct or *tributa* and indirect or *vectigalia*. The *tributa* comprised a land tax (*tributum soli*) and a personal tax (*tributum capitis*). The land tax was assessed on all land which was not granted the exceptional status of Italian soil (*ius Italicum*); the personal tax was levied on all property not subject to the land tax. In addition, poll taxes and taxes on special trades and occupations were collected in certain provinces. In preparing the census returns for the estimation of the land tax, the following information had to be furnished: (1) the title of the property, (2) the name of the municipality on whose list it was carried, (3) the name of the *pagus* in which it lay, (4) the names of the two nearest estates, (5) the acreage in ploughland, (6) the number of vine stocks, (7) the number of olive trees, (8) the acreage of meadowland, (9) the acreage of pastures, and (10) the acreage of woodland. The chief indirect taxes were the customs dues (*portoria*), the

[2] See p. 274.

5 per cent tax on the value of emancipated slaves, possibly the 1 per cent tax on sales, and the 5 per cent inheritance tax, which was levied on Roman citizens only. In the imperial provinces the land tax was a fixed proportion of the annual yield of the soil, whereas in the senatorial provinces it was a definite sum (*stipendium*) annually fixed for each community. In addition to these regular taxes the provincials were liable to be called upon to furnish supplies to imperial troops and officials (*annona*), to provide transport animals for the imperial post service, and to perform personal services (*munera*) for the good of the state. Although compensation was provided for both goods and services requisitioned, exactions of this sort proved a heavier burden than the regular taxation for they often came at times when they meant serious economic detriment to the taxpayers and gave many opportunities for graft and oppression on the part of government officials.

The Principate did not break abruptly with the republican practice of employing associations of *publicani* in collecting the public revenues. It is true that they had been excluded from Asia by Julius Caesar, and it is possible that Augustus dispensed with them for the raising of the direct taxes in the imperial provinces, but even in the time of Tiberius they seem to have been active in connection with the *tributa* in some of the senatorial provinces. Their place in the imperial provinces was taken by the procurator and his agents, in the senatorial at first by the proconsul assisted by the tax-paying communities themselves and later by imperial officials.

On the other hand, the indirect taxes long continued to be raised exclusively by the corporations of tax collectors in all the provinces. The operations of these *publicani,* however, were strictly supervised by the imperial procurators. In place of the previous custom of paying a fixed sum to the state in return for which they acquired a right to the total returns from the taxes in question, the *publicani* now received a fixed percentage of the amount actually collected. Under Hadrian the companies of *publicani* engaged in collecting the customs dues began to be superseded by individual contractors (*conductores*), who, like the companies, received a definite proportion of the amount raised. About the time of Commodus the system of direct collection by public officials was introduced and the contractors gave way to imperial procurators. In the same way, the 5 per cent taxes on inheritances and manumissions were at first farmed out but later (under Hadrian in the case of the former) collected directly by agents of the state.

Local Government. Each province comprised a large group of communes (*civitates*), some of which were organized towns while others were tribal or village communities. From the opening of the Principate it became a fixed principle of imperial policy to convert the rural communities into

organized municipalities, which would assume the burden of local administration. Under the Republic the provincial communities had been grouped into the three classes, free and federate (*liberae et foederatae*), free and immune (*liberae et immunes*), and tributary (*stipendiariae*). In addition to these native communities there had begun to appear in the provinces Roman and Latin colonies. Toward the close of the Republic and in the early Principate the majority of the free communities lost their immunity from taxation and became tributary. Some of them exchanged the status of federate allies of Rome for that of Roman colonies. During the same period the number of colonies of both types was greatly increased by the founding of new settlements or the planting of colonists in provincial towns. Some of the latter also acquired the status of Roman municipalities. Thus arose a great variety of provincial communities, which is well illustrated by conditions in the Spanish province of Baetica (Farther Spain) under Vespasian. At that time this province contained nine colonies and eight municipalities of Roman citizens; twenty-nine Latin towns; six free, three federate, and one hundred and twenty tributary communities.

We have already mentioned the policy of transforming rural communities into organized municipalities. How rapidly this transformation took place may be gathered from the fact that in Tarraconensis (Hither Spain) the number of rural districts sank from one hundred and fourteen to twenty-seven between the time of Vespasian and that of Hadrian. A parallel movement was the conversion of the native towns into Roman colonies and municipalities, often through the transitional stage of Latin communities, a status that now existed in the provinces only. The acquirement of Roman or Latin status brought exemption from the poll tax, while the former opened the way to all the civil and military offices of the empire. An added advantage was won with the charter of a Roman colony, for this usually involved immunity from the land tax also. The last step in the Romanization of the provincial towns was Caracalla's edict of 212 A.D. which conferred Roman citizenship upon all non-Roman municipalities throughout the Empire.

The Three Gauls. From this municipalization of the provinces two districts were at first excluded on grounds of public policy. These districts were the three Gauls (Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica) and Egypt. At the time of its conquest Gaul was a rich agricultural country, with sharply defined tribal communities but little or no city development. This condition Augustus judged well adapted, under strict imperial control, to furnishing recruits and supplies of money and produce for the great army of the Rhine. Therefore he continued the division of Gaul into tribal units (*civitates*), sixty-four in number, each controlled by its native nobility.

His policy was in general adhered to for about two hundred years, but in the course of the third century the municipal system was introduced by converting the chief town of each *civitas* into a municipality with the rest of the *civitas* as its *territorium* or district under its administrative control.

Egypt. Although Augustus had added Egypt to the Roman Empire as a province, it occupied a peculiar status among the districts subject to his *imperium* and was kept more directly under his control than the rest. This was primarily due to the wealth of the country and its importance for the grain supply of Rome. In Egypt itself he appeared as the heir of the Ptolemies by right of conquest and was recognized by the Egyptians proper as "king of upper Egypt and king of lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, *autocrator,* son of the Sun." For the Greek residents he was an absolute deified ruler of the Hellenistic type. Thus Egypt, although a part of the Roman empire, was looked upon at times as subject to the rule of the princeps alone. And, as in the theory of government, so in the political institutions of the country the Romans adapted to their purposes existing conditions in place of introducing radical changes.

In the time of Augustus there were three Greek towns in Egypt, Alexandria the capital, Ptolemais, and Naucratis. To these Hadrian added a fourth, Antinoopolis. Ptolemais, Naucratis, and Antinoopolis enjoyed municipal institutions, but Alexandria because of the turbulence of its population was ruled by imperial officials, following the Ptolemaic practice. The rest of the population of the country lived in villages throughout the Nile Valley, which was divided for administrative purposes into thirty-six districts called nomes. The bulk of the land of Egypt was imperial or public domain land, and the great majority of the Egyptian population were tenants on the imperial domain. For the collection of the land tax, poll tax, professional and other taxes, for the supervision of irrigation, and for the maintenance of the public records of the cultivated acreage and the population (for which a census was taken every fourteen years), there had been developed a highly organized bureaucracy with central offices at Alexandria and agents in each of the nomes. This system of government was maintained by the Romans and profoundly influenced the organization of the imperial civil service. At the head of the administration of Egypt stood the prefect, an equestrian because of his position as a personal employee of the princeps and because the power concentrated in his hands would have proved a dangerous temptation to a senator. The chief burden laid upon Egypt was to supply one third of the grain consumed at Rome, or about 5,000,000 bushels annually. This amount was drawn partly from the land tax, which was paid in kind, and partly from grain purchased by the government.

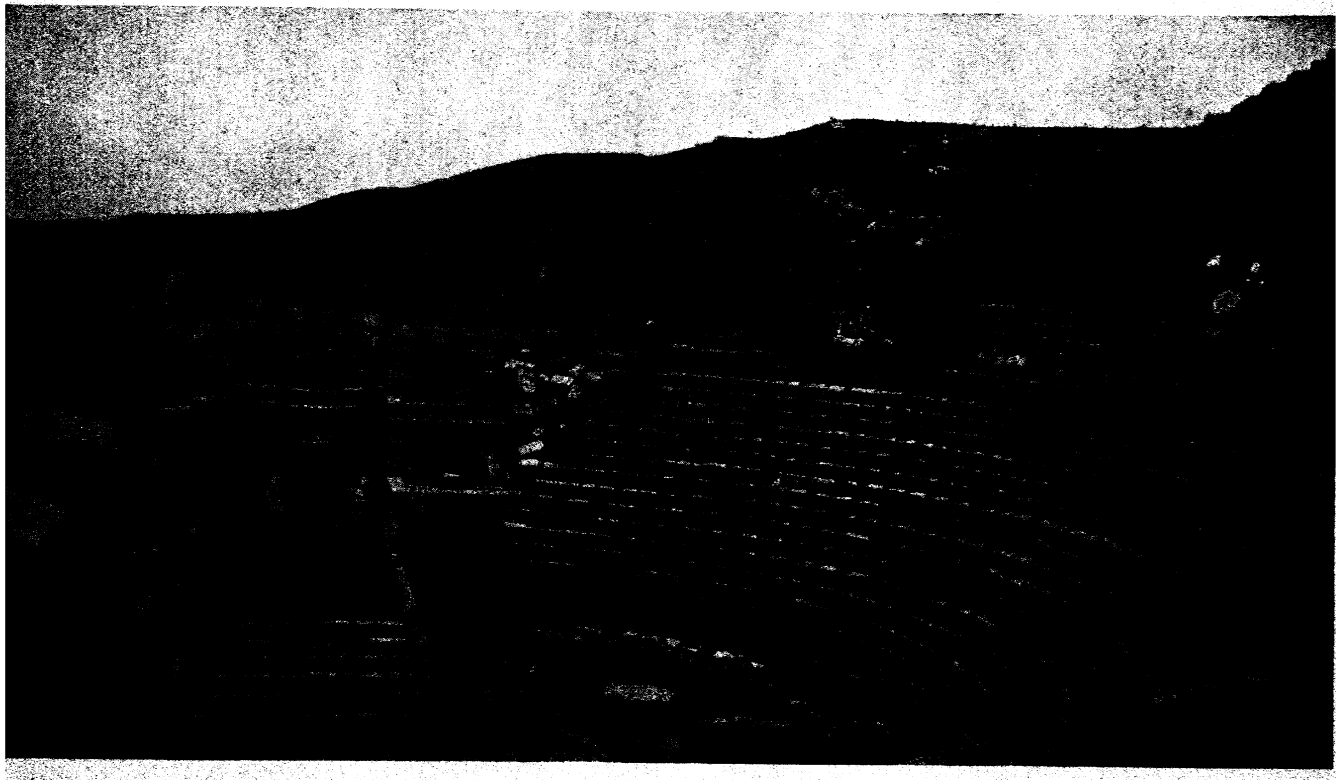
The first step towards spreading municipal government throughout all

Egypt was taken in 200 A.D., when Septimius Severus organized a senate, or town council, in Alexandria and in the metropolis or seat of administration of each nome. His object was to create in each metropolis a body which could be made to assume definite responsibilities in connection with the administration.

The Provinces and the Imperial Government. The Principate's greatest service to the provinces was the gift of two and a half centuries of orderly government, which led in many quarters to a material development unequalled in these regions before or since. It is in these centuries that the history of Rome becomes the history of the provinces. At the opening of the period the Italians occupied a privileged position within the Empire; at its close they and their one-time subjects were on the same level. The army and the senatorial and equestrian orders had been largely provincialized, and the emperors had come to be as a rule of provincial birth. Rome was still the seat of the administration, it was adorned with the spoils of empire, its populace was regaled with bread and public entertainments, and it remained the center of Roman political traditions; but from the constitutional point of view its status differed but little from that of a Roman provincial municipality.

For obvious reasons, the imperial government had no desire to create or to maintain a spirit of local nationalism among the peoples of the various provinces. Consequently, it never sought to build up any form of provincial self-government. The only institution which served to voice the opinion of a whole province was the council, which directed the provincial cult of Rome and Augustus. As this council was composed of representatives from the municipalities or other local units who belonged to the most influential class in their respective communities, its views carried a great deal of weight. The councils could address petitions, recommendations, and complaints either to the governor or to the princeps; and they frequently assumed the responsibility of undertaking the prosecution of governors guilty of maladministration. But they did not attempt to exercise any political functions.

It is very difficult to estimate the extent to which the provincials had been "Romanized" because that term is susceptible to more than one interpretation. It may fairly be said that apart from the field of administrative organization the imperial government made virtually no effort to impose uniformity upon the subjects of the Empire by supplanting local languages, religions, customs, and even laws by those of Rome. This was particularly true of the Hellenistic East, where western cultural influences made little impression. But even in the African provinces (apart from Egypt and Cyrenaica), in the Danubian areas, in the Rhineland, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, survivals of pre-Roman institutions, customs, and ways of life were



THE THEATER AT KHAMISSA (THURBURSICUM NUMIDORUM) IN ROMAN AFRICA

numerous and persistent. In these latter areas, where the reception of Latin culture was rapid and widespread, this was due to the influences radiating from the Roman colonies and Roman camps, from Roman businessmen and officials, and to the general appeal exerted by the culture of a ruling element rather than to any conscious imperial policy.

Indeed, under the Principate, as under the Republic, this respect for local prejudices went far towards reconciling conquered peoples to Roman rule and towards developing a feeling of loyalty to the Empire. Perhaps it is here that we should look for the real test of Romanization, namely, the degree to which the provincials took pride in being "Romans" in the sense of citizens of the Roman Empire and in taking an active share in its defence and its government. The development of this attitude found expression in the participation of provincials in the imperial service and their incorporation in the senatorial order, which reflected alike the economic and cultural condition of the areas from which they came and the attitude of the leading men towards Rome and the Empire. Throughout the first century A.D. provincials in the Roman Senate remained in a distinct minority. Such as were enrolled came chiefly from Gaul, particularly Gallia Narbonensis, and Spain, where Latin culture took firm root and spread with rapidity. Under Trajan, the first princeps of provincial birth, the number of provincials was increased to almost one half of the Senate's membership, and this proportion was maintained under Hadrian and the Antonines. Trajan also was responsible for the introduction in large numbers of senators from the Hellenized eastern provinces. His policy was due to the abandonment of the somewhat scornful attitude of the Italians towards the Greek East, the reconciliation of these "Orientals" to the imperialism of the Principate, the desire of their leading men to take a place in the Empire commensurate with their wealth and high culture, the relaxation of the obligation to reside in Italy hitherto imposed on senators, and the realization by the Roman government that the eastern provinces could be governed most effectively by officials native to them. This eastern element in the Senate continued to increase until the close of the principate of Marcus Aurelius, taking the place of the Gauls and Spaniards, who practically disappeared from the senatorial lists. It was under the Antonines that Africa began to contribute a significant quota to the senatorial ranks, and it continued to do so under Severus. Nevertheless, until the principate of Severus, the senators from Italy still continued to constitute a majority in that body. Severus, however, reversed the situation, and under him and Caracalla almost two thirds of the Senate were made up of provincials. Nearly all of the latter were natives of Syria, Africa, Asia Minor, and Egypt, which then began to furnish senators for the first time. Although the proportion of Italians seems to

have increased slightly under the later rulers of the Severan house, they still remained well in the minority.

IV. MUNICIPAL LIFE

Under the Principate the Roman Empire had become the greatest state which the world had yet seen, surpassing both the old Persian Empire and that of Alexander the Great. Its area was approximately three and a half million square miles and its population between fifty and sixty millions. To the Greek rhetorician Aelius Aristides, who in 154 A.D. delivered a speech in Rome in praise of Roman rule, this vast empire, coextensive with the civilized world, appeared as an aggregate of cities held together by the Roman civil administration and the Roman military establishment. This view is substantially correct, in spite of the existence in many provinces of areas of considerable size, especially the imperial domain lands, which did not possess city, that is to say municipal, organization. For the most part, the empire consisted of a great number of locally autonomous communities which served as units for taxation, jurisdiction, and conscription and in general relieved the imperial government of the burdens of local government. These communities were the municipalities, each of which was responsible for the administration of an area of greater or smaller size which was under its jurisdiction and constituted its territory (*territorium*). The municipalities were of two general types: the Hellenic in the East and the Italian in the West.

The Hellenic Municipalities. The Hellenic municipalities were developments from the *poleis,* or city-states, which existed prior to the Roman conquest in Greece and the Hellenized areas of Asia and Africa. Municipal towns organized in these areas subsequent to the Roman occupation were of the same type. Their language of government, as well as of general intercourse, was Greek. The characteristic political institutions of the Hellenic municipalities were a popular assembly, a council or *boule,* and annual magistrates. The assembly had the power to initiate legislation; the council and magistrates were elected by it or were chosen by lot. But even under the Roman Republic these democratic institutions were considerably modified in the interests of the wealthier classes. Timocratic constitutions were established with required property qualifications for citizenship and for the council and offices. The Principate saw a further development along the same lines. The assemblies lost their right to initiate legislation, a power which passed to the magistrates, while the council tended to become a body of ex-magistrates who held their seats for life. But in spite of this approxima-

tion to the Italian type, the Greek official terminology remained unchanged throughout the first three centuries A.D.

The Italian Municipalities. The Latin type of municipality was that which developed on Italian soil with the extension of Roman domination over the peninsula and which was given uniformity by the legislation of Julius Caesar. With the Romanization of the western part of the empire, it spread to Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany, and the Danubian provinces. In spite of the distinctions in status between Roman and Latin colonies and *municipia,* all these classes of municipalities were of the same general type which is revealed to us in the Julian Municipal Law (45 B.C.), the charter of the Roman *Colonia Genetiva Julia* (44 B.C.), and those of the Latin municipalities of Malaca and Salpensa (81–84 A.D.).

The constitutions of these municipalities were patterned closely after that of Rome, although certain titles, like those of consul and Senate, were reserved for the capital city. Like Rome, the municipal towns had their officials, their council (*curia, ordo*), and their plebs. The chief magistrates were a pair of duovirs (or at times a college of quattuovirs), who were assisted by two aediles, and two quaestors. The duovirs were in charge of the local administration of justice and in general conducted the public affairs of the community. Every fifth year the duovirs were called *quinquennales* and took the census. The aediles had charge of public works and market and police regulations, while the quaestors were the local treasury officials. All the officials were elected by popular vote, but a definite property qualification was required of each candidate. If no candidates presented themselves for any particular office, provision was made for the nomination of candidates who must serve if elected. At his election each magistrate paid into the treasury, or expended in accordance with the direction of the council, a definite sum of money (*summa honoraria*), which varied for each office in different communities. Oftentimes these officers did not restrict themselves to the required sum but took this opportunity for displaying their municipal loyalty. As other prominent citizens followed their example, the municipalities were richly provided with useful and ornamental public works donated by the richer classes. Thus the municipal offices, being unsalaried, were a heavy drain upon the resources of their holders; but at the same time they offered almost the sole opportunity for gratifying the political ambitions of the prosperous middle class in the provinces. In addition to these civil officials, each community had its colleges of pontiffs and augurs.

The members of the *curia* were called *decuriones* and were usually one hundred in number. They comprised those who had held some local magistracy, and others having the requisite property qualification who were enrolled directly (*adlecti*) in the council. The council supervised the work

of the magistrates and really directed the municipal administration. As in early Rome, so in the municipalities the people were grouped in *curiae,* which were the voting units in the local assembly or *comitia.* This assembly elected the magistrates and had legislative powers corresponding to those of the Roman assemblies. In the course of the second century A.D., however, these legislative powers passed into the hands of the council, whose decrees became the sole form of municipal legislation.

The Guilds and Colleges. While the plebs of Rome and the municipalities alike had little opportunity for political activity, they found a compensation in the social life of their guilds or colleges. These were associations of persons who had some common tie, such as a common trade or profession, a common worship, or the humble desire to secure for themselves a decent burial by mutual co-operation. Thus arose professional, religious, and funerary colleges. The organization of the colleges was modelled on that of the municipalities. They had their patrons, their presidents (*magistri,* or *quinquennales*), their quaestors, and their treasury sustained by initiation fees, monthly dues, fines, contributions, gifts, and legacies. The membership was called plebs or *populus.* The chief factor in the life of the colleges was the social element, and their most important gatherings were for the purpose of holding a common banquet. The professional colleges in no way corresponded to the modern trades unions: they attempted no collective bargaining with regard to wages, prices, or working hours, although they did not altogether neglect the common interests of their profession.

Apparently until late republican times no restrictions had been placed upon the forming of such collegiate associations, but in 64 B.C. all unions of the sort in Rome had been abolished because of the disorders occasioned by political clubs. In 58 B.C. complete freedom of association was restored, only to be revoked again by Julius Caesar, who permitted none but the old and reputable professional and religious colleges to remain in existence. Under Augustus a law was passed which regulated for the future the character, organization, and activities of these associations. New colleges could be established in Italy or the provinces only if sanctioned by a decree of the Senate or edict of the princeps, and membership in an unauthorized college was a treasonable offence. Trajan authorized the unrestricted formation of funerary colleges (*collegia tenuiorum*) in Rome, and Septimius Severus extended this privilege to Italy and the provinces. Under Marcus Aurelius the colleges were recognized as juristic persons, with power to manumit slaves and receive legacies. Not only persons of free birth but also freedmen and slaves, and in many cases women as well as men, were freely admitted to membership in the colleges.

V. THE BEGINNINGS OF ECONOMIC DECLINE

In the second century A.D., under the aegis of the Roman imperial government, the ancient world reached the height of its material prosperity. This was due both to the maintenance of the Roman Peace and to conscious efforts of the emperors to promote the economic well-being of the provinces in order to secure the prosperity of the state instead of exploiting the provincials for the benefit of the governing class and the moneyed interests of Rome as had been done under the Republic. But in spite of the generally favorable conditions that prevailed, even in the second century there were signs that all was not well with the economic foundations of the Empire, and before the close of the dynasty of the Severi these indications had become much more apparent.

The Burden of Taxation. The main source of trouble appears to have been that the cost of government had increased to the point where it could no longer be met from the income of the taxpayers and consequently had begun to levy toll upon their capital wealth so that this in turn became less productive and the general income declined in proportion. As we have seen from our survey of municipal organization, the maintenance of local government constituted an indirect tax upon property, whereas the superstructure of provincial and imperial government was supported by taxation collected by imperial or local agents in the municipal and other administrative units. In addition, the central government could requisition upon its own terms both supplies and services from the people of the Empire, over and above the normal load of taxation. It was the steadily mounting cost of the imperial government which was responsible for the increase in the fiscal burdens laid upon the civilian population.

One increasingly expensive item in the imperial budget was the army, whose numbers had grown considerably over those established by the founder of the Principate. The permanent fortifications constructed on the frontiers and the new military highways, although built largely by the labor of the troops, added still more to the sum expended for military purposes. A second factor that contributed materially to increase the cost of government was the gradual creation of the imperial administrative service with its numerous departments and its permanent paid officials. Other significant factors were the development of the imperial post; the construction of public works on a generous scale, including roads, bridges, aqueducts, temples, theaters, amphitheaters, and public baths; the ever more elaborate system of doles, largesses, and entertainments for the populace

of the capital; and the expenditures on education, public health, and Italian farm relief. The fundamental causes for this expansion of the public services were in most cases the search for administrative efficiency and a corresponding growth of a sense of responsibility on the part of the government towards the governed. But laudable as these motives may have been, the result was to render the financial situation so precarious that a long war or a spendthrift emperor threatened to cause, and at times actually did cause, bankruptcy of the treasury. We have ample evidence to show that the cost of defending and governing the Empire strained to the utmost the taxpaying power of its population. One of the chief reasons for giving up the attempt to secure the northern frontier by occupying the region between the Rhine and the Elbe and for relinquishing to the Parthians the conquests of Trajan in Armenia and Mesopotamia was inability to meet the cost of reconquering and defending these areas. The heavy burden of taxation played a large part in causing the rebellion in Judaea in 66 A.D. Both Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius found themselves obliged to remit arrears of taxation which had accumulated over a considerable number of years, and the latter received repeated requests from municipalities for financial aid or reduction of tax quotas. It was Marcus Aurelius also who expressed with brutal frankness the desperate condition of the public finances when he answered the petition of his victorious troops for an increase in pay with the words: "Anything you receive over and above your regular wages must be exacted from the blood of your parents and relations." [8] Financial stringency led in turn to the debasement of the coinage in order to secure a temporary profit for the treasury. Nero had reduced the silver content of the denarius by 10 per cent. Trajan followed his example in lowering it by a similar amount. Commodus continued the debasement until the denarius was only about two thirds silver, and under Septimius Severus it became half silver and half copper. Caracalla issued a new silver coin, the Antoninianus, supposedly equal to two denarii; but it also contained only 50 per cent silver. Not only the denarius but also the standard gold coin, the aureus, was decreased in weight, and its gold content was lowered at least 25 per cent by the time of Marcus Aurelius. Another serious reduction in its weight took place under Caracalla. But these expedients brought no permanent relief.

Fiscal Oppression. From Egypt comes the most striking evidence of the burden which the cost of maintaining the Empire imposed upon the provinces. It is true that for a long time conditions in Egypt were not typical for all the provinces because the absence of municipal autonomy,

[8] Cassius Dio, *Epitome*, LXXI, 3.

the extent of the public domain, and the highly developed bureaucratic administration there made possible a degree of fiscal exploitation that would have been difficult to obtain elsewhere. Ultimately, however, the fiscal situation in the other provinces came to approximate closely to that of Egypt; and even in Egypt itself it was by no means the intention of the imperial government to ruin its subjects, but rather to cause them to prosper so that they might produce more revenue. When an overzealous Prefect of Egypt dispatched to Rome a greater tax quota than had been authorized, the emperor Tiberius reminded him that a governor should shear the sheep and not flay them. Hence if taxation proved too heavy, it meant that the combined weight of imperial and local administration constituted a load greater than even this rich area could support. As early as the principate of Nero the peasantry and poorer townspeople were complaining bitterly over the fiscal oppression to which they were subjected by local tax collectors. Since the government held the properties of the collectors themselves as security for the total sum of the taxes which they were supposed to collect, these officials employed every means in their power, legal or illegal, to force the individual taxpayers to contribute the full amount for which each was liable. If anyone was unable to meet his obligations, his relatives or, in default of these, his fellow townsmen and villagers were forced to make good the deficit. The demands of the tax collectors were enforced with brutal violence, at times with the aid of police and soldiers. When harvests failed, farmers who could not pay their assessments took to flight, leaving their lands untilled for the next season. The result was that, by 60 A.D., a serious decline had taken place in the population of many villages even in so rich a part of Egypt as the Fayum.

In spite of sincere attempts made by various prefects and even some of the emperors to curb illegal exactions and to improve the condition of the tillers of the soil, the situation gradually grew worse, because the necessities of the government prevented any material lightening of the tax load. More and more peasants refused to lease public lands since the burdens involved were too heavy. Therefore, in order to prevent loss of revenue from this cause, the officials assigned the unleased plots to adjacent villages or to individual private landholders, who thereby became responsible for the cultivation of these lands and the payment of the taxes assessed against them. This put an even heavier burden on those who remained on the land, and more and more peasants sought refuge in flight. These runaways were mainly responsible for the armed revolts of 152 and 172 A.D., as well as for the appearance of brigandage on a wide scale under Septimius Severus.

Although the tenant farmers were the first to suffer, it was not long before the landholders and the well-to-do townspeople were also affected. At

first, following the Ptolemaic custom, the Roman government had employed salaried officials in the lower administrative posts throughout Egypt. But in the second half of the first century A.D. they displaced these by officials drafted from the propertied classes of the local communities in the nomes. These appointees served without salary, and their service constituted an additional tax upon their properties. This practice was not altogether new in the Hellenistic East, for it had its origin in the well-known Greek institution of the liturgy, or obligatory personal service imposed upon persons who possessed certain property qualifications. The Romans, however, applied the principle on a hitherto unexampled scale. As the office-holders remained responsible with their properties for any deficiencies in the tax returns, they were more merciless than ever in exacting full payment from the helpless peasants. But when the latter deserted their villages, the burden fell back upon the officials. The constant fear under which men lived is reflected in the standard questions addressed to the temple oracles in the second century A.D. as to whether the petitioner should run away or whether the government was going to sell his property to settle tax accounts.

The Decline of Municipal Autonomy. The prosperity of the municipalities was a fair gauge of the prosperity of the Empire as a whole, and their condition was watched with anxiety by the government. By the second century A.D. many of these communities were in financial difficulties. The causes of this condition are not everywhere easy to trace; but among them we may place the ruin of some of the wealthier families by the requirements of officeholding, the withdrawal from municipal life of individuals who entered the imperial service, overtaxation, bad management of local finances, and at times the decline of the rural population which furnished a market for manufacturers and merchants of the towns. This situation invited imperial interference and, as we have seen, Trajan appointed curators and other commissioners to rehabilitate the finances of individual municipalities or those of a whole province. These officials were chosen from senators and equestrians and at first were appointed for emergencies, but by the time of Severus Alexander they had become a fixture in a great many municipalities and were appointed from the local decurions. Here government paternalism, which had at first sought to guide the towns through particular economic crises, had ended in placing the operation of municipal finances under the direct control of the central administration. And for this the apathy displayed by the municipal governing classes was in large measure to blame.

Another aspect of the decline of municipal autonomy is seen in the change which took place in the character of the local magistracies and the relationship of the municipal councils to the imperial authorities. In the second

century A.D. the magistracies were still looked upon as positions of honor, for which candidates presented themselves voluntarily, although there were unmistakable signs that in some districts they were coming to be regarded as a burden. But since in default of voluntary candidates for the several magistracies, eligible citizens could be forced to present themselves for election, the public offices formed an inescapable obligation on the propertied class. By the third century, the magistrates came to be appointees of the decurions, and membership in the municipal councils had likewise become obligatory for those with the required property qualification. At the same time the principle had developed that the municipal councils or their representatives were responsible to the state for the revenues due from the municipal territories. In the eastern provinces committees of ten, called *decaprotoi* or "first ten," were nominated by the councils and put in charge of collecting the imperial taxes. These *decaprotoi* had to make good from their personal properties whatever portion of the tax quotas they had failed to collect. It was because of this new function of the municipal councils that Septimius Severus organized them in the nome capitals of Egypt, where they were charged with the responsibility for the local financial administration and for nominating and acting as sureties for both municipal officials and local agents of the provincial administration.

Thus we see that the municipalities had lost control over their own finances and also had become agents of the imperial government for the raising of the public revenues.

The State and the Professional Guilds. The loss of municipal independence was accompanied by an encroachment upon the freedom of the voluntary professional colleges. From the opening of the Principate the government had depended largely upon private initiative for the performance of many necessary services in connection with the provisioning of the city of Rome, a task which became increasingly complicated when the state undertook the distribution of oil under Septimius Severus. Therefore such colleges as those of the shipowners (*navicularii*), bakers (*pistores*), pork merchants (*suarii*), wine merchants (*vinarii*), and oil merchants (*olerarii*) received official encouragement. Their members individually assumed public contacts and in course of time came to receive exemption from certain municipal obligations because it was recognized that they were performing services necessary to the public welfare. Marcus Aurelius, Severus, and Caracalla were among the emperors who thus fostered the professional guilds. Gradually the idea developed that these services were public duties (*munera*) to which the several colleges were obligated, and under Severus Alexander the initiative in organizing new professional guilds passed into the hands of the state. The same princeps appointed judicial representatives

from each guild and placed them under the jurisdiction of definite courts. The colleges from this time onward operated under governmental supervision and really formed a part of the machinery of the administration, although they had not yet become compulsory and hereditary organizations.

The history of the colleges in the municipalities paralleled that of the Roman guilds, although it cannot be traced so clearly in detail. The best known of the municipal colleges are those of the artificers (*fabri*), the makers of rag cloths (*centonarii*), and the woodcutters (*dendrophori*). The organization of these colleges was everywhere encouraged because their members had the obligation of acting as a local fire brigade, but in the exercise of their trades they were not in the service of their respective communities.

CHAPTER XX. SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND RELIGIOUS LIFE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Imperial Rome. Roman society under the Principate exhibits in general the same characteristics as during the last century of the Republic. Rome itself was a thoroughly cosmopolitan city, where the concentration of wealth and political power attracted the ambitious, the adventurous, and the curious from all lands. Whole quarters were occupied by various nationalities, most prominent among whom were the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Jews, speaking their own languages and plying their native trades. With the freeborn foreign population mingled the thousands of slaves and freedmen of every race and tongue. During the first and second century the population of Rome must have been in the neighborhood of one million, but in the third century it began to decline as a result of pestilence and the general bankruptcy of the Empire. Inevitably in such a city there were the sharpest contrasts between riches and poverty, and the luxurious palaces of the wealthy were matched by the squalid tenements of the proletariat. In outward appearance Rome underwent a transformation which made her worthy to be the capital of so vast an empire. This was largely due to the great number of public buildings erected by the various emperors and to the lavish employment of marble in public and private architecture from the time of Augustus. The temples, basilicas, fora, aqueducts, public baths, theaters, palaces, triumphal arches, statues, and parks combined to arouse the enthusiastic admiration of travelers and the pride of its inhabitants. But even though after the great fire of 64 A.D. many improvements were made in the plan of the city, restrictions placed upon the height of buildings, and fireproof construction required for the lower stories, the streets still remained narrow and dingy, the lofty tenements were of flimsy construction, in perpetual danger of collapse, and devastating conflagrations occurred periodically.

The task of feeding the city plebs and providing for their entertainment was a ruinous legacy left by the Republic to the Principate. Although the number of recipients of free corn was not increased after Augustus, the

public spectacles became ever more numerous and more magnificent. Under Tiberius eighty-seven days of the year were regularly occupied by these entertainments, but by the time of Marcus Aurelius there were one hundred and thirty-five such holidays. In addition came extraordinary festivals to celebrate special occasions, like the one hundred and twenty-three day carnival given by Trajan at his second Dacian triumph in 106 A.D. The spectacles were of three main types; the chariot races in the circus, the gladiatorial combats and animal baiting in the amphitheater, and the dramatic and other performances in the theater. The expense of these celebrations fell upon the senatorial order and the princeps. Indeed the most important function of the consulship, praetorship, and, until its disappearance in the third century, the aedileship, came to be the celebration of the regular festivals. The sums provided for such purposes by the state were entirely inadequate, and so the cost had to be met largely from the magistrates' private resources. Extraordinary spectacles were all given at the expense of the princeps, who also at times granted subventions to favored senators from the imperial purse. The financing of the public shows placed as heavy a drain upon the fortunes of the senatorial order as did the office fees and expenditures for local benefits upon those of the holders of municipal magistracies.

A new feature of Roman society under the Principate was the growth of the imperial court. In spite of the wishes of Augustus and some of his successors to live on a footing of equality with the rest of the nobility, it was inevitable that the exceptional political power of the princeps should give a corresponding importance to his household organization. Definite offices developed within the imperial household not only for the conduct of public business but also for the control of slaves and freedmen in the domestic service of the princeps. The chief household officials were the chamberlain (*a cubiculo*) and the chief usher (*ab admissione*). Because of their intimate personal association with the princeps their influence over him was very great, and as a rule they did not hesitate to use their position to enrich themselves at the expense of those who sought the imperial favor. From among the senators and equestrians the princeps chose a number of intimate associates and advisers who were called his "friends." When forming part of his cortege away from Rome, they were known as his companions (*comites Augusti*). In connection with the imperial audiences a certain degree of ceremonial developed, with fixed forms of salutation which differentiated the rank and station of those attending these functions. In the society of the capital the personal tastes of the princeps set the fashion of the day.

Clients. Characteristic of the times was the new form of clientage

which was a voluntary association of master and paid retainer. Under the Republic eminent men had throngs of adherents to greet them at their morning reception and accompany them to the forum. Custom now demanded that virtually every man of wealth maintain such a retinue, which should be at his beck and call at all hours of the day and be prepared to serve him in various ways. In return the patron helped to support his clients with fees, food, and gifts of clothing, and rendered them other favors. The clients were recruited partly from freedmen, partly from citizens of low birth, and partly from persons of the better class who had fallen upon evil days. In general the lot of these pensioners does not seem to have been a very happy one—even the slaves of their patrons despised them—and their large numbers are to be attributed to the superior attractions of city over country life and to the stigma which in Rome rested upon industrial employment.

Slaves and Freedmen. In the early Principate slaveholding continued on as large a scale as in the late Republic. The palaces of the wealthy in Rome could count slaves by hundreds; on the larger plantations they were numbered by thousands. Trained slaves were also employed in great numbers in various trades and industries. Their treatment varied according to their employment and the character of their owners, but there was a steady progress towards greater humanitarianism, largely due to the influence of philosophic doctrines. In the age of the Antonines this produced legislation which limited the power of the master over his slave. As time went on, the number of slaves steadily diminished, in part because of the cessation of continual foreign wars after the time of Augustus, in part because of the great increase of manumissions. Not only were large numbers set free at the death of their owners as a final act of generosity, but also many found it profitable to liberate their slaves and provide them with capital to engage in business for themselves. Many slaves also had good opportunities for accumulating a small store of money (*peculium*) with which they could purchase their freedom.

The result of these wholesale manumissions was a tremendous increase in the freedmen class. Foreseeing the effect that this would have upon the Roman citizen body, Augustus endeavored to restrict the right of emancipation. By the *lex Fufia Caninia* (2 B.C.) testamentary manumissions were limited to a fixed proportion of the total number of slaves held by the deceased and not more than one hundred allowed in any case. The *lex Aelia Sentia* (5 A.D.) placed restrictions upon the master's right of manumission during his lifetime, and the Junian law of about the same time prevented slaves liberated without certain formalities from receiving Roman citizenship, although granting them the status of Latins. Even freedmen

who became Romans lacked the right of voting or of holding office in Rome or the municipalities unless they received from the princeps the right to wear the gold ring which gave them the privileges of freeborn citizens. In spite of these laws the number of the freedmen grew apace, and there is no doubt that in the course of the Principate the racial characteristics of the population of Rome and of the whole peninsula of Italy underwent a complete transformation as a result of the infusion of this new element, combined with the emigration of Italians to the provinces.

The importance of the role played by the freedmen in Roman society was in proportion to their numbers. From them were recruited a large percentage of the lower ranks of the civil service, they filled every trade and profession, the commerce of Italy was largely in their hands, and they became the managers of estates and of business undertakings of all sorts. The eager pursuit of money at all costs was their common characteristic, and "freedman's wealth" was a proverbial expression for riches quickly acquired. The more successful of their class became landholders in Italy and aped the life and manners of the nobility. Their sons often attained equestrian rank, and their more remote descendants at times became senators. Their lack of good taste, so common to the *nouveaux riches* of all ages, afforded a good target for the jibes of satirists and is caricatured in the novel of Petronius written in the time of Nero. We have already seen the influence of the few among them who by the emperors' favor attained positions of political importance. Despise the freedmen though they might, the Romans found them indispensable for the conduct of public and private business.

Commerce and Industry. The restoration of peace within the Empire, the suppression of piracy, the extension of the Roman military highways throughout all the provinces, the establishment of a single currency valid for the whole empire, and the low duties levied at the provincial customs frontiers combined to produce an hitherto unexampled development of commercial enterprise. Traders from all parts of the provinces thronged the ports of Italy, and one merchant of Hierapolis in Phrygia has left a record of his seventy-two voyages between Asia Minor and Italy. Puteoli on the Bay of Naples was Italy's chief port, Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber its second. Sea-borne trade was not left entirely to individual enterprise, since the imperial government supervised the guilds of shipowners both of Italy and the provinces in the interests of maintaining the grain supply of Rome and the transportation of supplies for the Roman armies.

But Roman commerce was not confined within the border of the Empire; it also flourished with foreign peoples, particularly those of the East. A brisk caravan trade through the Parthian Empire from Mesopotamia

across the Iranian plateau to Turkestan and thence to China brought the products of that country, especially silk and silk goods, to the ports of Syria. From the Egyptian harbors on the Red Sea large merchant fleets sailed for southern Arabia and thence across the Arabian Sea to India and Ceylon. Numerous finds of Roman coins in India, the presence of Greek merchants from Egypt there, and the visits of ambassadors of Indian princes to Rome bear witness to the regularity and importance of the Empire's Indian trade. But the Roman traders did not stop at India. They crossed the Bay of Bengal to the Malay Peninsula, passed through the Strait of Malacca, and followed the coast of Indo-China until some of them finally reached the southern harbors of China. Chinese sources even record the presence of a Roman embassy in China in the time of Marcus Aurelius, but this may not have been an official mission. Active trade relations were maintained with the interior of Russia through the cities on the north shore of the Black Sea, and Roman traders and their goods crossed Germany to the shores of the Baltic. In Africa, isolated Roman officials ventured far into the Sahara Desert and followed the Nile deep into the Sudan, but the traffic with these regions remained in the hands of natives who brought their wares to the Roman frontiers.

Among all the races of the Empire the most active in these mercantile ventures were the Syrians, whose presence may be traced not only in the commercial centers of the East but also in the harbors of Italy and throughout all the western provinces. The increased opportunities for trading stimulated the development of manufacturing, for not only could raw materials be more easily procured but towns favorably situated for the manufacture of particular types of goods could find a wider market for their products.

In the history of Italian industry the first two centuries of the Principate form a single epoch with the last century of the Republic. In this period the industrial development of Italy reached its height largely owing to the concurrence of two factors: the concentration of free capital in the hands of the Roman rulers of the Empire and the abundant supply of good slave labor at a low price. However, the preference for investing capital in lands, loans, and trading ventures rather than in industrial enterprises joined with the competition of provincial products to impose a serious check upon the growth of Italian manufactures. Although it was fashionable for men of wealth to try to make their town and country establishments self-sustaining by employing their agricultural slaves and tenants to prepare articles for farm use and by having among their slaves craftsmen trained as bakers, weavers, dyers, shoemakers, masons, smiths, carpenters, and even jewelers and glass blowers, they could not make themselves independent of outside

production, for which the poor landholders and city dwellers provided a larger and steadier market. Among the important industries which catered to a more than local trade were bronze and ironworking, pottery, lamp, brick, and tile making, glass blowing, and the manufacture of linen and woolen textiles. These industries tended to concentrate at special centers, determined in each case by the presence of raw materials or a situation advantageous for distribution. Thus the centers for ironworking were Como in Cisalpine Gaul and Puteoli in Campania. Capua was the leading center for bronze work, and Arretium in Etruria for pottery. Certain industries, such as brick, tile, and pottery making, were frequently carried on in rural districts, oftentimes as an adjunct to a plantation. A peculiar feature of industrial life was the activity of the princeps, *i.e.*, the State, in certain manufactures in competition with private enterprise. This rivalry, however, was limited largely to the production of materials for the construction and maintenance of public works, such as bricks, tiles, cement, lead pipes, and the like, and did not drive private concerns out of business. Large- and small-scale production flourished side by side, but the latter was by far the more general. As a result industrial organization never attained a high degree of development. Yet in the production of certain wares, *e.g.*, articles of bronze, silver, glass, and pottery, an approach to a true factory system seems to have been in vogue, so that successive steps in the manufacture of each article were performed by different specialists. In general, however, this was not the case; the finished article was usually the product of one man's labor. The workers fell into several categories: free hired laborers, freedmen working for their patrons or for others, and slaves employed by their owners or leased out to other employers. The evidence bearing upon the relative numbers of these classes is notoriously incomplete, but there is no doubt that by far the greatest number of workers in large and small industries alike were slaves, that freedmen were numerous, and that the proportion of freeborn persons engaged in industrial labor was not nearly so great as in agricultural work. Greeks and Hellenized Orientals formed the largest element among the slaves and freedmen, and their presence explains why technically and artistically Italian industry in this period could hold its own with that of the eastern provinces.

The development of some Italian industries on a large scale was due to the opening-up of an export trade to the provinces in the first century of the Principate. Among the leading Italian exports were bronze work to the countries north of the Alps, Arretine pottery in great quantities to the West and North and to some extent to the East, pottery lamps to the same regions, and glass to Spain, Gaul, and the Danubian lands. The development of Gallic pottery drove Arretine ware from the western provinces

by the time of the Flavians; by the end of the first century A.D. Gallic bronze and silver work was able to shut out Italian imports; and from about the same time the glass industry of Gaul and Germany, with its final center at Cologne, monopolized the trade of the western half of the Empire. However, in the products just mentioned, Italian industry dominated the home market, while in woolen manufactures it at least met foreign competition.

But the balance of trade was heavy against Rome and Italy, for Italy demanded foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles of use and luxury far beyond what she could procure in return for her exports. Each province contributed its quota to swell the total of Italian imports. From Egypt Italy imported glassware, linens, paper, jewelry, and ointments; from Syria glass, purple dyestuffs, and silk goods; from Asia Minor woolens, iron, and steel. Greece supplied the best olive oil, besides figs, and marble for sculpture and building; Africa sent oil, fruit, grain, fish, and marble; Spain exported tin, lead, copper, gold, silver, cloth, wool, flax, wine, oil, and fish; Gaul contributed agricultural products, meat, wool, and woven goods; from Britain came gold, silver, iron, hides, fleeces, cattle, slaves, poultry, and oysters; and the Danubian regions furnished both raw and worked iron, hides, wild beasts for the games, and slaves. The products of the Far East reached Rome by way of Alexandria and the Syrian ports, where raw materials were often converted into finished products. The bulk of these eastern imports came from India, or at least through India, whence the Romans procured linens, cottons, silk, ivory, precious stones, spices, tortoiseshell, and rare wild animals. In return the Empire sent to India copper, lead, tin, silverware, glass, wine, clothing, musical instruments, slaves, and above all gold and silver coins. This steady flow of coinage eastwards was noticed by the Romans themselves and constituted a drain upon the supply of precious metals in the Empire.

Although the expansion of commerce and industry was an outstanding feature of the economic life of the Roman Empire under the Principate, agriculture still remained the basic occupation which engaged the activities of the vast majority of the population and in which the bulk of the wealth was invested. This condition was the result of several influential factors. In the first place, landholding enjoyed greater social prestige than other forms of business activity and likewise was in the long run a safer form of investment. For these reasons, the profits of commercial and industrial enterprises were largely devoted to the building up or enlargement of rural properties and not reinvested in the activities which had produced them. Secondly, from the standpoint of organization and technology industry under the Principate showed no advance over the Hellenistic Age. Its expansion, therefore, consisted in its extension throughout the hitherto back-

ward areas within the Empire and the concentration of more workers at particular centers rather than in any improvement in efficiency or increase of productivity on the part of the individual industries. The continued preference for the small shop over the large unit and the failure to invent and apply machinery to take the place of manual labor in industrial processes and to lower the cost of production reflect the static condition of the industrial world. Owing to the extensive use of slaves in Italian industries and the abundance of cheap free labor in the eastern provinces, there was little incentive to develop labor-saving devices. Likewise the lack of recognition in Roman law of patent rights removed a powerful stimulus to invention. And the neglect of scientific investigations brought about by the apathy that overtook the intellectual world made unlikely any revolutionary discoveries that might have been turned to practical uses in the industrial field. A third factor that militated against progress in industrial organization was that the Roman law, while recognizing corporations with limited liability for the shareholders for the purpose of undertaking public contracts, forbade them in private business enterprises. There the only legal form of company organization was a partnership in which each partner was responsible for the full amount of the firm's obligations and where the association was dissolved when one of the partners died. Lastly, a most potent deterrent to industrial progress lay in the conditions that governed the available markets. Owing to the slowness of transportation by land and the risks and delays attending transportation by sea, it was cheaper to produce articles locally, provided that the raw materials and an adequate supply of labor were available, than to import them from any considerable distance. Thus, although at first the culturally backward districts within the Empire absorbed the surplus manufactures of the more highly developed areas, with the advance of civilization they began to provide an ever increasing share of their own necessities; and the regions which had formerly supplied them had to rely more and more upon local consumption. For since the Empire ceased to expand, no new areas were opened up to take the place of the distant markets. Thus industry and commerce stagnated after reaching a certain level and failed to create new sources of wealth that might have kept pace with the increasing cost of government. A positive decline set in when, as a result of overtaxation, the rural population began to decrease in numbers and became continuously more impoverished, so that its ability to consume the products of the towns grew progressively less. Local production and imports shrank to a corresponding degree.

Agriculture. Agriculture under the Principate, like industry, made practically no technical advances over the Hellenistic period. As might be

expected, conditions of land tenure and farm economy varied greatly, with conditions of soil and climate, in different parts of the Empire. New areas were opened up for agricultural enterprise in Gaul, Britain, Germany, the Danubian provinces, Africa, and on the Arabian and Syrian frontiers. Of soil exhaustion, resulting from overcropping or erosion, there is little evidence; and what there is applies only to certain parts of Greece and Italy where this condition had made itself felt previously and apparently did not grow much worse. If agriculture anywhere suffered a decline towards the close of this period, the blame must be attributed to other causes.

In Italy, agriculture remained on the whole in a flourishing condition during the first and second centuries A.D. It was carried on with a high degree of skill, as we know from Columella, an agricultural writer of the time of Nero, whose work shows a good knowledge of the principles of fertilization and rotation of crops. As under the late Republic, the great estates known as *latifundia* dominated agricultural economy. But small peasant holdings persisted in many districts, particularly in north central Italy and the Po valley. On the *latifundia* there was a strong tendency to displace slave labor by free tenant farmers called *coloni*. This was brought about by the drying-up of the chief sources of the supply of slaves through the suppression of piracy and the cessation of aggressive foreign wars, by the decrease in the number of slaves owing to generous manumissions, by the growth of humanitarian tendencies which checked the ruthless exploitation of agricultural slave labor, and by the growing realization that the employment of free labor was in the long run more profitable, particularly when slaves were becoming more expensive. To a certain extent, the breeding of domestic slaves partially compensated for the falling-off from other causes but not sufficiently to check the trend towards tenant farming. The *coloni*, many of whom doubtless were freedmen or the descendants of freedmen, were share-croppers who tilled their holdings for a fixed proportion of the harvest.

In Africa, at the opening of the Principate, the cultivable land, outside of the municipal territories, fell into three classes: public land, private estates of wealthy Romans, and imperial domains. Under the early emperors, particularly Nero, the bulk of the private estates passed by legacy or confiscation into the control of the princeps and became incorporated in the imperial domains. The administration of the public land, in so far as this was not absorbed into new municipal territories, rested likewise with the princeps. The domain land was divided into large districts (*tractus, regiones*) which were directly administered by imperial procurators. Each district comprised a number of estates (*saltus, fundi*). Whatever slave

labor had at one time been used in African agricultural operations was, by the early Principate, largely displaced by *coloni*. These *coloni* were either Italian immigrants or tributary native holders of the public land.

The estates were usually managed as follows. The procurators leased them to tenant contractors (*conductores*), who retained a part of their leaseholds under their own supervision and sublet the remainder to tenant farmers (*coloni*). The relation of these *coloni* to the contractors as well as to the owners of private estates or their bailiffs (*vilici*) was regulated by an edict of a certain Mancia, apparently a procurator under the Flavians. By this edict the *coloni* were obliged to pay a definite proportion of their crop as rental and in addition to render a certain number of days' work, personally and with their teams, on the land of the person from whom they held their lease. The *coloni* comprised both landless residents on the estates and small landholders from neighboring villages. They were encouraged to occupy vacant domain land and bring it under cultivation. Over ploughland thus cultivated they obtained the right of occupation for life, but orchard land became an hereditary possession, while in both cases the occupant was required to pay rental in kind to the state. Hadrian also tried to further the development of peasant landholders by permitting the *coloni* to occupy any lands not tilled by the middlemen and giving them rights of possession over all types of land. However, the forced services still remained, and these constituted the chief grievance of the *coloni*. And here the government was on the horns of a dilemma, for if the middlemen were restrained from undue exactions often large areas remained untilled and if the *coloni* were oppressed they absconded and left their holdings without tenants.

The land system in Asia Minor during the Principate reflected conditions which had become established prior to the Roman occupation. A considerable part of the land was incorporated in the territories of the Greek cities. There were also numerous large estates, the property of private individuals. There is little evidence for agricultural slavery, and farm labor was carried on by free peasants who lived in villages on municipal lands or private properties. At first, the imperial estates were not very extensive in this area. Their increase was gradual, and it was not until the great confiscations made by Septimius Severus at the expense of the notables who had supported his defeated rival, Pescennius Niger, that they became a major factor in agricultural life. Although we do not have much evidence for their management, it seems probable that they were operated along the same lines as the imperial estates in Africa.

In Gaul and Britain, agricultural activity was greatly intensified under Roman rule, but the land system shows a development conditioned by

Celtic origins and customs. Throughout Gaul, the unit of agriculture was in general the *fundus* or farm, with an isolated farmstead as the abode of the proprietor or tenant. On the larger estates, the farmstead was a villa comprising the residence of the owner, quarters for laborers, and other buildings necessary for the care of livestock and other farming operations. The smaller farms, whether operated by their owners or free or servile tenants, had correspondingly modest accommodations. With the development of town life owing to Roman influence in the first and second centuries A.D., the wealthier proprietors moved to the cities to take part in municipal life and government, leaving their properties to be taken care of by bailiffs or tenants. In Britain, the villa system flourished, especially among the wealthier and more deeply Romanized landholders. The majority of the agricultural population, however, seem to have been free peasants who lived in small fenced villages of primitive huts surrounded by the group of fields which they tilled for themselves.

Agriculture in Egypt, like the administration of that province, had an exceptional character owing to the survival of conditions developed under the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. All agricultural life depended upon the Nile with its annual floods and the irrigation system which distributed the flood water for the benefit of the land. This system was regulated and maintained by the government, which, therefore, had a greater control over crops and agricultural labor than in other provinces. Under the Ptolemies, the bulk of the land had been royal or state property, and much of this remained public land after the Roman conquest. The Roman government did, however, encourage the development of private properties particularly on waste or marginal land which was not normally inundated by the Nile floods but had to be irrigated by artificial methods. In order to make this possible and to maintain agricultural production at the highest possible level, the administration improved and extended the system of irrigation canals. As a result, there was for a time an increase in prosperity and population. But, as we have seen, the increasing pressure of taxation gradually undermined this prosperity and brought about a decline in agricultural conditions. In their attempts to control the activities of the tenants of public land, the Romans accepted the practice of the Ptolemies who had compelled the inhabitants of village communities to perform personal obligations to the state, such as work on canals and dykes and the cultivation of royal lands not let out on contract, within the boundaries of the community in which each was registered (his *idia,* as it was called). Under Roman rule, this principle was applied with greater precision. All the lands registered in each village had to be cultivated by the residents of that village, either as owners or tenants. At times, also, the inhabitants

of a given village might be forced to work vacant lands at a distance. During the seasons of sowing and harvest the presence of every villager was required in his *idia*. When the peasants, oppressed by taxation and forced services, fled from their villages and an increasing amount of state land remained unleased, the government forced the neighboring landowners to assume the contracts for the vacant public lands in their respective districts. These unhealthy conditions were well advanced by the end of the Severan dynasty.

Moral Standards. To pass a moral judgment upon the Roman world under the Principate is a difficult task. The society depicted in the satires of Juvenal and in Martial, in the court gossip of Suetonius, or in the polemics of the Christian writers seems hopelessly corrupt and vicious. But their picture is not complete. The letters of Pliny reveal an entirely different world with a high standard of human conduct, whose ideals are expressed in the philosophic doctrines of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. And the funerary inscriptions from the municipalities, where life was more wholesome and simple than in the large cities, pay a sincere tribute to virtue in all its forms. The luxurious extravagance of imperial Rome has been equalled and surpassed in more recent times; and, apart from the vices of slavery and the arena, modern society has little wherewith to reproach that of the Principate.

II. THE INTELLECTUAL WORLD

Education. Roman education under the Principate followed the lines already established at the close of the Republic. From the primary school the pupil passed at about the age of thirteen to that of the *grammaticus,* from which about three years later he entered the school of the *rhetor* or professor of oratory. Advanced studies, as in philosophy, usually were pursued at some school in Greece. The outstanding feature of this system was the universality of training in oratory, which was the preparation alike of the jurist, the civil administrator, the army officer, and the man of letters. Its effect upon contemporary literature was inevitable and not altogether wholesome, since it laid more stress upon effective presentation and verbal cleverness than upon depth and originality of thought. A new feature in educational organization was the granting of state support for schools and teachers. Vespasian started this policy by giving a salary for Greek and Latin *rhetors,* but it is unknown how many benefited thereby. Trajan went further in providing public instruction for five thousand poor boys. Hadrian made still more important changes. He gave retiring allowances

for needy teachers and founded schools in the provinces which he aided by grants of money. He also furnished suitable quarters for the rhetorical schools of Rome. His successor Antoninus Pius continued his policy by increasing the salaries of teachers and exempting a specified number of them in each municipality from burdensome taxes. By the close of the Principate there was in existence a system of municipally supported schools under the supervision of the state, that is, the emperor.

Literature. The Principate had two literatures; one Greek, the other Roman. But the forms of literary production were the same in each, and the Roman authors took rank with those of Greece in their respective fields. For the Romans could boast that they had adapted the Latin tongue to the literary types of the older culture world, while preserving in their work a spirit genuinely Roman.

The Augustan Age. The feeling of relief produced by the cessation of the civil wars and the hopes engendered by the policy of Augustus inspired a group of writers whose genius made the age of Augustus the culminating point in the development of Roman poetry, like the age of Cicero in Roman prose. Foremost among the poets of the new era was Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro, 70–19 B.C.), the son of a small landholder of Mantua, whose *Aeneid,* a national epic, the glorification alike of Rome and of the Julian house, placed him with Homer in the front rank of epic poets for all time. His greatest contemporary was Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, 65–8 B.C.), the son of a freedman from South Italy. It was Horace who first wrote Latin lyrics in the complicated meters of Greece and whose genial satire and insight into human nature have combined with his remarkable happiness of phrase to make him the delight of cultivated society both in antiquity and modern times. The leading elegiac poets were Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 B.C.–17 A.D.). In his *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* the latter recounted with masterly narrative skill the legends of Greek and Roman mythology. His elegies reveal the spirit of the pleasure-seeking society of new Rome and show the ineffectiveness of the attempt of Augustus to bring about a moral regeneration of the upper circles in the capital. This, probably, was the true ground for his banishment from Rome to Tomi on the shores of the Black Sea. Livy (Titus Livius, 59 B.C.–17 A.D.) was the one prose writer of note in the Augustan age. His history of Rome is a great work of art, an *Aeneid* in prose, which celebrated the past greatness of Rome and the virtues whereby this had been attained—those virtues which Augustus aimed to revive.

The Age of Nero. From Augustus to Nero there are no names of note in Roman literature, but under the latter came a slight reawakening of literary productivity. Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.–65 A.D.), a Spaniard

from Corduba, Nero's tutor, minister, and victim, is best known as the exponent of the practical Stoic religion and the only Roman tragedian whose works have survived. His nephew Lucan (39–65 A.D.) portrayed in his epic, the *Pharsalia,* the struggle of the republicans against Julius Caesar. His work shows a reawakening of a vain republican idealism and is the counterpart to the Stoic opposition in the Senate. Petronius (d. 66 A.D.), the arbiter of the refinements of luxury at Nero's court, displayed his originality by giving, in the form of a novel, a skilful and entertaining picture of the society of the freedmen in the Greek municipalities of South Italy which supplements and enlivens the inscriptional records of this numerous class.

The Flavian Era. Under the Flavians, Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus, 23–79 A.D.), a native of Cisalpine Gaul, compiled his *Natural History,* which he aimed to make an encyclopaedia of information on the whole world of nature. It is a work of monumental industry but displays a lack of critical acumen and scientific training. At about the same time there taught in Rome the Spaniard Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus, d. 95 A.D.), who wrote on the theory and practice of rhetoric, expressing in charming prose the Ciceronian ideal of life and education. His countryman Martial (M. Valerius Martialis, d. 102 A.D.) gave in satiric epigrams glimpses of the meaner aspects of contemporary life.

Tacitus and His Contemporaries. The freer atmosphere of the government of Nerva and Trajan allowed the senatorial aristocracy to voice feelings carefully suppressed under the terror of Domitian. Their spokesman was Cornelius Tacitus (55–116 A.D.), a man of true genius, who ranks next to Thucydides as the representative of artistic historical writing in ancient times. His *Treatise on the Orators,* his *Life of Agricola,* and his descriptive account of the German peoples (*Germania*) were preludes to two great historical works, the *Annals* and the *Histories,* which together covered the period from 14–96 A.D. His attitude is strongly influenced by the persecutions of senators under Domitian and is the expression of his personal animosity and that of the descendants of the older republican nobility towards the Principate in general; yet his narrative, as distinct from his judgments, sets a high standard of accuracy. A friend of Tacitus, the younger Pliny (62–113 A.D.), imitated Cicero in collecting and publishing his letters. This correspondence is valuable as an illustration of the life and literary dilettantism of educated circles of the day, as also for the light it throws upon the administrative policies of Trajan. An embittered critic of the age was the satirist Juvenal (d. about 130 A.D.), from Aquinum in Italy, who wrote from a stoical standpoint but with little learning and narrow vision. Somewhat later the first literary history of Rome was written by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (75–150 A.D.), who is better known as the author

of the *Lives of the Caesars* (from Julius to Domitian), a series of gossipy narratives which set the style for future historical writing in Rome.

With Hadrian begins the period of archaism in Roman literature, that is, an artificial return to the Latin of Cato, Ennius, and Plautus, an unmistakable symptom of intellectual sterility.

Latin Provincial Literature. The progress of Romanization in the provinces is clearly marked by the participation of provincials in the literary life of Rome. From the Cisalpine, from Narbonese Gaul, and from Spain, men with literary instincts and ability had been drawn to the capital as the sole place where their talents would find recognition. But gradually some of the provinces developed a Latin culture of their own. Although Spain may have taken the lead in this development, the first real evidences of such a movement came from the province of Africa, when a Latin literature made its appearance in the age of the Antonines. Its earliest representative was the sophist Lucius Apuleius, the author of the romance entitled *The Golden Ass.*

Christian Literature. It was in Africa also that a Latin Christian literature first arose, and it was the African Christian writers who made Latin the language of the Church in Italy and the West. Of these Christian apologists the earliest and most influential was Tertullian of Carthage, whose literary activity falls in the time of the Severi. Cyprian and Arnobius continued his task in the third century. In Minucius Felix, a contemporary of Tertullian, the Christian community at Rome found an able defender of the faith.

Jurisprudence. In all other sciences the Romans sat at the feet of the Greeks, but in that of jurisprudence they displayed both independence and originality. The growth of Roman jurisprudence was not hampered but furthered by the establishment of the Principate, for the development of a uniform administrative system for the whole Empire called for the corresponding development of a uniform system of law. The study of law was stimulated by the practice of Augustus and his successors, who gave to prominent jurists the right of publicly giving opinions (*ius publice respondendi*) when consulted upon the legal merits of cases under trial. A further encouragement was given by Hadrian's organization of his judicial council. The great service of the jurists of the Principate was the introduction into Roman law of the principles of equity founded on a philosophic conception of natural law and the systematic organization and interpretation of the body of the civil law. Roman jurisprudence reached its height between the accession of Hadrian and the death of Severus Alexander. The chief legal writers of this period were Salvius Julianus in the time of Hadrian, Gaius in the age of the Antonines, his contemporary Scaevola,

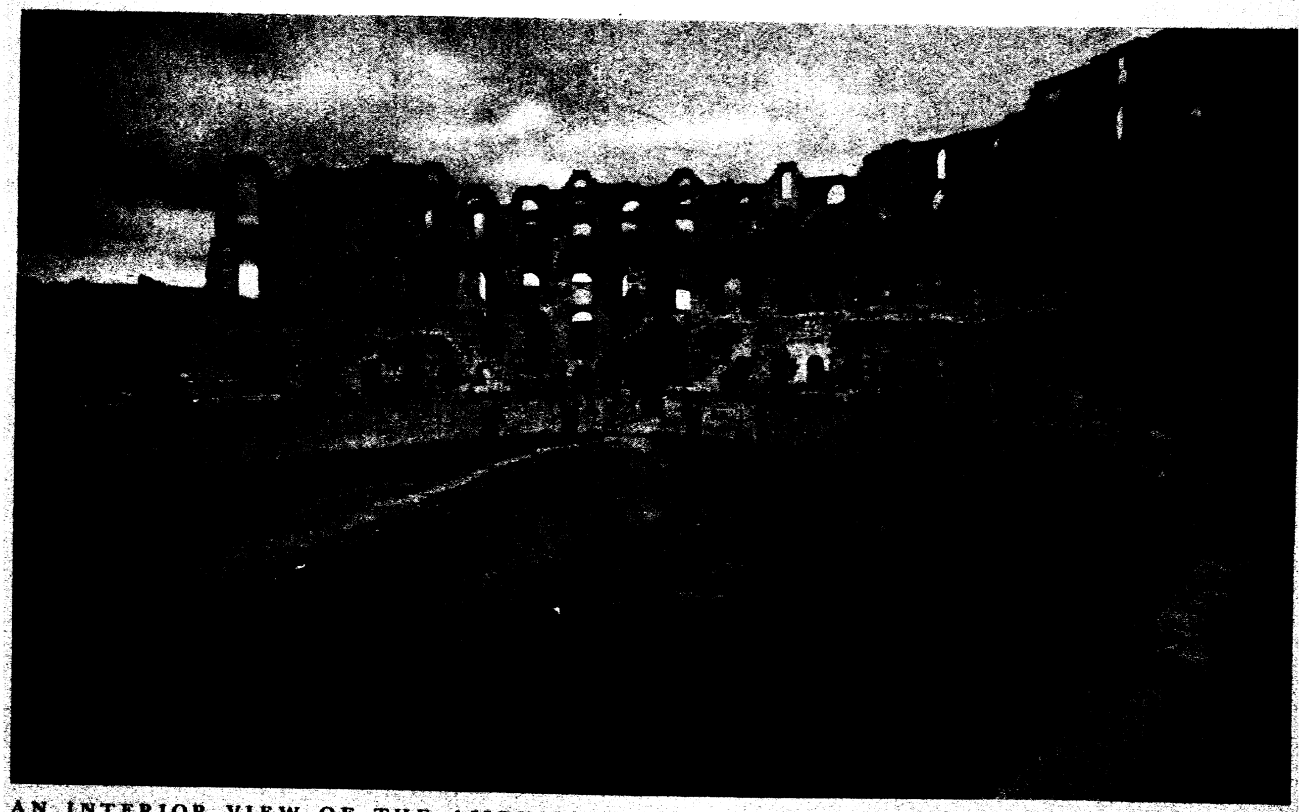
the three celebrated jurists of the time of the Severi—Papinian, Paul, and Ulpian—and lastly their younger contemporary Modestine, who closes the long line of classic jurisconsults.

Greek Literature. If we except the brief period of the Augustan age, the Greek literature of the Principate stands both in quantity and quality above the Latin. Even Augustus had recognized Greek as the language of government in the eastern half of the Empire; and with the gradual abandonment of his policy of preserving the domination of the Italians over the provincials, Greeks stood upon the same footing as the Latin-speaking provincials in the eyes of the imperial government. In Rome the Greek author received the same recognition as his Roman *confrère.* Greek historians, geographers, scientists, rhetoricians, and philosophers, wrote not only for Greeks but for the educated circles of the whole Empire. And it was in Greek that the princeps Marcus Aurelius chose to write his *Meditations.* Nor should it be forgotten that Greek was the language of the early Christian writers, beginning with the Apostle Paul. By the opening of the third century the champions of the new faith had begun to rank among the leading authors of the day in the East as well as in the West.

Plutarch: ca. 50–120 A.D. and Lucian: ca. 125–200 A.D. The best-known names in the Greek literature of the Principate are Plutarch and Lucian. Plutarch, a voluminous essayist, is deservedly popular as the author whose *Parallel Lives* of famous Greeks and Romans possess a perpetual freshness and charm. Lucian was essentially a writer of prose satires, a journalist who was "the last great master of Attic eloquence and Attic wit." In the realm of science, Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria the astronomer and geographer, and Galen of Pergamon the student of medicine, both active in the second century, profoundly influenced their own and subsequent times.

Philosophy. As we have seen, the doctrines of Stoicism continued to appeal to the highest instincts of Roman character. Besides Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, this creed found a worthy exponent in the ex-slave Epictetus, who taught between 90 and 120 A.D. at Nicopolis in Epirus.

Art and Architecture. The first two centuries of the Principate saw Roman art attain the highest development in all its branches. The stimulus to production came in the great demand for public buildings of all sorts, for monuments to be erected in honor of emperors and private persons, for statuary, and for the construction and decoration of countless private mansions and villas of the well-to-do. We have seen how Rome was transformed from an unimpressive into a magnificent and imposing city by the interest and generosity of Augustus and his successors. And each of the new municipal towns sought to imitate the capital in so far as its resources or the gifts of citizens and even emperors would permit. Every one of these



AN INTERIOR VIEW OF THE AMPHITHEATER AT EL DJEMM (THUSDRUS) IN ROMAN AFRICA THIRD CENTURY, A.D.

towns had its forum surrounded by temples, basilicas, and colonnades, its theater—often its amphitheater as well—its public baths, and frequently a monumental arch, an imposing aqueduct, a great bridge, or some other outstanding work of architecture which proclaimed its community pride or imperial generosity. Countless statues of gods, emperors, and magistrates adorned the temples and public squares. This imperial art drew heavily upon the riches of the classical Greek and the Hellenistic periods but also exhibited distinctively Roman contributions. Roman art found its chief inspiration in, and remained in close contact with, Roman public life. The artists of the Principate may well have been Greeks, but they wrought for Romans and had to satisfy Roman standards of taste. Realism and careful attention to details may be said to be the two great characteristics of Roman art. The spirit of Roman art is revealed best in the historical reliefs which adorned altars, arches, columns, and sarcophagi, and in portrait statuary. The power of characterization in Roman portraiture is attested not only by surviving statues but also by the imperial likenesses on Roman coins. New architectural forms and methods of construction likewise characterize the period. Among the former belong the imposing monumental arches erected by various emperors from Augustus to Septimius Severus in Rome, Italy, and the provinces, and also the columns with shafts decorated in relief, of which the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius are the outstanding examples. In building materials the Principate is the great age of brick and cement. Brick became the regular material employed for exterior surfaces, except in regions where building stone was particularly good and cheap. The boast of Augustus that he had found Rome brick and left it marble must be interpreted with reference to the extensive use of marble in colonnades, architraves, interior columns, and the stone veneer applied to some of the more elaborate public buildings, decorative reliefs, arches, and altars. The employment of cement reached its greatest development in the construction of the vast domes and vaults of buildings like the Pantheon and the Baths of Caracalla in Rome.

The most striking testimony to the grandeur of Rome comes from the remains of Roman architecture in the provinces—from such imposing ruins as the Porta Nigra of Trèves, the theater at Orange, the Pont du Gard near Nîmes, the bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara, and the amphitheaters of Nîmes in France and El-Djemm in Tunisia. What the artists of the Empire could do in the field of interior decoration is revealed in the mural frescoes, stucco moldings, and the mosaics that have survived in the ruins of public and private buildings of Rome, Pompeii, Ostia, and numerous provincial towns. The minor arts of gem cutting, the manufacture of ornamental gold, silver, and bronze work, and the ornamentation of pottery objects exhibit

the same skill and the same tendencies as are seen in works on a grander scale. But as early as the second century the creeping paralysis which overtook the intellectual, political, and economic life of the Empire affected also its art, which lost originality and became imitative, careless, decadent. It is in this period that Christian art, like Christian literature, took its rise. In the East, as we know from the mural paintings of the Christian church at Dura on the Euphrates, which belongs to the time of Severus Alexander, Christian artists adopted the oriental style which emphasized the spirituality of human figures to the neglect of their physical characteristics. Their subjects, however, were selected from the Gospel narratives, just as the Jews had decorated their synagogue at Dura with scenes drawn from the Old Testament story. In the West, Christian art found its first humble mission in the adornment of underground tombs, catacombs, and chapels. Here it imitated the technique of pagan mural decorations but for its subject matter drew more largely upon the narrative literature, the oral traditions, and the religious symbolism of early Christianity.

Intellectual Decline and Its Causes. The third century A.D. witnessed a general collapse of ancient civilization, no less striking in its cultural than in its political and economic aspects. This cultural decline was the result of political causes which had been gradually undermining the foundations of a vigorous intellectual life. The culture of Greece culminated in its scientific achievements of the third century B.C. At that time in comparison with the Greeks the neighboring peoples were at best semibarbarians; in the eastern Mediterranean the Greeks were the dominant race, still animated by a strong love of political freedom. But the Roman conquest with its ruthless exploitation of the provinces ruined the Greek world economically and broke the morale of the Greek peoples, forcing them to seek their salvation in fawning servility to Rome. The consequence was that as the Greeks came under the dominion of Rome their creative impulses withered, their intellectual progress ceased, and their eyes were turned backward upon their past achievements. And the Italians themselves were on too low an intellectual level to develop a culture of their own. They had not progressed beyond the adoption of certain aspects of Greek culture before the century of civil wars between 133 and 30 B.C. resulted in the establishment of a type of government which gradually crushed out the spirit of initiative in the Latin-speaking world. The material prosperity and peace during the first two centuries of the Principate made possible the diffusion of a uniform type of culture throughout the Empire as a whole, but after the age of Augustus this is characterized both in the East and in the West by its imitation of the past and its lack of creative power.

III. THE PAGAN CULTS OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

The Public Cults. Pagan religion during the Principate had two contrasting aspects. On the one hand were the public official cults, both imperial and municipal; on the other were the private cults practised by individuals and unofficial religious associations. Throughout the period under consideration there was no neglect of the state gods who, for the most part, continued to be those worshipped under the Republic, particularly Jupiter Capitolinus with his associates Juno and Minerva, Mars, and other divinities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon. The worship of these gods was spread with the organization of Roman and Latin colonies and municipalities in the provinces. With the Romanization of the native populations, Graeco-Roman dieties displaced or assimilated to themselves the local gods. Druidism, a religion widespread among the Celts of Gaul and Britain, was suppressed, chiefly because it fostered a spirit of resistance to Roman rule; but other tribal and racial religious practices suffered little interference. Some of the native gods even found adherents among Roman officials and soldiers. In the Greek East, there was little change from Hellenistic times. The Greek city communities retained their old state gods, the towns and temples of Asia Minor and Syria maintained their ancient cults, in Egypt the native priesthood kept up the temple rites which dated from the time of the Pharaohs although under the supervision of Roman officials, and even the Phoenician towns of Africa worshipped some of the old Semitic deities.

A few of the provincial gods even found a place in the circle of the official deities of Rome, either because of the devotion of certain emperors and their families to the gods of their native lands or because others gave official recognition to deities whose worship they had first adopted in a private capacity. For example, Gaius sanctioned the cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis, whose worship together with that of her associate god Serapis, was given a more formal status by Vespasian and Domitian. Septimius Severus built temples to the Punic Bacchus and Hercules, as well as to the deity known as the Syrian Goddess. As we have seen, Elagabalus tried to place the Baal of Emesa in the place of Jupiter Capitolinus as the chief god of the Empire, an attempt which was one of the chief reasons for his removal.

By far the most important innovation in the official religion of the Empire was the establishment of the imperial cult of Roma and Augustus. As we have seen, this cult was a visible expression of the loyalty of the provincials and their acknowledgment of the authority of Rome over them. The organization of provincial councils for the support and direction of the

cult opened up a new sphere of activity for the notables of the provinces as priests of Rome and Augustus and served to link them more closely with the princeps and the principate. This effect was increased when the councils assumed the function of communicating directly with the princeps on certain matters of provincial concern. After the death of Augustus, the imperial cult in the provinces gradually came to include the worship both of the ruling Augustus or Augusti and the Divi, that is, the deceased emperors who had received deification from the Senate. This practice was in vogue in all the eastern provinces after the time of Claudius and in the West from the time of the Flavian dynasty. In Rome, where the cult of the ruling princeps did not receive official standing, Domitian converted the temple of Divus Augustus into a temple for all the Divi.

The imperial cult played an important part in laying the foundations of autocracy. In general, the imperial authority came to be looked upon as created and sustained by the will and favor of the gods, and each princeps was regarded as obtaining and exercising it through divine providence. Consequently, even a weak ruler could not impair the dignity and authority of the office of princeps. In harmony with the idea that the princeps ruled by divine favor was the emphasis which in the time of the Severi was laid upon descent from former deified rulers, as when Severus proclaimed himself a descendant of Nerva through a succession of Divi. The official deification of deceased empresses and at times other female relatives of the emperors contributed to the idea of the "divinity" of the imperial house. Further recognition of the divinity inherent in the wielder of the *imperium* is to be seen in the value attributed to oaths taken in the name of the emperor or his genius, which were considered more binding than those in the name of other deities, and in the cult of the image of the emperor in the army camps, where he was given precedence over the other official divinities. Coins issued from the imperial mints in the late second and early third centuries proclaimed to the inhabitants of the Roman world the close association of the princeps as an earthly deity with the gods above. Certain of the latter are represented as the guardians and protectors and even the companions of the emperors. Particularly significant was the emphasis placed upon the connection with Sol, the unconquered Sun-god, lord of heaven, who upon coins of the Severi is represented as being in a special sense the emperor's comrade and preserver.

Oriental Religions. The most striking phenomenon of pagan religious life during the first three centuries of our era was the penetration of the western provinces of the Empire by a group of cults from the Near East, generally styled "Oriental" religions. These faiths were of ancient origin among the native populations of Egypt and western Asia but had been

greatly modified by their contact with Greek civilization after Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire. As a result of their Hellenization they had become rationalized in their theology and so better adapted for general acceptance. During the Hellenistic Age they had found a ready reception in many of the Greek cities where, however, they were pressed into the mold of the civic cults. But it was not until the establishment of the world empire of Rome with its facilities for, and stimulus to, intercourse between all peoples within its frontiers that they were able to gain a foothold in Italy and the West. Their penetration of Italy began with the official reception of the cult of the Great Mother at Rome in 205 B.C., but Roman society as a whole held aloof from them until the close of the Republic.

The expansion of the Oriental cults followed the lines of the much frequented trade routes along which they were carried by travelers, merchants, and colonies of Oriental traders. The army cantonments were also centers for their diffusion, not only through the agency of troops recruited in the East but also through detachments which had seen service there in the course of the numerous wars on the eastern frontiers. Likewise the Oriental slaves were active propagandists of their native faiths.

The explanation of the ready reception of these cults among all classes of society is that they guaranteed their adherents a satisfaction which the official religions were unable to offer. The state and municipal cults were mainly political in character, and with the disappearance of independent political life they lost their hold upon men who began to seek a refuge from the miseries of the present world in the world of the spirit and the promise of a future life. This want the Oriental cults were able to meet with the doctrines of a personal religion far different from the formal worship of the Graeco-Roman deities.

Certain characteristics of doctrine and ritual were common to the majority of the Oriental cults. They had an elaborate ritual which appealed both to the senses and to the emotions of the worshippers. By witnessing certain symbolic ceremonies, the believer was roused to a state of spiritual ecstasy in which he felt himself in communion with the deity, while by the performance of sacramental rites he felt himself cleansed from the defilements of his earthly life and fitted for a purer spiritual existence. A professional priesthood had charge of the worship, ministered to the needs of individuals, and conducted missionary work. To an age of declining intellectual vigor, when men gave over the attempt to solve by scientific methods the riddle of the universe, they spoke with the authority of revelation, giving a comforting theological interpretation of life. And they appealed to the conscience by imposing a rigid rule of conduct, the observance

of which would fit the believer for a happier existence in a future life.

The most important of these Oriental divinities were the Great Mother (Magna Mater) of Pessinus, otherwise known as Cybele, worshipped in company with the male deity Attis; the Egyptian pair Isis and Serapis; Atargatis or the Syrian goddess, the chief female divinity of North Syria; a number of Syrian gods (Ba'als) named from the site of their Syrian shrines; and finally Mithra, a deity whose cult had long formed a part of the national Iranian religion. Towards all these cults the Roman state displayed wide toleration, or rather indifference, only interfering with them when their orgiastic rites came into conflict with Roman standards of public conduct. But in spite of this indifference it required a long time before the conservative prejudices of the upper classes of Roman society were sufficiently undermined to permit of their participation in these foreign rites. For one hundred years after the introduction of the worship of the Magna Mater, Romans were prohibited from enrolling themselves in the ranks of her priesthood. A determined but unsuccessful attempt was made by the Senate during the last century of the Republic to drive from Rome the cult of Isis, the second of these religions to find a home in Italy; and in 42 B.C. the triumvirs erected a temple to this goddess. Augustus, however, banished her worship beyond the *pomerium*. But this restriction was not enforced by his successors, and by 69 A.D. the cult of the Egyptian goddess was firmly established in the capital. The various Syrian deities were of less significance in the religious life of the West, although, as we have seen, Elagabalus set up the worship of one of them, the Sun God of Emesa, as an official cult at Rome.

The Oriental cult which in importance overshadowed all the rest was Mithraism, one of the latest to cross from Asia into Europe. In the Zoroastrian religion of ancient Persia, Mithra appears as the spirit who is the chief agent of the supreme god of light Ormuzd in his struggle against Ahriman, the god of darkness. He is at the same time a beneficent force in the natural world and in the moral world the champion of righteousness against the powers of evil. Under Babylonian and Greek influences Mithra was identified with the Sun-god and appears in Rome with the title Unconquered Sun-god Mithra (*deus invictus sol Mithra*). Towards the close of the first century A.D. Mithraism began to make its influence felt in Rome and the western provinces, and from that time it spread with great rapidity. Mithra, as the god of battles, was a patron deity of the soldiers, who became his zealous missionaries in the frontier camps. Unlike other Oriental cults, Mithraism was a religion for men only, and lacked a professional clergy.

The Oriental cults were a substantial addition to Roman paganism; but they did not dominate it, nor did they alter its traditional character. In

spite of the fact that some of them received official recognition and support from various emperors, in general they remained the religions of individuals or private religious associations and did not assume a political character. Their influence was felt mainly in the cities where there were considerable elements of oriental origin, and, notwithstanding the popularity of Mithra among the soldiery, he had no place in the roster of the army's official gods.

Philosophy. Attention has already been called to the value of Stoicism in supplying its adherents with a highly moral code of conduct. Other philosophical systems, notably Epicureanism, likewise inculcated particular rules of life. But the philosophical doctrines which were best able to hold their own with the new religions were those of Neoplatonism and Neopythagoreanism, which came into vogue in the course of the second century and exhibited a combination of mysticism and idealism well suited to the spirit of the age.

Astrology and Magic. Throughout the Principate all classes of society were deeply imbued with a superstitious fatalism which caused them to place implicit belief in the efficacy of astrology and magic. Chaldean and Egyptian astrologers enjoyed a great reputation and were consulted on all important questions. They were frequently banished from Rome by the emperors who feared that their predictions might give encouragement to their enemies. These very emperors, however, kept astrologers in their own service, and the decrees of banishment never remained long in force. The almost universal belief in miracles and oracles caused the appearance of a large number of impostors, who throve on the credulity of their clients. One of the most celebrated of these was the Alexander who founded a new oracle of Aesculapius at Abonoteichus in Paphlagonia, the fame of which spread throughout the whole Empire and even beyond its borders. In his exposé of the methods employed by this false prophet, the satirist Lucian gives a vivid picture of the depraved superstition of his time.

At the close of the Principate the pagan world presented a great confusion of religious beliefs and doctrines. But the various pagan cults were tolerant of one another, for the followers of one god were ready to acknowledge the divinity of the gods worshipped by their neighbors. On the contrary, the adherents of Judaism and Christianity refused to recognize the pagan gods and hence stood in irreconcilable opposition to the whole pagan world.

IV. JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THEIR RELATION TO THE ROMAN STATE

The Jews in the Roman Empire. Alexander the Great's conquest of the Near East had thrown open to the Jews the whole Greco-Macedonian world,

and Jewish settlements rapidly appeared in all its important commercial centers. The Jewish colonies were encouraged by the Hellenistic monarchs, who granted them immunity from military service, protection in the exercise of their religion, and a privileged judicial status in the cities where they were established. In course of time the number of Jews of the dispersion became much greater than those who remained in Judaea itself. Although the Jews resident outside of Syria had adopted the Greek language and were influenced in many ways by their contact with Hellenistic culture, they still formed part of the religious community presided over by the High Priest at Jerusalem; and in addition to the annual contribution of two drachmas to the temple of Jehovah, every Jew was expected to visit Jerusalem and offer up sacrifice in the temple at least once in the course of his life. Moreover, they were active in proselytizing and made many converts among the Greeks and other peoples with whom they came into contact. However, their connection with Judaea was purely religious and not political in character.

The privileged status which the Jews had enjoyed in the Hellenistic states was recognized by the Romans and was specifically confirmed by Augustus because of their earlier co-operation with Rome against the Seleucids and the support they had given him in his war with Antony and Cleopatra, although this policy caused considerable dissatisfaction among their Greek fellow townsmen. Furthermore, in deference to the peculiarity of their religion, the Jews were not required to participate in the imperial or state cult. The Romans could not be indifferent towards Judaism because of its positive attitude and so adopted a definite policy of toleration towards it. The imperial government, however, made no attempt to foster settlements of the Jews in the western provinces, and during the early Principate the only considerable Jewish colony west of the Adriatic was that in Rome. With the exception of Caligula, who tried to force the imperial cult upon the Jews, the successors of Augustus did not interfere with the Jewish religion, except to forbid its propaganda. The expulsions of the Jews from Rome under Tiberius and Claudius were not religious persecutions but police measures taken for the maintenance of good order within the city. After the close of the Jewish war and the disruption of the Jewish religious community, Vespasian made Judaism a licensed religion by establishing the two drachma head tax for all who professed it. The subsequent Jewish revolts under Trajan and Hadrian did not alter the status of the Jews in their relation to the government. In 202 A.D., however, Septimius Severus forbade the Jews to make converts to their faith.

Christianity and Judaism. The Christian religion had its origin in Judaea as a result of the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified by the Roman authorities about 33 A.D., in the principate of Tiberius, after

having been condemned for blasphemy by the Sanhedrin, the Jewish high court for the enforcement of the law of Moses. From Judaea Christianity spread to the scattered Jewish communities through the missionary activity of the disciples and other followers of Jesus, particularly the Apostle Paul. Although the Christian propaganda was not confined to these Jewish communities, it was among them that the first Christian congregations arose; and this, with the Jewish origin of the new faith, caused the Christians to be regarded by the Roman government as a sect of the Jews. It has been suggested that Claudius banished the Jews from Rome in 49 A.D. because of disorders among them between the Christians and the adherents of the older faith. On the whole, the early Christians benefited by the attitude of Rome towards their sect, for it gave them the benefit of the immunities which the adherents of Judaism enjoyed. However, from 64 A.D. it seems that the Christians no longer enjoyed these privileges, even if it is true that Domitian exacted the Jewish license tax from Christians. Certainly, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. brought about the predominance of the non-Jewish element in the Christian ranks, it was impossible for any such confusion between the two sects to be long-lived.

Popular Antagonism towards the Christians. The earliest relations between the Christians and representatives of the Roman government arose in the cities of the East where the popular hostility towards the adherents of the new faith caused them to be victims of hostile demonstrations, mob violence, and denunciation on criminal charges before local courts. This atmosphere of general hostility finds its explanation in the attitude of the Christians themselves towards the society in which they lived. It must be remembered that the early Church believed sincerely in the near approach of the Kingdom of Christ, and hence it set no store by the things of this world but concentrated its efforts upon preparation for the future life. Furthermore the refusal of Christians to have anything to do with pagan divinities caused them to withdraw from participation in public festivals and to refuse to share in the public life of their communities by holding magistrates or priesthoods. At the same time the practice of having community of goods among the brethren and the advocacy of celibacy ran counter to the accepted social practices of the time. Thus both in municipal and family life the Christians became a disturbing factor which threatened to grow more dangerous because of their proselytizing activity. Another of their customs which caused them to be viewed with extreme suspicion by their contemporaries was the exclusion of non-Christians from certain of their gatherings, particularly those for the celebration of the Eucharist. This gave rise to the accusation that they practiced criminal rites, such as child murder, in their gatherings and met together to plot against their pagan

neighbors. But so far were the Roman officials from being influenced by the popular attitude that up to 64 A.D. they protected the Christians from the effects of the widespread antagonism towards them.

The Neronian Persecution and Its Consequences. In the light of the scanty knowledge that we have, it is impossible to state definitely why the ministers of Nero selected the Christians as a fit group upon whom to turn the accusation of having set fire to Rome. It seems a logical inference, however, that the Christians were known at this time to be unpopular with the mob in the city. They were brought to trial on the technically criminal charge of arson, probably before the city prefect who had jurisdiction over common criminals; but they were punished by burning, crucifixion, and being hunted as wild beasts in the arena, which were penalties fixed for magicians and sorcerers. The explanation of the conviction is that in the course of the trial the charge was changed from arson to that of "hatred of mankind" (*odium generis humani*) because of the interpretation given to what was learned of Christian beliefs and practices. From this time onwards the Roman government regarded the Christians as persons who harbored views dangerous to state and society, so that the confession of the name of Christian exposed an individual to the punishment meted out to outlaws. So far as we know, however, no general edict was passed forbidding the belief and practice of Christianity or ordering a general search for and punishment of Christians. It was left to provincial magistrates and others clothed with the proper judicial and police authority to deal with such Christians as might be accused before them of being responsible for public disturbances or specific criminal acts. Under the Flavians the same policy prevailed, and the report of a persecution at Rome in the time of Domitian lacks satisfactory evidence, although during his Principate the Christian communities of Asia Minor seem to have suffered severely at the hands of local authorities.

The Christians and the Law. A conflict with the secular power was rendered inevitable by the very nature of Christianity, which was non-Roman, non-national, and monotheistic, refusing recognition to the cults of the state and denying the divinity of the ruler. The Romans regarded the worship of the state gods, including participation in the imperial cult, from a political standpoint and considered a refusal to share in such worship as treason (*maiestas*). For this the punishment was death. It was furthermore for them a proof of atheism, which might also be regarded as treasonable. On the other hand, the Christians looked upon the question as a matter of conscience involving their souls' salvation; they felt that to worship the state gods and acknowledge the divinity of the princeps would be to commit idolatry and sacrilege. They could pray for the emperor but not to him. These

points of view were impossible of reconciliation. On another ground also the Christians were for a time liable to punishment under the law of treason, namely, as forming unauthorized religious associations. In Rome, however, from the time of Hadrian and in the provinces after Septimius Severus their religious communities might be regarded as funerary colleges and so be held to form licensed burial societies. Still this concession would not secure them immunity from prosecution on other grounds. It was the obstinate refusal of the Christians to conform to the requirements of the political religion of the state that confirmed in the minds of the Roman officials the view that they were public enemies, hostile to society in general and to the Empire in particular.

The Imperial Policy from Trajan to Severus Alexander. The attitude of the Roman government towards the Christians in the early second century is clearly seen from the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny the younger, the governor of Bithynia in 112 A.D. This correspondence fails to reveal any specific law prohibiting Christianity but shows that the admission of the name of Christian, accompanied by the refusal to worship the gods of the state and the princeps, constituted sufficient grounds for punishment. Thus a great deal of discretion was left to the provincial governor, who was directed to pay no attention to anonymous accusations but who was expected to repress Christianity whenever its spread caused conflicts with the non-Christian element under his authority. A rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, questioned but probably genuine, ordained that Christians should receive the benefit of a regular trial and that they should not be condemned for the name, but for some definite crime, *e.g.*, treason. The persecution of the Christian community at Lyons under Marcus Aurelius was no exception to the general policy of the emperors of the second century, although he did lay greater stress than the others upon the performance of the state cults. The attitude of Septimius Severus towards the Christians was a departure from the procedure of Trajan and Hadrian. When in 202 A.D., he ordered the governor of Syria to forbid Jewish proselytizing, he also forbade conversions to Christianity and ordered that both the converts and those who made them should be sought out and prosecuted. Severus Alexander, however, showed himself well disposed towards Christianity, and under him its adherents enjoyed a respite from official persecution.

The Organization of the Christian Church. The early Christians formed a number of small, independent communities, united by ties of common interest, of belief, and of continual intercourse. Although the majority of their members were drawn from the humbler walks of life, they were by no

means confined to the proletariat. In their organization these communities were all of the same general type, resembling the Roman religious *collegia,* but local variations were common. Each church community was directed by a committee, whose members were called at times elders (presbyters), at times overseers (bishops). These were assisted by deacons, who, like themselves, were elected by the congregation to which they belonged. Among the presbyters or bishops one may have acted as president. The functions of the bishops were primarily administrative, including the care of the funds of the association, the care of the poor, the friendless, and traveling brethren, and of discipline among the members of the community. The deacons were the subordinates of the bishops and assisted in the religious services and the general administration of the community. Besides these local church officers, there were itinerant prophets or apostles who devoted themselves to evangelical teaching.

By the third century this loose organization had been completely changed as a result of separatist tendencies among the Christians themselves and the increasing official oppression to which they were exposed. The opposition to these forces resulted in a strict formulation of evangelic doctrine and a firmer organization of the church communities. This organization came to be centralized in the hands of the bishops, now the representatives of the communities. The episcopate was no longer collegiate, but monarchical, and claimed authority by virtue of apostolic succession, by which power to administer the sacraments of the Church was transmitted. Apparently the president of the committee of bishops or presbyters had become the sole bishop, and the presbyters had become priests subject to his authority, although at times presiding over separate congregations. The bishops were now regularly nominated by the clergy, approved by the congregation, and finally inducted into office by the ceremony of ordination. Besides their administrative powers, the bishops had the guardianship of the traditions and doctrines of the Church. The clergy were now salaried officers, sharply distinguished from the laity, who gradually ceased to participate actively in the government and regulation of worship of their respective communities; and these communities had developed into corporations organized on a juristic basis, promising redemption to their members and withholding it from deserters.

In the third century, a movement took place for the organization of the separate churches in larger unions, and in this way the provincial synods arose. In these the metropolitan bishops, that is, those from the provincial administrative centers, assumed the leadership. Among the churches of the Empire as a whole two rival tendencies made themselves manifest. The one was to accord equal authority to all the bishops, the other to recognize the

supremacy of the bishop of Rome. The claim for the primacy of the Roman see was based upon the imperial political status of Rome and the special history of the Roman Church. It was strongly pressed by certain bishops of the second century who laid emphasis upon the claim of the Roman bishopric to have been established by the Apostle Peter.

CHAPTER XXI. DISINTEGRATION AND RECOVERY: 235–285 A.D.

The half century between 235 A.D. and 285 A.D. was a critical period not only in the history of the Roman Empire but in that of ancient civilization as well. Within the Empire disorder reigned as a result of continuous mutinies of the soldiery and struggles between their leaders for the possession of the imperial authority. From without came wave after wave of barbarian invaders, accompanied by repeated invasions from the aggressive rulers of the revived Persian Empire. In the wake of the devastation caused by war and plundering, epidemic disease took a heavy toll of the population. Commerce and industry sank to a low ebb, and the economic foundations of ancient civilized life were badly shaken. Despairing of the ability of the Empire to cope with the disasters that threatened it, both in the East and the West men set up independent states to provide better means for their own protection. And in the hope of rallying all elements of the population to present a united front against the enemies of the state, certain emperors tried to force the Christians to conform to the state religion. Eventually, the soldiery were brought under control, the soil of the Empire was cleared of its foreign foes, and its political unity was re-established. But the victory was achieved only at great cost. Politically, economically, and culturally the Roman World which emerged from the ordeal was far removed from that which had entered upon it. Greco-Roman civilization had received its death blow, and the dawn of the Middle Age was beginning to break.

Unfortunately, the sources of our knowledge of this period are by no means commensurate with its importance. Herodian's history stops with 238 A.D., and for the years that follow we have no continuous contemporary narrative. Indeed, conditions were not stimulating for historical writing; and of the little that was produced, hardly anything has survived. Biographical sketches of the successive emperors are given in the fourth century *Augustan History,* but these are of poor quality and full of falsifications. Additional information is supplied by the epitomators and chroniclers of the fourth and fifth centuries and by those of the Byzantine period. A new source of information for the relations of the Christians and the Roman

government is found in contemporary Christian writings and in the earliest historical works by Christian authors, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, and the pamphlet *On the Death of the Persecutors* by Lactantius, both dating from the early fourth century. The dearth of literary sources renders all the more valuable contemporary inscriptions, papyri, coins, and the archaeological remains of the period. Unfortunately, however, the prevailing confusion and poverty caused a great falling-off in the number of inscriptions, both of a public and a private character.

I. THE MUTINY OF THE SOLDIERY

The Soldier Emperors. With the murder of Severus Alexander in 235 A.D. and the nomination of Maximinus the Thracian as princeps by the mutinous soldiery of the imperial army, there set in a fifty-year-long repetition of the shorter epochs of civil war from 68 to 69 A.D. and 193 to 197 A.D. In the resultant turmoil the Roman Peace, the greatest achievement of the Principate, came to an end. Between 235 and 285 A.D. no less than twenty-six Augusti, including such as were colleagues in the imperial power, obtained recognition in Rome; and of these only one escaped a violent death. Although five of the Augusti were nominated by the Senate and about the same number by emperors already in office, the great majority were appointees of the soldiery. But in addition to those who had their authority confirmed by the Senate and so could boast a legal right to the *imperium*, there was a large number of unsuccessful claimants who were defeated by their rivals and who forfeited their lives as a penalty for their failure. In the language of the day these usurpers who failed to make good their claims to the principate were called "tyrants." One emperor alone, Gallienus, had to suppress no fewer than eighteen such rivals. For the most part, the soldier emperors were men of superior military capacities and achievements. In fact, successful generalship was the sole criterion applied by the soldiers in their selection of their candidates for the principate. Once in office, as a rule they conscientiously devoted themselves to the task of restoring peace and order in the Empire, but all too often their efforts were nullified by the treachery of their own subordinates or the rise of more powerful rivals.

Causes and Character of the Revolts. The causes of this condition did not lie so much in the ambitions of the members of the officer class as in the greedy and undisciplined spirit of the rank and file of the professional soldiery. Such an attitude had been displayed already on numerous occasions by the praetorians, and to some extent by the legionaries also in the crises 68–69 A.D. and 192–193 A.D., but the disorder now became chronic and permeated all branches of the military establishment. This loss of a sense

of loyalty to the Empire was in large measure the result of the policy of recruiting legions and auxiliary corps alike from the frontier population of the provinces. The troops on the borders lost contact with the inhabitants of the peaceful and ungarrisoned provinces and felt no community of interest with them. At the same time, particularly because of the policy of the Severi in emphasizing the degree to which their authority was based on the army, the soldiers felt themselves more than ever masters of the situation and lost all feeling of duty or obligation towards the state which they served. Their appetite whetted by generous donations distributed by previous emperors, they determined to enrich themselves at the expense of the civilian population and the public treasury. But the mutual jealousy of the frontier armies and the praetorians and the rivalries between the various corps long stationed in different parts of the Empire prevented the soldiery from acting as a single unit. Hence the armies of the separate provincial commands and at times those formations brought together for a specific campaign sought separately to force the recognition of their nominees to the principate. Each hailed as Imperator the commander who had led it to victory over foreign foes or its own mutinous comrades in arms and forced him, often against his will, to head its march on Rome in the expectation of receiving increases in pay and fresh largesses as a reward for its support. It has been suggested that these mutinies should be regarded in the light of a social revolution, in which the soldiers headed a rise of the peasantry against the municipal aristocracy of landholders and merchants who formed the *bourgeoisie* of the Empire. For this theory evidence is lacking. The soldiers plundered impartially both the rural population and the townsfolk through whose territories they marched and showed no indication of sharing with the former whatever spoils they wrested from the latter. There is no sign of any attempt to alter the conditions of land ownership or land tenure in the interests of the peasantry or to alleviate the taxes and other burdens which pressed heavily upon them.

II. THE COLLAPSE OF THE IMPERIAL DEFENCES

The Northern Barbarians. In addition to constant civil war, the Roman world was exposed to all the horrors of barbarian invasions. The withdrawal of troops from some sectors of the frontiers to meet attacks at others and the neglect of their duty by the various armies which plunged into the maelstrom of civil strife in support of their rival candidates for the imperial power gave the northern barbarians the opportunity to sweep down in destructive hordes upon the border provinces and to penetrate well into the peaceful and undefended central regions. Once the frontier defence system

was broken through, the invaders met with little serious opposition, for the emperors had no adequate mobile forces ready to deal with such attacks and required a considerable length of time to organize field armies able to cope with them. Even under normal conditions the task of holding the invaders in check would have been exceedingly difficult since all along the northern frontier new and more aggressive peoples had come to reinforce or supplant the older enemies of Rome. Along the coast of the North Sea between the Rhine and the Weser were the Saxons, whose fleets raided the shores of Britain and Gaul. Across the lower Rhine sat the Franks, while the Alemanni threatened the Limes in Upper Germany and Rhaetia. Further east, the Marcomanni and Quadi still held their former position on the Upper Danube, and Dacia and Lower Moesia were menaced by their old neighbors the Sarmatians and Carpi, as well as by the Vandals who occupied part of the Hungarian plain. Potentially more dangerous, however, than the latter tribes, were the Goths, who had made their way from the Baltic to the fertile plains on the north shore of the Black Sea, where they were joined by the Heruli.

Gothic Invasions. By a successful campaign against the Alemanni in 235 A.D., the emperor Maximinus secured a period of tranquility on the Rhine frontier; but under him and his successors the Danubian provinces were subjected to continual invasions by Sarmatians, Dacian Carpi, and Goths, who suffered numerous defeats but yet could not be compelled to keep the peace. In fact, it was found necessary to buy off the Goths by paying them annual subsidies. It was in the principate of Decius (249–251 A.D.) that the seriousness of the Gothic menace was first clearly revealed. In 249 A.D., a Gothic host crossed the Danube into Lower Moesia and in spite of a defeat at the hands of the emperor moved southward into Thrace. When Decius followed them, he was surprised and defeated with heavy losses (250 A.D.). As the Goths withdrew with their plunder and captives, Decius attacked them again; but after some initial success his army was caught in a trap and annihilated by the barbarians. Both Decius and his son, whom he had made coemperor, fell in the battle. Thereafter the Danubian provinces were subjected to continuous incursions of Gothic and other tribes, against whom no effective resistance could be offered.

But the scene of the main Gothic activities shifted further to the east. In 253 A.D. began a series of raids by sea against the coasts of Asia Minor and the Aegean; that of 256 A.D. passed through the Bosporus and brought wholesale devastation to the leading cities of Bithynia. Particularly disastrous was the assault on Asia Minor in 267 A.D. The Goths, who descended into the Aegean by way of the Bosporus and Hellespont, ravaged the coastal cities of Ionia. Then they marched inland as far eastward as Galatia and

Cappadocia, plundering as they went; finally they turned northward to Heraclea on the Black Sea, whence they sailed for home with their booty. The following year, a large fleet manned by the Heruli and a great land force of Goths and associated tribes skirted the west shore of the Black Sea and descended upon Greece, which they devastated as far south as Sparta. Among other cities, Athens was seized and plundered. But this time the raiders did not escape scot-free. The imperial army led by the Emperor Gallienus (253–268 A.D.) cut off their retreat and defeated them in a bloody battle at Naissus in Moesia. Fifty thousand barbarians are said to have fallen on the field; the rest sought refuge in a fortified encampment. Gallienus was forced to return to face a usurper in Italy, where he was assassinated by the officers of his own staff; but his successor, Claudius (268–270 A.D.), took over the command in the Balkans. His troops won several victories and forced the surrender not only of the survivors of the former Gothic invasion but also of new hordes who crossed the Danube to their aid. The captives were partly settled in depopulated areas and partly incorporated in the Roman army. His victories brought Claudius the well-deserved surname of Gothicus. Although the Gothic inroads did not cease entirely, none of their subsequent incursions was comparable to those of 267 and 268 A.D. The Gothic peril was averted for over one hundred years.

The Franks and the Alemanni. In the meantime, the western barbarians added their share to the desolation and disintegration of the Empire. Between 254 and 258 A.D., Gallienus was occupied in clearing Gaul and the Rhineland of Franks and Alemanni who had overrun the Roman frontier defences in that area. At about the same time, Pannonia was raided by the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges. The Marcomanni, indeed, even reached Italy, where they advanced as far as Ravenna (254 A.D.). In order to stop their attacks, Gallienus had to grant them certain districts in Upper Pannonia. In 258 A.D., when Gallienus had to withdraw part of his forces from the Rhine to meet a revolt of his commander in Pannonia, the Franks again crossed the Rhine. Traversing the whole of Gaul, they entered Spain, and, obtaining ships in the harbors of Hispania Taraconensis, they crossed over to Mauretania. Meanwhile the Alemanni made their way into the Rhone valley, which they occupied for three years and from which they raided other parts of Gaul. One of their bands crossed the Alps into Italy and threatened Rome. Gallienus hastily returned to Italy to meet the raiders, whom he defeated decisively near Milan. As a result of these invasions the Romans lost their hold upon their advanced positions across the middle Rhine and were also forced to give up the lands in the angle between the Rhine and the Danube. But even Raetia south of the Danube could not adequately be protected, for the Emperor Claudius had to cope with another Alemannic

horde which pushed through the Alps to the borders of Italy (269 A.D.).

Even the African provinces suffered from the invasions of border tribes. A league of desert peoples called the Five Nations (*Quinquegentanei*), as well as other tribes from Mauretania, fell upon Numidia, which, however, was successfully defended by the Roman garrison.

Persian Wars. We have seen already how the new Persian Empire under its Sassanian dynasty had raised claims to the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and initiated a policy of action which had led Severus Alexander to undertake an invasion of Persia. Although this attack resulted in failure, the Persians were held in check for a time; and it was not until 237–238 A.D. that they again took the offensive. King Ardaschir invaded Roman Mesopotamia and took the fortresses of Nisibis and Carrhae. Ardaschir's son, Shapur I, who succeeded him in 242 A.D., at once opened a much more vigorous offensive. Syria was overrun and Antioch endangered. The Roman Emperor Gordian III (238–244 A.D.) took the field, and his able praetorian prefect and father-in-law Timesitheus in 243 A.D. drove the Persians out of Syria and recovered both Carrhae and Nisibis. But the death of Timesitheus late in that year, followed by the murder of Gordian by the new prefect, Philip the Arabian, who himself became emperor, prevented the Romans from reaping the fruits of their victory. Philip was content to make peace with Shapur, who accepted the former Roman boundary. But the Persian king merely shifted the direction of his attack. After gaining possession of Media Atropatene, he secured the assassination of Chosroes, king of Armenia, who had been a loyal Roman ally, and then set a Persian nominee on the Armenian throne (252 A.D.). The way to Asia Minor was now laid open. Shapur thereupon began a series of raids into Mesopotamia, Syria, and Cappadocia which brought the Emperor Valerian to the East to retrieve the situation. Valerian won successes over the Persians in 257 and 259 A.D., but his army was weakened by disease; and when he tried to relieve the siege of Edessa in 260 A.D. he was forced to open negotiations with Shapur, who enticed him to a conference and treacherously made him prisoner. This was a tremendous blow to Roman prestige in the East and a corresponding triumph for the Persian king, who commemorated his exploit in a series of rock reliefs still to be seen in Persia. Shapur at once marched into Syria and seized Antioch, while other Persian armies overran Cilicia and Cappadocia. But when the Persian forces scattered on plundering raids, the Romans began to organize resistance and to cut off isolated detachments. Accordingly, Shapur began a retreat laden with booty and captives. Ere he reached his own territory, however, he was robbed of part of his spoils by the Arabs of Hatra and in the neighborhood of Carrhae suffered a serious defeat from Odenathus, the Roman client prince of Pal-

myra. This disaster put an end to Persian aggression for many years but could not repair the damage done to the population of the devastated provinces.

III. GAUL AND PALMYRA

The Roman Empire of the Gauls. The inability of the Emperor Gallienus to give adequate protection to the Gallic provinces from barbarian invasion and his occupation with usurpers in other parts of the Empire, coupled with the capture of his father and senior colleague Valerian by the Persians, led to the temporary creation of an independent state in the West. In 260 A.D. the Roman troops under the orders of Marcus Cassianus Latinius Postumus after a victory over the Franks proclaimed him Emperor and massacred the young Caesar Saloninus (Valerianus), whom his father Gallienus had left in nominal command on the Rhine. For the moment, Postumus contented himself with securing his position in Gaul and made no attempt to extend his authority over the whole of the Empire. By 263 A.D. Gallienus was able to proceed against the usurper but was unable to overthrow him owing to the treachery of one of his own generals and a serious wound which forced him to abandon the campaign. Left to himself, Postumus won over both Spain and Britain to his side and set up an imperial government of his own with his capital at Trèves (*Augusta Treverorum*). There he appointed a Senate and annual consuls, issued a coinage, and maintained his own Praetorian Guard. When Gallienus was called to the Balkans in 268 A.D. to cope with the great Germanic invasion of that year, the general Aureolus, whom he had left to guard Italy, turned traitor and went over to Postumus. But the latter received only brief recognition in North Italy for Aureolus was besieged in Milan by Gallienus, whose successor Claudius forced him to surrender and put him to death.

In Gaul, however, Postumus was able to keep the barbarians at bay and maintain internal peace which enabled the country to effect a partial recovery from its disasters. But his troops proved disloyal. As early as 265 A.D., they forced him to accept as colleague one of his officers named Victorinus and in 268 A.D. nominated a rival emperor named Laelianus. Postumus defeated Laelianus at Mainz (Mogontiacum), but when he refused his victorious soldiers the right to sack the city they mutinied and killed him. Soon afterwards Victorinus also fell a victim to the rebellious soldiery. He was succeeded by Tetricus, governor of Aquitania and a member of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, who ruled until the collapse of the Gallic Empire in 274 A.D.

The Rise of Palmyra. Palmyra, ancient Tadmor, situated in an oasis

of the Syrian desert, owed its importance to its strategic position as the junction of the main caravan routes between the Mediterranean ports of Syria and the Euphrates as well as those connecting Arabia with North Syria and upper Mesopotamia. Its significance was recognized early by the Romans who obtained control over it in the time of Claudius. Hadrian granted it the right of Italian soil (*ius Italicum*), and under the Severi its ruling family were Roman citizens, some of whom attained senatorial rank. Detachments of Palmyrene archers served as Roman auxiliaries on the Syrian frontier. When the invasian of Shapur called Valerian to the East in 256 A.D., the prince of Palmyra was Septimius Odenathus, whose adherence to the Roman cause was rewarded by the honor of consular rank. The capture of Valerian and the Persian march to the sea gave him the opportunity of playing a more decisive and more independent role in eastern affairs. As we have seen, he inflicted severe losses upon Shapur's army on its retreat through Mesopotamia. Then he turned upon and defeated the usurper Quietus, one of two emperors proclaimed in the East in 260 A.D., while the other, Macrianus, was making an unsuccessful attempt to secure recognition in the West. Gallienus rewarded Odenathus for his exploit by entrusting him with the command of operations against the Persians under the title of Commander of the Romans (*dux Romanorum*). This mission Odenathus successfully accomplished. Roman Mesopotamia was recovered and the war carried to the walls of the Persian capital Ctesiphon. When the Goths swarmed over Asia Minor in 267 A.D., Odenathus hurried to the rescue but was too late to prevent their withdrawal by way of Heraclea. Soon after this he was murdered, along with his eldest son and chosen successor Herodes, by one of his own relatives Maeonius, who himself soon became an assassin's victim. By the close of his career, Odenathus had won a position of great influence and authority in the Roman Orient. For his victories over the Persians, Gallienus had conferred upon him the title Imperator. To this was added that of *corrector totius Orientis,* which gave him general supervision of the administration of the region between Egypt and Asia Minor. After his first victory over Shapur, Odenathus had taken the title of King of Palmyra and after his later ones styled himself King of Kings. Nevertheless, he was still a Roman subject and in fact the highest Roman official in the Near East.

Palmyra's Challenge to Rome. With the death of Odenathus, the real power in Palmyra passed into the hands of his beautiful, gifted, and ambitious widow, Septimia Zenobia. Zenobia secured the crown of Palmyra for her son Vaballathus, who was a willing tool for his mother's policies. Conscious of the momentary weakness of Rome and regarding the military successes of Odenathus, she became convinced that Palmyra should seize

the opportunity to achieve its independence and establish its rule over the Orient. To the realization of this aim, she devoted her unusual energy and ability. The break with Rome, however, was not immediate. Throughout the brief principate of Claudius Gothicus, Palmyra still remained nominally a part of the Roman Empire, although its rulers had gradually strengthened their hold upon Syria and extended it over the eastern part of Asia Minor. When, however, Claudius died of the plague in 270 A.D., Palmyra refused to recognize the authority of his brother and successor Quintillus, and its troops proceeded to occupy Egypt and western Asia Minor. But when Quintillus, after about three months' rule, gave place to the able general Aurelian, Zenobia and Vaballathus returned, nominally at least, to their allegiance, without, however, giving up control of the territories which they had seized. For the moment Aurelian was obliged to temporize and recognized Vaballathus as Imperator and general of the Romans but not as a colleague. In 271 A.D., however, Zenobia decided that the moment had come for Palmyra to declare its independence. Vaballathus assumed the title Augustus, while Zenobia became Augusta. The Roman East, like Gaul and the adjacent western provinces, had now separated from the central government, and there was more than a possibility that the disintegration of the Empire would become permanent.

IV. IMPERIAL UNITY RESTORED

Aurelian, "Restorer of the World": 270–275 A.D. At this critical moment the choice of the soldiery fell upon Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, who had been commander of the imperial cavalry under Claudius and had contributed greatly to the crushing of the Gothic hordes in the Balkan peninsula. By birth an Illyrian of humble origin, Aurelian had risen from the ranks to high command by virtue of his soldierly qualities. Of great physical strength and outstanding courage, a natural leader and a skilful general, he was at the same time stern in enforcing discipline, unyielding, undiplomatic, and hot-tempered. "Hand on Steel" (*manu ad ferrum*) his soldiers called him, and this epithet well expressed his character. Such was the emperor who was destined to re-establish the political unity of the Roman world.

Aurelian's first task was to free the heart of the Empire from new waves of northern barbarians. The Juthungi, apparently a group of Germanic peoples who had been subsidized as Roman allies, having crossed the upper Danube, were devastating northern Italy. At the approach of Aurelian with his army from Pannonia, they retreated but were intercepted and defeated before they could escape from Roman territory. An invasion of

Pannonia by the Vandals and Sarmatians recalled Aurelian to the middle Danube. After a severe struggle, the invaders were defeated but were allowed to return home upon condition of supplying a strong cavalry force to the Roman army. Soon after, the Juthungi once more descended upon Italy, and when Aurelian hurried to the rescue his army was surprised and badly beaten. For the moment Italy was at the mercy of the barbarians. Fortunately they divided their forces, and Aurelian was able to defeat them in three decisive battles. Those of the enemy who survived made their way back across the Danube. A conspiracy among some of the Roman senators called Aurelian to the capital, where he had to suppress a serious revolt of the employees of the imperial mint, who resented attempts to check their making a profit out of issuing debased coins. At the same time he ordered the fortification of Rome as a protection against future barbarian inroads. Rome had not been in danger of attack by foreign foes since Hannibal's invasion of Italy, and the city had outgrown its old defences, which had fallen into decay. It was now surrounded by a brick wall twenty feet high, twelve feet wide, and twelve miles in circuit. This wall, begun in 271 A.D., was not completed until after Aurelian's death.

The Reconquest of the East. Once the safety of Italy was secured by the defeats of the Juthungi and Vandals, Aurelian was able to undertake the recovery of the East, where Vaballathus and Zenobia had proclaimed their independence. On his march eastward, the emperor crossed the Danube and inflicted a severe defeat upon a Gothic king and his followers. He then decided to abandon the old province of Dacia because of the shortage of troops to defend so exposed an area. Gallienus had already given up the northern part of the province, and now Aurelian began the withdrawal of its garrison and such of the civilian populations as wished to follow to the south of the Danube. There he organized a new Dacian province at the expense of Moesia and Thrace. This movement, begun in 271 A.D., was completed by 274 A.D. Resuming his march, he passed rapidly through Asia Minor and entered Syria, where the Greek population went over to his side. Near Antioch he encountered the Palmyrene army, which included both the famous mounted archers and equally formidable lancers whose heavy horses, like the men themselves, were protected by coats of armor. Here and again at Emesa, the superior generalship of Aurelian won decisive victories, and Zenobia withdrew to Palmyra. Aurelian followed and, overcoming the difficulties presented by the desert and its nomadic population, besieged the city. Zenobia tried to flee to Persia but was caught by the Romans, and Palmyra surrendered (272 A.D.). Zenobia, Vaballathus, and other Palmyrene notables were carried off to Rome; but Palmyra itself

at first received lenient treatment. When, however, later in the same year Aurelian was engaged in a campaign against the Carpi, the people of Palmyra rebelled and massacred their Roman garrison. Without delay Aurelian marched again to the East and retook the city (273 A.D.). This time it was sacked and completely destroyed, never again to rise from its ruins. Meantime a rebellion had broken out in Alexandria which cut off the supply of wheat for Rome. Aurelian easily suppressed the revolt but dismantled the fortifications of Alexandria.

The Recovery of Gaul. The time was now ripe for Aurelian to direct his attention to the recovery of Gaul. There the elderly Emperor Tetricus was experiencing great difficulty in warding off the barbarians and repressing rebellions among his own commanders. He was both unwilling and unable to offer serious opposition to the reunion of Gaul with the Empire and perhaps was already acting in collusion with Aurelian when the latter invaded Gaul (273 or 274 A.D.). At any rate he allowed Aurelian to cross the Alpine passes unhindered, and when his troops compelled him to offer battle near Chalons, he deserted them and surrendered to his opponent. Aurelian's victory was complete, and both Gaul and Britain returned to their allegiance as parts of the Roman Empire. The re-establishment of imperial unity was achieved, and Aurelian returned to Rome to celebrate a splendid triumph graced by the presence of his captives Zenobia and Tetricus. Both of these received honorable treatment, and the latter was placed in charge of the administration of Lucania. On his coins Aurelian assumed the title of "Restorer of the World" (*restitutor orbis*).

Aurelian and the Solar Cult. In Rome Aurelian erected a temple to the Unconquered Sun-God whom he established as the protective deity of the Empire. In this he was influenced by his belief that Elagabalus, the Sun-God of Emesa, had aided him in his victory over Palmyra. But he did not transplant to Rome the form of the cult practised at Emesa as the Emperor Elagabalus had tried to do. In Roman fashion a priestly college of pontiffs of senatorial rank supervised the ritual of the new "lord of the Roman Empire." The Sun-God of Aurelian was no mere local divinity but was looked upon as the highest of the gods, whom all who recognized a solar divinity of any sort could unite in worshipping. Furthermore, the Sun-God was thought of as the source of the imperial authority and in a special sense the protector of the emperor. This view gave support to the autocratic position of the ruler and to the idea of his divinity. It is not surprising that one of the imperial mints issued coins of Aurelian with the inscription "born Lord and God," *dominus et deus natus.*

Aurelian did not confine his attention to purely military or political matters but interested himself also in economic questions. In this connection

he may have made some change in the status of the professional guilds in the city of Rome, where he substituted a dole of baked bread for the former public distribution of grain and also issued allowances of pork, oil, and salt to the population. In addition, he attempted a rehabilitation of the imperial silver coinage on the basis of the sestertius instead of the denarius, which had hopelessly declined in value; but the reform was not sufficiently far-reaching to produce effective results. Like so many of his predecessors, Aurelian fell a victim to a military conspiracy. Early in 275 A.D., while on his way to the East to deal with the Persian question, he was murdered by a group of his officers who were falsely informed by his secretary, himself in danger of punishment, that they were going to be executed.

Probus, Emperor: 276–282 A.D. At the death of Aurelian, the principate was bestowed upon Marcus Claudius Tacitus, an elderly senator who had been nominated by the Senate at the request of the army. Tacitus died after an uneventful rule of six months and was succeeded by his brother Florianus, who seized the *imperium* for himself. He found a rival, however, in Probus, the nominee of armies in Egypt and Syria. In less than three months Florianus was struck down by his own troops, and Probus was recognized as sole emperor. Marcus Aurelius Probus, like Aurelian, was of Illyrian stock. Possessed of outstanding military and administrative qualities, he devoted himself unsparingly to completion of the work which Aurelian had so well begun by restoring order throughout the provinces and re-establishing discipline among the soldiers. He cleared Gaul of Franks and Alemanni, who had resumed their devastating incursions, and subdued the rebellious Isaurians in the mountains of Asia Minor. Everywhere he successfully upheld the imperial authority, suppressing usurpers and holding foreign enemies in check. Not the least of his services was the reclamation for cultivation of abandoned or hitherto unexploited lands, which he accomplished in part by the settlement of large numbers of conquered barbarians within the Empire. In such enterprises he also made use of the labor of his soldiers; and this demand upon their services in peace time, as well as the strictness of his disciplinary measures, led to a mutiny which cost his life.

Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus, 282–285 A.D. Marcus Aurelius Carus, Praetorian Prefect under Probus, had been forced by his troops to accept their salutation of Imperator while Probus was still alive. Apparently a native of Narbonne in Gaul, he was a general of marked ability and energy. Upon his accession, he appointed his sons Carinus and Numerianus as Caesars. His chief exploit was a successful campaign against the Persians which resulted in the recovery of upper Mesopotamia and the capture of

Ctesiphon. But in the midst of his success he died mysteriously probably a victim to the ambitions of his Praetorian Prefect Aper (283 A.D.). At his death Carinus and Numerianus were proclaimed Augusti. Carinus had been left in Rome to supervise the government of the West, where his cruelty made him detested; but Numerianus had accompanied his father to the East. As the army was returning through Asia Minor, Aper had him assassinated. But instead of Aper, the army appointed as emperor Diocles, the commander of the imperial bodyguard, who promptly put Aper to death (284 A.D.). Carinus at once rallied the troops under his command and met the army of Diocles at the river Margus in Moesia. There the western soldiers had the better of the fighting, but Carinus was murdered by one of his own officers (285 A.D.). His leaderless army accepted Diocles as their Imperator, and with the consolidation of the imperial power in his hands a new period of Roman history began.

V. CHRISTIANITY IN DANGER

The Problem of the Christians. By the middle of the third century the Christian church was in a flourishing condition. It numbered among its adherents men in all walks of life; its leaders were men of culture and ability; and, abandoning the attitude of the early church towards the Kingdom of Heaven, the Christians were taking an active part in the society in which they lived. The number of the Christians was so great as to disquiet the government, since in view of their attitude towards the cults of the state they were still traitors in the eyes of the law. Furthermore, the individual congregations were bound together in a strong organization under the leadership of the bishops and might seem to form a state within the state. Christian spokesmen, also, while willing to give moral support to the Roman government condemned the participation of believers in the duties of public office and in military service, although in practice their admonitions in this respect were often disregarded. In public opinion, the Christians were generally looked upon as enemies within the gates, and the calamities of the time were attributed to the anger of the gods at the toleration extended to these unbelievers. These considerations help us to understand why, in their struggle against the forces which threatened the dissolution of the Empire, certain of its rulers sought to stamp out Christianity as a means of restoring religious and political harmony and loyalty among their subjects.

Under Maximinus the Thracian the Christians experienced a brief persecution to be explained by his conscious reversal of the policies of Severus Alexander. Following the example of Septimius Severus, Maximinus seems

to have directed his attack against members of the higher clergy as the ones responsible for the propagation of Christian doctrines. But he did not initiate a general persecution of the Church, and the effects of his hostility were mainly limited to Rome and Palestine. After the death of this emperor (238 A.D.), the old policy of Trajan seems to have been resumed; and under the Emperor Philip in particular the Christians enjoyed general immunity. But this respite was merely the lull before the storm.

The Persecution of Decius: 250–251 A.D. Under the successor of Philip, the Emperor Decius, began the first attempt to abolish Christianity throughout the whole Empire. In 250 A.D. Decius issued a general edict ordering all the citizens of Italy and the provinces, according to their municipalities, to perform public acts of worship to the gods of the state. Those who refused were liable to the death penalty. This edict threatened the destruction of all the church communities for it was directed against the lay as well as the clerical members. In addition, it meant that all Christians were to be sought out by the method of compelling universal public registration for the sacrifices. A considerable number of the certificates of conformity granted at the request of those who performed the sacrifices before the authorized authorities have been found among the papyri recovered from the soil of Egypt. They are all of the same type, of which the following is an example. (In the handwriting of one of the petitioners): "To the Superintendents of Sacrifices, from Aurelius Akis, from the village of Theoxenis, with his children Aion and Heras, all being of the village of Theadelphia. It was always our practice to sacrifice to the gods and now in your presence, in accordance with the regulations, we have sacrificed, have made libations, and have tasted the offerings, and we request you to certify this. Farewell." (In the handwriting of one of the Superintendents of Sacrifices): "We, Aurelius Serenus and Aurelius Hermas, saw you sacrificing." (Date): "The first year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Pauni 23rd." [1]

The Persecution of Valerian: 257–260 A.D. The persecution of Decius was terminated by his death in 251 A.D., but his policy was renewed by Valerian in 257 A.D. In that year Valerian required the Christians to offer sacrifice publicly, forbade their reunions, and closed their cemeteries. In the next year he ordered the immediate trial of bishops, priests, and other officers of the churches and set penalties for the various grades of the clergy who persisted in their beliefs. But Valerian's persecution also was brief and ended with his defeat and capture by the Persians in 260 A.D. Naturally, in so large a body as the Christians now were, not all were animated by the

[1] P. Mich. III, 157.

zeal and sincerity of the early brethren; and under threat of punishment many, at least openly, abjured their faith. However, many others cheerfully suffered martyrdom and by their example furthered the Christian cause. Truly, "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." The persecutions tried the church sorely, but it emerged triumphant from the ordeal.

Valerian's son Gallienus, who in many respects was unsympathetic with his father's policies, permitted the Christians the use of their religious buildings and cemeteries and even issued an edict forbidding their further persecution.

VI. THE END OF THE PRINCIPATE

Princeps and Senate. In the period between 235 A.D. and 285 A.D. the Principate, in the sense of the form of government established by Augustus for Rome and the Empire, finally came to an end. Its termination was marked by the complete elimination of the Senate as a factor in the government of the state and as the authority which legally conferred the powers of the office of princeps upon a new emperor. An accompanying and closely related development was the exclusion of members of the senatorial order from military command and to a large extent from the civil administration of the provinces. These changes were the logical, perhaps the inevitable, outcome of the trends that had made themselves manifest before the close of the Severan dynasty. They were effected gradually and were not the work of any one emperor. On certain occasions indeed the Senate displayed a considerable degree of independence and initiative, but it could not command the respect of the armed forces, and so any influence it exerted was only temporary. It recognized Gordian I and his son Gordian II as emperors while Maximinus was still alive and took over the defence of Italy in their interest. At their death it declared them Divi and appointed as their successors Balbinus and Pupienus. But it was unable to protect these two whom it had nominated against the praetorians, who murdered them and forced the Senate to accept their own choice, the infant Gordian III (238 A.D.). And later, when at the death of Aurelian the army called upon the Senate to name the new princeps, it declined to take the responsibility and referred the decision back to the soldiers only to yield and make the appointment when they insisted. Again, although the Senate resented the actions of emperors who, like Gallienus and Aurelian, deprived it of some of its remaining prerogatives or failed to respect its dignity, it could do nothing to protect its interests. If, as one tradition asserts, the senatorial order recovered some of its former privileges under

Tacitus, it was too late for it to regain its earlier position; and what it had gained by the good will of one emperor it lost as readily under his successor.

Until Carus, however, the emperors had all recognized that their constitutional right to rule depended upon their acceptance by the Senate and its conferment upon them of the *imperium* and other powers, honors, and titles of their office. It did not matter whether the Senate took this action voluntarily or under pressure; it was considered essential that it be taken. But when Carus was acclaimed emperor by the soldiers, he regarded himself as in full and legal possession of the imperial authority by virtue of the action of the army alone, and he informed the Senate that he had become emperor. Diocles followed his example in disregarding the Senate's traditional role in appointing an emperor, and henceforth it was admitted that the right to confer the *imperium* had passed from the Senate to the army.

The Senate's loss of the right to create the emperor found a counterpart in the increased emphasis laid upon the divinity of the imperial office. As we have seen, this doctrine found its clearest expression under Aurelian, who, besides being styled "god" on some of his coins, also appeared as the god Aurelian in contemporary inscriptions. The same idea was expressed when the god Hercules was called the "consort" of Aurelian. In harmony with this terminology was Aurelian's adoption of the diadem, which had long been the symbol of deified autocracy in the ancient world, and his declaration to his troops that not they but God alone decided the choice of an emperor and the length of his rule. Aurelian's example was followed in general by his successors, whose coins also bear the "god and lord" legend besides showing at times portraits of an emperor and a god side by side as two divinities.

The Rise of the Equestrians. The exclusion of senators from a military career and from the command of the legions was brought about by Gallienus, who believed that by this step he would eliminate possible rivals from the senatorial class and at the same time secure more efficient officers among those who had reached the equestrian order through the centurionate. Even under Augustus the legions stationed in Egypt had been commanded by equestrian prefects, and this had also been true of the three new legions created by Septimius Severus. Following these precedents, all the legionary commanders now became prefects of equestrian rank. It was Gallienus also who replaced most of the senatorial legates of Augustus who governed imperial provinces by equestrian officials who took the legates' title of *praesides.* Here, too, he found a precedent in the practice of the earlier third century by which equestrians acted as temporary substitutes for senators in both imperial and senatorial provinces. The successors of

Gallienus continued his policy, but as late as the accession of Diocletian a few of the imperial provinces still retained governors of senatorial rank. It is uncertain to what extent equestrians supplanted the proconsuls in the senatorial provinces, but it seems probable that they did so in a good many cases. A sign of the new spirit in the administration was the appointment of curators to administer different parts of Italy, a prelude to its division into provincial districts. Symbolic also of the rise of the equestrian order was the continued extension of the powers of the praetorian prefect. Although the judicial development of the office ceased with Philip, the prefects were given control of the collection of the imposts in kind levied for the support of the army (the military *annona*). They also acquired the right to issue general regulations provided that these were in conformity with the existing laws. In their military capacity they commanded all the troops stationed in Italy, and when they accompanied the emperors in the field they were the highest of the general officers. Hence it is by no means surprising that the praetorian prefecture became in several instances a steppingstone to the principate itself. The militarization of the equestrian order, a process which had been greatly accelerated under the Severi, became still more pronounced under Gallienus, who conferred equestrian rank at birth upon the sons of the legionary centurions and officers of subordinate rank.

Military Reforms. The failure of the system of frontier defences developed in the second century to check the barbarian invasions caused a regrouping of the armed forces of the Empire. This was essentially a return to the practice of the early Principate in that mobile forces of considerable strength were stationed at strategic points well back of the frontiers, ready to move rapidly against an enemy that broke through the border fortifications and garrisons. At the same time, the units that remained on the frontiers assumed more and more the character of militia troops, particularly since, owing to the increasing shortage of man-power, they were reinforced by large numbers of barbarian captives and sometimes client tribes who were given lands along the Limites upon condition of their supplying troops to defend them. Other changes of great significance, dictated by the changing character of warfare in the third century, occurred in the equipment and training of the soldiers of the legions. The need for greater mobility both on the march and on the field of battle caused the abandonment of the custom of constructing fortified camps at the end of each day's march and also the replacement of the breastplate by a leather jacket, sometimes covered with metal scales, and of the heavy shield by a small, round buckler. Since the age-old weapons of the legionary, the javelin and the short straight sword, proved ineffective against the cavalry of the day, they

were given up in favor of lances and the long sword used by the auxiliaries. Of far-reaching consequence was the gradual disappearance of the Italian element in the officer class, whose place was taken by provincials of inferior culture and education. Under these conditions there came about a marked decline not only in the knowledge of military traditions and organization among the lower officers but also of training and discipline among the rank and file of the soldiers. Nevertheless, until about the middle of the third century the legions constituted the élite troops in the Roman service, and the legionary formation determined the Roman order of battle. Under Gallienus, however, the Romans began to look upon cavalry as more important than infantry and developed a cavalry force which had an independent organization and could take the field without the support of the legions. This consisted of the already famous Moorish cavalry, the cavalry troops formerly attached to the legions, and new units recruited in Dalmatia. In equipping their cavalry, the Romans displayed their traditional readiness to adapt to their own use the weapons of their enemies. They had already made use of Osrhoënian and Palmyrene mounted archers armed with the powerful Asiatic laminated bow and also to a lesser extent of heavy-mailed lancers of the Persian type (*cataphractarii*). Now, many of the European cavalry regiments were likewise organized as archers or heavy cavalry. The cavalry corps, which had its headquarters at Milan, was further strengthened by Aurelian, himself a great leader of horse, who increased the number of *cataphractarii*. The importance attached to the cavalry corps was shown by its being placed on a par with the praetorians, and from the date of its organization its commander rivalled, if he did not eclipse, the praetorian prefect in influence. Both Claudius Gothicus and Aurelian advanced from the command of the cavalry directly to the principate.

An important stage in the barbarization of the Roman army was the inclusion of German soldiers, not merely in irregular corps called *numeri* or as allies (*foederati*) but also in regular units of the auxiliaries. Following earlier precedents, Aurelian enrolled new auxiliary corps recruited among the Vandals, Alemanni, and Juthungi. In this period also the term *dux* (duke) becomes a formal military title used of the generals commanding special corps like the field armies and the cavalry or the forces grouped in particular areas not corresponding to the older provincial commands.

Economic Decline. It was inevitable that the ravages of foreign invasions and civil strife continued over so long a period should result in a disruption of the agricultural, industrial, and commercial life of the Empire. Apart from the destruction of property and the interruption of lines of communication, moveable wealth of all sorts was carried off as spoils of war by the

Persians and barbarians alike. Most serious of all was the great decline in population brought about by heavy losses due to military activities and by the concomitant hunger and disease. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the effects of the great epidemic which began in 251 A.D. and raged until 266 A.D., equalling in duration the pestilence of the time of Marcus Aurelius. Since the Emperor Claudius Gothicus fell a victim to plague in 270 A.D., it is probable that it lingered on in some districts even after it had subsided in general. Beginning in Ethiopia and striking Egypt with particular severity, it extended its ravages to the extreme western parts of the Empire. Hardly a city escaped, and some of them experienced two visitations of the disease, which seems to have been of the character of bubonic plague. According to a contemporary writer, the population of Alexandria, the second city of the Roman world, shrank to such a degree that the total surviving population between the ages of fourteen and seventy was only equal to the former number of those between forty and seventy, that is to say, a loss of about two thirds of the inhabitants. Large areas of rural land were left untilled, not only from dearth of laborers but also because the decline of the population of the towns made greater production of foodstuffs unnecessary and unprofitable. Depopulation explains why there was a chronic shortage of recruits for the imperial armies.

The confusion that reigned in the government finances is revealed in the complete collapse of the silver coinage. Under Gallienus, the Antoninianus, then the standard silver coin, retained only 2 per cent of its silver content; the rest was copper. This meant that the revenues of the state were completely inadequate to meet its outlays and that, in view of a decline in the production of the silver mines, its only recourse was to issue masses of debased coins with their old nominal value. The result of this inflation was a tremendous rise in prices. In Egypt, a province for which we have considerable documentary evidence, the rise amounted to between fourteen and twenty times the original values. Furthermore, faced with diminishing revenues because of general depopulation and impoverishment, the government became even more exacting than before in its demands for services and extraordinary contributions from those who survived. The associations of businessmen and tradesmen were forced more and more into the public service and put under stricter control, while the municipal obligations pressed more and more heavily on the propertied townspeople who formed the middle class of the Empire. From the ruin of the third century this class as a whole never recovered. The emperors were not unaware of the danger which threatened the existence of the state from the increasing impoverishment of the population, but they were unable to find a way out of the difficulties. Aurelian's attempt to rehabilitate the coinage was a step

in the right direction, and that is also true of the efforts of Probus to establish new proprietors on vacant lands. In general, however, the remedies adopted merely extended the control of the state over the private citizen and his activities so that both opportunity and incentive were gradually removed from the field of private enterprise.

Decline of Literature and Art. The political and economic disorder which prevailed between 235 and 285 A.D. affected unfavorably both literary and artistic pursuits. Only a few had time or inclination to engage in literary activity, and among these writers of note are extremely rare. Latin authors were eclipsed by the Greek, both in numbers and in quality. Among the latter was the historian Herodian, whose work has been mentioned already, and the Athenian Dexippus, famed for his defeat of a band of Gothic raiders who had plundered his native city in 268 A.D. Dexippus composed a *Universal History,* now lost, and a *History of the Scythians,* preserved only in fragments. The outstanding philosopher of the age was the Egyptian Plotinus, who taught at Rome from about 253 to 270 A.D. With him, Greek philosophy became definitely religious in character, resting upon the basis of revelation and belief, not upon that of reason. A Syrian Greek named Cassius Longinus, like Plotinus a product of the schools of Alexandria, became a distinguished teacher of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens and the leading literary critic of the age. At the invitation of Zenobia, he left Athens for Palmyra, where he was one of the queen's trusted advisers, a position which cost him his life upon Aurelian's reconquest of the East (272 A.D.).

Many of the bishops of the Christian Church were men of high education, distinguished as orators, theologians, and moralists. Outstanding among them was St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, a writer of real merit, who met a martyr's death in the persecution of Valerian (258 A.D.).

Architecture in particular suffered from the prevailing poverty. Only the emperors were able to construct buildings of any considerable size, and these were almost exclusively of a public character; amphitheaters, triumphal arches, public baths, or temples, both in Rome and in the provinces. For the most part these followed traditional types, but some new contributions were made to the solution of the problem of vaulting in buildings of circular form. Portraiture, as shown in busts of the emperors, in reliefs on sarcophagi, and in the imperial effigies on coins, still preserved many of the realistic qualities of Roman sculpture.

The third century, the age of the great persecutions, was also the age of the greatest expansion of the Catacombs in the vicinity of Rome, the secret burial places of the Christians. There were many groups of these, each comprising a complicated underground network of narrow passages lined with

niches for the bodies of the dead. Here and there the passages widened into chambers, which served as the tombs of distinguished persons or whole families. Mural paintings, stucco reliefs, and inscriptions constituted the decorative features. In execution, they show the technical skill of the trained workmen of the period; in subject matter they continue to draw their inspiration from the Scriptures and to make use of the conventional figures and symbols of earlier Christian art.

PART IV

The Autocracy or Late Empire: 285–565 A.D.

CHAPTER XXII. THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE MAINTAINED: 285–395 A.D.

The long period of Roman history between 285 and 565 A.D. may be divided into three main epochs. During the first of these, which terminated in 395 A.D., the Roman Empire remained a united state able to maintain its integrity against barbarian pressure from without and rebellion from within. In the second epoch, however, from 395 to 518 A.D., the Empire was divided into a Roman Empire in the East and a Roman Empire in the West, the latter of which gradually crumbled away and gave place to a number of Germanic kingdoms while the Empire in the East managed to preserve its independence. The third epoch, from 518 to 565 A.D., is characterized by the attempt, only partially successful, made by the Eastern Emperor Justinian to re-establish the imperial authority in the lost western lands and to preserve the ideal of a united Roman Empire.

In spite of a general cultural decline throughout the whole period, the age produced several important historical writers whose works have survived more or less intact. For the fourth century our most valuable sources are the surviving books 14 to 31 of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, which give a detailed account of the years 353 to 378 A.D. This is paralleled and supplemented by the *New History* of Zosimus, covering the period from 270 to 410 A.D. In addition, there are the brief manuals to which reference has been made in preceding chapters; Sextus Aurelius Victor's *Caesars,* a series of short lives of the emperors from Augustus to 360 A.D.; the so-called *Epitome of the Caesars,* which runs to 395 A.D.; Eutropius' *Breviary* of the course of Roman History to 364 A.D.; and the work of Paulus Orosius entitled *Against the Pagans,* ending with 417 A.D. For the greater part of the fifth century, however, we have no historical literature of any importance. In contrast, the events of Justinian's reign are recorded in the noteworthy *History* of Procopius, whose work, which ends with 554 A.D., lays special emphasis on the Vandal, Gothic, and Persian Wars. The same author has left a valuable account of Justinian's building activities. A continuation of Procopius is found in the work of Agathias *On the Reign of Justinian,* in which he narrates the events of the years 552 to 558 A.D. The gaps in the narrative history are partially filled by the various chronicles of the fourth,

fifth, sixth, and later centuries. Of these, one of the most important is the Greek chronicle of Eusebius, which ran to 325 A.D. and is partly preserved in the Latin version of St. Jerome, who brought it down to 378 A.D. This chronicle was continued by other compilators in both Latin and Greek until late in the sixth century. Another valuable work of similar type is the Greek *Pascal Chronicle,* which presents a chronological record from the creation of the world to 629 A.D.

Among the more specialized historical works are the various *Church Histories* by Eusebius and others and the already mentioned tract of Lactantius *On the Death of the Persecutors.* Useful also are the histories of the Goths, Franks, and other Germanic peoples written by Romans or authors who carried on the traditions of Roman culture in the lands lost to the barbarians. There is also a wealth of material in the contemporary writings of churchmen, in the panegyrics addressed to the emperors, the collections of speeches and letters, and other forms of literature. Invaluable source material is likewise presented in the compilations of imperial constitutions, namely, the *Theodosian Code* of 438 A.D., with its supplement *Novellae* or "New Constitutions" dating between 438 and 472 A.D., and the *Code of Justinian* of 534 A.D. together with the *Novellae* of the same emperor. These collections are to some degree paralleled by those compiled at the orders of Visigothic and Burgundian kings for their Roman subjects in the newly conquered kingdoms. A document of prime importance for the administrative organization of the Late Empire is the *Notitia Dignitatum* of the early fifth century. This is an official list of the chief civil and military officials of the Empire with their departmental staffs and in some cases the spheres of their competence. For Egypt, papyrus documents continue to throw useful light upon all aspects of the life of the province; and the rather small number of inscriptions, with the coins and archaeological remains, supplement in many respects the available written sources.

I. DIOCLETIAN: 285–305 A.D.

Diocletian Founds a New Régime. Upon Diocles, who assumed the name of Diocletian, devolved the task of bringing order out of chaos, of rebuilding the shattered fabric of the Roman Empire, of re-establishing the civil administration, and of taking effective measures to secure an enduring peace. Like many of the emperors of the third century, Diocletian was an Illyrian soldier of humble origin who by sheer ability and force of character had won his way up from the ranks to the imperial throne. In attacking the problem of imperial restoration, he displayed restless energy and versatility, a thorough-going radicalism which knew little respect for tradi-

tions, and a supreme confidence in his ability to restore the economic welfare of the Empire by legislative means. In his administrative reforms he gave expression to the tendencies which had been at work in the later Principates and with him begins the period of undisguised autocracy, in which the emperor, supported by the army and the bureaucracy, is the sole source of authority in the state. Like Augustus, Diocletian was the founder of a new régime, one in which the absolutist ideal of Julius Caesar finally attained realization.

Maximian Coemperor: 286 A.D. One of the first acts of Diocletian was to co-opt as his associate in the *imperium,* with the rank of Caesar, a Pannonian officer named Valerius Maximianus. In 286 Maximian received the title of Augustus and equal authority with Diocletian. However, the latter always dominated his younger colleague and really determined the imperial policy. In conformity with the undisguised absolutism of his rule, Diocletian assumed the divine title of Jovius and bestowed that of Herculius upon Maximian. In this way he indicated his own close affiliation with Jupiter and that of his colleague with Hercules. Diocletian's choice of a coemperor was determined largely by the conviction that the burden of empire was too heavy to be borne by one man. He therefore entrusted the defence of the western provinces to Maximian, while he devoted his attention to the Danubian and eastern frontiers. Maximian's first task was to quell a serious revolt of the Gallic peasants, called Bagaudae, occasioned by the exactions of the state and the landholders. After crushing this outbreak (285 A.D.), he successfully defended the Rhine frontier against the attacks of Franks, Alemanni, and Burgundians (286–288 A.D.). In the meantime, however, a usurper had arisen in the person of Carausius, an officer entrusted with the defence of the Gallic coast against the North Sea pirates, who made himself master of Britain and proclaimed himself Augustus (286 A.D.). Maximian was unable to subdue him, and the two emperors were forced against their will to acknowledge him as their colleague.

The Tetrarchy. Diocletian saw in the absence of a strict regulation of the succession a fertile cause of civil strife. To do away with this and to discourage the rise of usurpers, as well as to relieve the Augusti of a part of their military and administrative burdens, he determined to appoint two Caesars as the assistants and destined successors of Maximian and himself. His choice fell upon Gaius Galerius and Flavius Valerius Constantius, both Illyrian officers of tried military capacity. They received the title of Caesar on March 1, 293 A.D. To cement the tie between the Caesars and the Augusti, Diocletian adopted Galerius and gave him his daughter in marriage, while Maximian bound Constantius to himself in the same way. It was the plan of Diocletian that the Augusti should voluntarily abdicate after an in-

definite period and be succeeded by the Caesars, who in turn should then nominate and adopt their successors.

To each of the four partners in the tetrarchy there was assigned a part of the Empire as his particular administrative sphere. Diocletian took Thrace, Egypt, and the Asiatic provinces, fixing his headquarters at Nicomedia. Maximian received Italy, Raetia, Spain, and Africa and took up his residence at Milan. To Galerius were allotted the Danubian provinces and the remainder of the Balkan peninsula, with Sirmium as his residence; while Constantius, to whose lot fell the provinces of Gaul, established himself at Trèves. This arrangement, however, was not a fourfold division of the Empire, for the Caesars were subject to the authority of the Augusti and imperial edicts were issued in the name of all four rulers. Additional unity was given to the government by the personal ascendancy which Diocletian continued to maintain over his associates. One result of this arrangement was that Rome ceased to be the permanent imperial residence and capital of the Empire, Milan and later Ravenna being preferred as the seat of government for the West. This change was largely the result of the exclusion of the Senate from all active participation in the government and the fact that Rome retained traditions of republican and senatorial rule incompatible with the spirit of the new order. Yet, in spite of its loss of prestige, the Eternal City continued to hold a privileged status, and its citizens were fed and amused at the expense of the Empire.

The Restoration of the Frontiers. The division of the military authority among four able commanders enabled the government to deal energetically with all frontier wars or internal revolts. In 296 Constantius recovered Britain from Allectus, who three years previously had overthrown Carausius and proclaimed himself Augustus. In 297 Maximian was forced to appear in person in Africa to suppress a revolt of the Quinquegentiani. Meanwhile, Diocletian crushed a usurper named Domitianus in Egypt and repulsed the invading Blemyes from the Sudan. Galerius, under the orders of Diocletian, after repelling attacks of the Iazyges (294 A.D.) and Carpi (296 A.D.) was called upon to meet a Persian invasion of Armenia and Mesopotamia. He was at first severely defeated but, after being reinforced, won a decisive victory over Narses, the Persian king, and recovered Armenia. Diocletian himself recovered Mesopotamia, and the Persians were forced to acknowledge the Roman suzerainty over Armenia, while the Roman frontier in Mesopotamia was advanced to the upper Tigris. In all parts of the Empire the border defences were repaired and strengthened.

Military and Administrative Reforms. The military reforms of Diocletian aimed to correct the weakness revealed in the previous system by the wars of the third century. He created a powerful mobile force, the *comi-*

tatenses, and organized the permanent garrison along the frontier in the form of a border militia, the *limitanei.* At the same time, in accordance with the practice initiated by Gallienus, the military and civil authority in the provinces was sharply divided to prevent a dangerous concentration of power in the hands of any one official. And the same motive is to be traced in the subdivision of the provinces, the number of which was raised to 101. These were grouped in thirteen dioceses, administered by *vicarii* (vicars), who were subordinate to the praetorian prefects.

The Edict of Prices: 301 A.D. Diocletian also made a thorough revision of the system of taxation and tried, but without complete success, to establish a satisfactory monetary standard. A more conspicuous failure, however, was his attempt to stabilize economic conditions and check the growing inflation by government regulation. By the Edict of Prices issued in 301, he fixed a uniform price for each commodity and every form of labor or professional service throughout the Empire. The penalty of death was provided for all who demanded or offered more than the legal price. The law proved impossible to enforce. It took no account of the variations of supply and demand in the various parts of the Empire, of the difference between wholesale and retail trade, or in the quality of articles of the same kind. In spite of the severe penalty prescribed, the provisions of the law were so generally disregarded that the government abandoned the attempt to carry them into effect.

Persecution of the Christians: 302 A.D. Equally unsuccessful were his measures for the suppression of Christianity. For nearly half a century following Valerian's persecution, the Christians had enjoyed immunity from repressive legislation. They had continued to increase rapidly in numbers, and it has been estimated that at this time perhaps one tenth of the population of the Empire were adherents of the Christian faith. The reason for the revival of persecution by Diocletian is uncertain, although it may possibly have been at the instigation of Galerius, who displayed the greatest zeal in carrying it into effect. In 302 Diocletian issued three edicts, ordering the confiscation of church property, the dismissal of Christians from civil offices, the abrogation of their judicial rights, the enslavement of Christians of plebeian status, the arrest and imprisonment of the heads of the Church, and heavy penalties for those who refused to offer sacrifice to the state gods, while granting liberty to all who did so. In 304, a fourth edict ordered all citizens without exception to make public sacrifice and libation to the gods. The degree to which these edicts were enforced varied in the different parts of the Empire. The most energetic persecutors were Maximian and Galerius, while in Gaul Constantius made little or no effort to molest the Christians. The persecution lasted with interruptions till

311 A.D. Many leading Christians met a martyr's death, but the Church emerged from the ordeal more strongly organized and aggressive than before. Its victory made it a political force of supreme importance.

The Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian: 305 A.D. In 304 A.D., Diocletian was seized by a nervous disorder which forced him for some time to abstain from his duties. Upon his recovery, he decided to resign his office in favor of his junior colleagues. His fellow Augustus, who was bound by an agreement to follow his example, was forced to accept his decision. Accordingly, on May 1, 305 A.D., Diocletian and Maximian, after a joint rule of twenty years, formally abdicated their authority and retired into private life. Diocletian withdrew to his palace near Salona in Dalmatia, and Maximian, much against his will, to an estate in Lucania. Galerius and Constantius succeeded them as Augusti.

II. CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT: 306–337 A.D.

The Rise of Constantine: 306–310 A.D. Diocletian's plan for securing an orderly succession of rulers for the Empire had neglected to take into account individual ambitions and the strength of dynastic loyalty among the soldiers. Its failure was forecast in the appointment of the new Caesars. Galerius, who was the more influential of the new Augusti, disregarded the claims of Constantine, the son of Constantius, and nominated two of his own favorites, Severus and Maximinus Daia. In this Constantius acquiesced, but when he died in Britain in 306 A.D., his army acclaimed Constantine as his successor. Galerius was forced to acknowledge him as Caesar.

In the same year Maxentius, the son of Maximian, took advantage of the opposition aroused in Rome by the attempt of Galerius to make the city subject to taxation and caused himself to be proclaimed Caesar. He was supported by his father, who emerged from his enforced retirement, and defeated and brought about the death of Severus, whom Galerius had made Augustus and had sent to subdue him. Maxentius then took the title of Augustus for himself. The same rank was accorded to Constantine by Maximian, who made an alliance with him and gave him his daughter, Fausta, in marriage. Upon the failure of an attempt by Galerius to overthrow Maxentius, an appeal was made to Diocletian to return to power and put an end to the rivalries of his successors (307 A.D.). He refused to do so but induced Maximian, who had quarrelled with his son, to withdraw a second time from public life. Licinius, who had been made Caesar by Galerius in place of Severus, became an Augustus, while Daia and Constantine each received the title of Son of Augustus (*filius Augusti*), a distinction which Constantine, from the beginning, and Daia, soon afterwards,

ignored. Thus, by 310 A.D., there were five Augusti (including Maxentius) in the Empire and no Caesars. It was not long before the ambitions of the rival emperors led to a renewal of civil war.

Constantine Wins the West: 310–312 A.D. In 310 Maximian tried to win over the army of Constantine, but his attempt failed and cost him his life. The following year Galerius died, after having, in concert with Constantine and Licinius, issued an edict which put an end to the persecution of the Christians and granted them the right to practise their religion, an admission that the state had failed in its plan to stamp out the religion of Christ. The Empire was then divided as follows: Constantine held Britain, Gaul, and Raetia; Maxentius Spain, Italy, and Africa; Licinius the Illyrian and Balkan provinces; and Maximinus Daia the lands to the east of the Aegean, including Egypt. The attempt of Maxentius to add Raetia to his dominions brought him into conflict with Constantine. Constantine allied himself with Licinius, and Maxentius found a supporter in Maximinus. Without delay Constantine invaded Italy and routed the troops of Maxentius at Verona. He then pressed on to Rome and won a final victory not far from the Milvian bridge (312 A.D.). Maxentius perished in the rout. It was in this campaign—as a result, it was said, of a vision—that Constantine caused his soldiers to decorate their shields with a monogram formed like a combination of Chi and Rho, the first two letters of the Greek spelling of Christos (Christ).

Constantine and Licinius: 313–324 A.D. In 313 Constantine and Licinius met at Milan, where they issued a joint edict of toleration, which placed Christianity upon an equal footing with the pagan cults of the state. Although this edict enunciated the principle of religious toleration for the Empire, it was issued with a view to winning the political support of the Christians and pointed unmistakably to Christianity as the future state religion. Shortly after the publication of the Edict of Milan, Maximinus Daia crossed the Bosporus and invaded the territory of Licinius. He was defeated by the latter, who followed up his advantage and occupied Asia Minor. Upon the death of Maximinus, which followed within a short time, Licinius fell heir to the remaining eastern provinces. These now received the religious toleration previously extended to the rest of the Empire.

The concord between the surviving Augusti was, however, soon broken by a plot instigated by Licinius to deprive Constantine of Italy. A brief war ensued, which was terminated by an agreement whereby Licinius ceded to Constantine the dioceses of Moesia and Pannonia (314 A.D.). In 317 they jointly nominated as Caesars and their successors Crispus and Constantine, the elder sons of Constantine, and Licinianus, the son of Licinius. It was on this occasion that Constantine adopted as the standard of his body-

guard the so-called *labarum,* a long cross surmounted by a golden wreath bearing the monogram Chi-Rho and having suspended from the crossbar a silk cloth with the images of Constantine and his two sons. Nevertheless, although they continued to act in harmony for some years longer, it was evident that the two emperors still regarded one another with jealous suspicion. This came clearly to light in the difference of their policies towards the Christians. The more Constantine courted their support by granting them special privileges, the more Licinius tended to regard them with disfavor and restrict their religious liberty. Finally, in 323 A.D., when repelling a Gothic inroad, Constantine led his forces into the territory of Licinius, who treated the trespass as an act of war. In the following year Constantine won a signal victory at Adrianople, and his son Crispus destroyed the fleet of Licinius at the Hellespont. These disasters induced Licinius to withdraw to Asia Minor. There he was completely defeated by Constantine near Chrysopolis (September 18, 324 A.D.). Licinius surrendered upon assurance of his life, but the following year he was executed on a charge of treason. Constantine was now sole emperor.

Constantine Sole Emperor: 324–337 A.D. Constantine's administrative policy followed in the steps of Diocletian, whose organization he elaborated and perfected in many respects. The praetorian prefecture was deprived of its military authority, which was conferred upon the newly created military offices of master of the horse and master of the foot (*magister equitum* and *peditum*). This completed the separation between the military and civil offices. Diocletian's field force was strengthened by the creation of new mobile units, and his efficient army enabled Constantine to defend the Empire against all barbarian attacks. Upon waste lands within the frontiers he settled Sarmatians and Vandals, while he greatly increased the barbarian element in the army as a whole but particularly among the officers of higher rank.

Constantinople: 330 A.D. Of special importance for the future history of the Empire was the founding of a new capital, called Constantinople, on the site of ancient Byzantium. After four years' preparation, the new city was formally dedicated on May 11, 330 A.D. The choice of the site of the new capital of the Empire was determined by its strategic importance. It was conveniently situated with respect to the eastern and Danubian frontiers and well adapted as a link between the European and Asiatic parts of the empire. The aim of the emperor was to make Constantinople a new Rome, and he gave it the organization and the institutions of Rome on the Tiber. A new Senate was established there, likewise the public festivals and free bread for the populace. For the latter purpose the grain of Egypt was diverted from Rome to Constantinople.

Constantine and the Succession. Like Diocletian, Constantine realized the necessity of having more than a single ruler for the Empire, but he determined to choose his associates from the members of his own household. Accordingly, following Crispus and Constantine, Constantine's younger sons, Constantius and Constans, were given the title of Caesar, while Licinianus, the son of Licinius, was gotten rid of in 326. In the same year Crispus was also put to death. The cause of his fall is uncertain. It involved the death of his stepmother, Fausta, the mother of Constantine's other sons. Ultimately, the three surviving Caesars were set over approximately equal portions of the Empire. In 335 Constantine the younger governed Britain, Gaul, and Illyricum; Constans ruled Italy, Africa, and Pannonia; and Constantius was in control of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. In that year Constantine appointed as a fourth Caesar his nephew, Delmatius, to whom he intended to entrust the government of Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaea. At the same time, Annabalianus, a brother of Delmatius, was designated as the future ruler of Pontus and Armenia, with the title of King of Kings.

Constantine's Christianity. Constantine died in May, 337 A.D., shortly after having been baptized into the Christian church, but he may well have been a professed Christian for many years. Although his mother, Helena, was a Christian, it seems improbable that Constantine himself was from youth an adherent of that faith. On the whole, one may say that his attitude towards Christianity was determined as much by political as by religious convictions. From the first, however, his mother's influence and his father's toleration of Christianity doubtless predisposed him to consider the Christians with favor. He soon sought the support of the Christians on political grounds, and his successes over his rivals seem to have confirmed him in this policy and in the belief that he owed these successes to the favor of the Christian God. Finally, he appears to have seen in Christianity the religion best suited to a universal faith for the Empire. But Constantine himself did not raise Christianity to that position, although he prepared the way to this end. Although he forbade the performance of private sacrifices and magical rites, in other respects he adhered faithfully to his policy of religious toleration. He took the title of *pontifex maximus,* maintained the imperial cult, and until 330 issued coins with the image of the Sun-God, with whom the emperor was often identified. His designation of Sunday as a general holiday in 321 was in full accord with this policy of toleration, for although this was the day celebrated by the Christians as "the Lord's day," as the "day of the Sun" it could be celebrated by pagans also. Nevertheless, he exhibited an ever increasing personal leaning towards Christianity and granted special privileges to the Christian clergy. He caused his sons to be brought up as Christians and really established a spe-

cial relation between the emperor and the Church. For his services to the cause of Christianity he well merited the title of "the Great," bestowed upon him by Christian historians.

III. THE DYNASTY OF CONSTANTINE: 337–363 A.D.

Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius: 337–340 A.D. Constantine's plans for the succession were thwarted by the troops at Constantinople, who, instigated, as was said, by Constantius, refused to acknowledge any other rulers than the sons of Constantine and put to death the rest of his relatives, with the exception of his two youthful nephews, Gallus and Julian. Constantius and his two brothers then declared themselves Augusti and divided the Empire. Constantine II received Spain, Gaul, and Britain; Constantius Thrace, Egypt, and the Orient; while the youngest, Constans, took the central dioceses, Africa, Italy, and Illyricum. This arrangement endured for only a brief time. The peace was broken by Constantine, who encroached upon the territory of Constans and affected to play the role of the senior Augustus. This aggression proved disastrous, for he was defeated and killed at Aquileia by the troops of Constans, who annexed his dominions.

Constantius and Constans: 340–350 A.D. The joint rule of Constantius and Constans lasted for ten years. The latter showed himself an energetic sovereign and maintained peace in the western part of the Empire. At length, however, his harshness and personal vices cost him the loyalty of his own officers, who caused him to be deposed in favor of Magnentius, an officer of Frankish origin (350 A.D.). And while Magnentius secured recognition in Italy and the West, the army in Illyricum raised its commander, Vetranio, to the purple.

Constantius Sole Emperor: 350–360 A.D. From 338 A.D. Constantius had been engaged in an almost perpetual but indecisive struggle with Sapor II, king of Persia, over the possession of Mesopotamia and Armenia. It was not until late in 350 that he was able to leave the eastern frontier to attempt to re-establish the authority of his house in the West. He soon came to an agreement with Vetranio, who seems to have accepted the title of Augustus solely to save Illyricum from Magnentius. Vetranio passed into honorable retirement; but when Constantius refused to recognize Magnentius as Augustus, the latter marched eastwards to enforce his claims. He was defeated in a desperate battle at Mursa in Pannonia (351 A.D.), where the victory was won by the mailed horsemen of Constantius, who, as we have seen, had come to form the most effective arm in the Roman service.

In the next year Constantius recovered Italy and in 353 invaded Gaul, whereupon Magnentius took his own life.

Gallus, Caesar: 351–354 A.D. Constantius had no son, and so to strengthen his position he made his cousin, Gallus, Caesar and placed him in charge of the Orient when he set out to meet Magnentius in 351 A.D. But Gallus soon showed himself unworthy of his office. His mistreatment of the representatives of the emperor sent to investigate his conduct caused him to be suspected of treasonable ambitions and he was recalled and put to death in 354 A.D.

Julian, Caesar: 355 A.D. Constantius still found himself in need of an associate in the *imperium*. In addition to the danger of invasion on both northern and eastern frontiers, came the revolt of Silvanus at Cologne in 355, which, although quickly suppressed, was a reminder that every successful general was potentially a candidate for the throne. Accordingly, at the advice of the empress Eudoxia, Constantius called from the enforced seclusion of a scholar's life Julian, the younger brother of Gallus, whom he made Caesar and dispatched to Gaul (355 A.D.). Since the fall of Magnentius the Gallic provinces had been exposed to the devastating incursions of Franks and Alemanni, and the first task of the young Caesar was to deal with these barbarians. In a battle near Strassburg in 357 he broke the power of the Alemanni and drove them over the Rhine. The Franks were forced to acknowledge Roman overlordship, but the Salian branch of that people were allowed to settle to the south of the Rhine (358 A.D.). In addition to displaying unexpected capacities as a general, Julian showed himself a forceful and upright administrator, whose chief aim was to revive the prosperity of his sorely tried provincials.

Julian, Augustus: 360 A.D. In 359 A.D. a fresh invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor II called Constantius to the East. The seriousness of the situation there caused him to demand considerable reinforcements from the army in Gaul. This was resented both by the soldiers themselves and by Julian, who saw in the order a prelude to his own undoing, for he knew the suspicious nature of his cousin and was aware that his recent successes and the restraint he imposed upon the rapacity of his officials had aroused the enmity of those who had the emperor's confidence. Nevertheless, after a vain protest, he yielded; but the troops took matters into their own hands, mutinied, and hailed Julian as Augustus. His ambitions, which had been awakened by the taste of power, and the precariousness of his present situation led him to accept the title (360 A.D.). He then sought to obtain from Constantius recognition of his position and the cession of the western provinces. The latter rejected his demand, although he did not deem it advisable

to leave the East unprotected at that moment and attempt to reassert his authority. Julian then took the offensive to enforce his claims, and, upon the retirement of the Persian army, Constantius hastened to meet him. But on the march he fell ill and died in Cilicia, having designated Julian as his successor.

The Pagan Reaction. The importance of Julian's reign lies in his attempt to make paganism once more the dominant religion of the Empire. His own early saturation with the fascinating literature of Hellenism and the mystical strain in his character made Julian an easy convert to Neoplatonism. He had become a pagan in secret before he had been called to the Caesarship, and after the death of Constantius he openly proclaimed his apostacy. While he adhered in general to the principle of religious toleration and did not institute any violent persecution of the Christians, he prohibited them from interpreting classical literature in the schools, forced them to surrender many pagan shrines which they had occupied, deprived the clergy of their immunities, endeavored to sow dissension in their ranks by supporting unorthodox bishops, and stimulated a literary warfare against them in which he himself took a prominent part. Following the example of Maximinus Daia, Julian attempted to combat Christianity with its own weapons and tried to establish a universal pagan church with a clergy and liturgy on the Christian model. He also sought to infuse paganism with the morality and missionary zeal of Christianity. But his efforts were in vain; the pagan cults had lost their appeal for the masses, and the only converts were those who sought to win the imperial favor by abandoning the Christian faith. One thing he had accomplished; the position of Hellenic culture had been strengthened and its decay delayed.

Julian's Persian War and Death: 363 A.D. In his administration of the Empire Julian pursued the same policy as in Gaul. He checked the greed of government officials, abolished oppressive offices, and in every way tried to restain extravagances and lighten the burdens of his subjects. The war with Persia which had begun under Constantius had not been concluded, and Julian was fired by the ambition to imitate the career of Alexander the Great and overthrow the Persian kingdom. After long preparations he began his attack early in 363 A.D. He succeeded in reaching Ctesiphon, where he defeated a Persian army. But the approach of the main force of the Persians, coupled with his failure to receive expected reinforcements and his inability to secure food for his troops, forced him to begin a retreat. On the march up the Tigris valley he was mortally wounded in a skirmish (June 26, 363 A.D.), and with his death ended the rule of the dynasty of Constantine the Great.

Jovian: 363–364 A.D. The army chose as his successor Jovian, the com-



A PERSIAN SILVER DISH DEPICTING A SASSANANIAN EMPEROR OF THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D. ENGAGED IN A WILD BOAR HUNT

Smithsonian Institution

mander of the imperial guard. To rescue his forces, Jovian made peace with Sapor, surrendering the Roman territory east of the Tigris, with part of Mesopotamia, and abandoning the Roman claim to suzerainty over Armenia. Julian's enactments against the Christians were abrogated and full religious toleration proclaimed. After a brief reign of eight months, Jovian died at Antioch in 364 A.D.

IV. THE HOUSE OF VALENTINIAN AND THEODOSIUS THE GREAT: 364–395 A.D.

Valentinian I and Valens, Augusti: 364 A.D. At the death of Jovian the choice of the military and civil officials fell upon Flavius Valentinianus, an officer of Pannonian origin. He nominated as his co-ruler his brother, Valens, whom he set over the East, reserving the West for himself.

Valentinian's reign was an unceasing struggle to protect the western provinces against barbarian invaders. The emperor personally directed the defence of the Rhine and Danubian frontiers against the incursions of the Alemanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians, while his able general Theodosius cleared Britain of Picts, Scots, and Saxons and suppressed a dangerous revolt of the Moors in Africa. In 375 Valentinian died at Brigetio in the course of a war with the Sarmatians. Although imperious and prone to violent outbursts of temper, he had shown himself tireless in his efforts to protect the Empire from foreign foes and his subjects from official oppression. In this latter aim, however, he was frequently thwarted by the intrigues of his own officers.

Gratian and Valentinian II. As early as 367 Valentinian had appointed as a third Augustus his eldest son, Gratian, then only seven years old. The latter now succeeded to the government of the West, although the army also acclaimed as emperor his four-year-old brother, Valentinian II.

The Gothic Invasion: 376 A.D. Meanwhile Valens, who exercised the imperial power in the East, had been involved in protracted struggles with the Goths along the lower Danube and with the Persians, whose attempt to convert Armenia into a Persian province constituted a threat too dangerous to be ignored. Peace had been established with the Goths in 369, but in 376 new and unexpected developments brought them again into conflict with the Romans.

The cause lay in the westward movement of the Huns, a nomadic race of Mongolian origin, whose appearance in the regions to the north of the Black Sea marks the beginning of the period of the great migrations. In 375 A.D. they overwhelmed the Greuthungi, or East Goths, and assailed the Thervingi, or West Goths. Unable to defend themselves, the latter in

376 A.D. sought permission to settle on Roman territory to the south of the Danube. Valens acceded to their request upon the condition of their giving up their weapons. The reception and settlement of the Goths were entrusted to Roman officers who neglected to enforce the surrender of their arms, while they enriched themselves by extorting high prices from the immigrants for the necessities of life. Thereupon, threatened by starvation, the Goths rebelled, defeated the Romans, and began to plunder the country (377 A.D.). The news of this peril summoned Valens from the East, but Gratian was hindered from coming to the rescue by an incursion of the Alemanni into Gaul. As soon, however, as he had defeated the invaders, he hastened to the assistance of his uncle. Without awaiting his arrival, Valens rashly attacked the Goths at Hadrianople. His army was cut to pieces, he himself slain, and Goths overran the whole Balkan peninsula (378 A.D.).

Theodosius I, the Great: 378 A.D. To meet this crisis, Gratian appointed as Augustus, Theodosius, the son of the Theodosius who had distinguished himself as a general under Valentinian I but had fallen a victim to official intrigues at the latter's death. The new emperor undertook with vigor the task of clearing Thrace and the adjoining provinces of the plundering hordes of Goths. By 382 he had forced them to sue for peace and had settled them on waste lands to the south of the Danube. There they remained as an independent people under their native rulers, bound, however, to supply contingents to the Roman armies in return for fixed subsidies. They thus became imperial allies (*foederati*).

The Revolt of Maximus: 383 A.D. Scarcely had Theodosius reduced the Goths to submission when a revolt of the troops in Britain raised Magnus Maximus to the purple. Gratian had shown himself a feeble administrator and had alienated the sympathies of the bulk of his troops by his partiality towards the Germans in his service. Maximus at once crossed into Gaul and was confronted by Gratian at Paris. But the latter was deserted by his army and was captured and put to death. The authority of Maximus was now firmly established in Britain, Gaul, and Spain. He demanded and received recognition from Theodosius, who was prevented from avenging Gratian's death by threatening conditions in the East. The third Augustus, the young Valentinian II, acquired for the time an independent sphere of authority in Italy. However, in 387 A.D. Maximus suddenly crossed the Alps and forced him to take refuge with Theodosius. Having come to terms with Persia, Theodosius refused to sanction the action of Maximus and marched against him. The troops of Maximus were defeated, and he himself was captured and executed at Aquileia (388 A.D.). Gaul and the West were speedily recovered for Theodosius by his general, Arbogast.

Theodosius and Ambrose. While Theodosius was at Milan in 390 occurred his famous conflict with Bishop Ambrose. In a riot at Thessalonica the commander of the garrison had been killed by the mob, and Theodosius, in his anger, had turned loose the soldiery upon the citizens, of whom seven thousand are said to have been butchered. Scarcely had Theodosius issued the order when he was seized with regret and endeavored to countermand it, but it was too late. Upon the news of the massacre, Ambrose excluded the emperor from his church and refused to admit him to communion until he had publicly done penance for his sin. For eight months Theodosius refused to yield, but Ambrose remained obdurate, and the emperor finally humbled himself and publicly acknowledged his guilt. The question at issue was not the supremacy of secular or religious authority but whether the emperor was subject to the same moral laws as other men. Nevertheless, it required a high degree of courage for the bishop to assert the right of the Church to pass judgment in such a matter upon the head of the State.

The Revolt of Arbogast and Eugenius: 392 A.D. In 391 Theodosius returned to the East, leaving Valentinian as emperor in the West with his residence at Vienna in Gaul. But the powerful Arbogast, whom Theodosius had placed in command of the western troops, refused to act under the orders of the young Augustus and finally compassed his death (392 A.D.). He did not dare, however, in view of his Frankish origin, to assume the purple himself and so induced a prominent Roman official named Eugenius to accept the title of Augustus. The authority of Eugenius was acknowledged in Italy and all the West, but Theodosius refused him recognition and prepared to crush the usurper. In the autumn of 394 A.D., at the river Frigidus, near Aquileia, Theodosius won a complete victory over Arbogast and Eugenius. The former committed suicide, and the latter was put to death.

Early in the next year Theodosius died, leaving the Empire to his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, upon both of whom he had previously conferred the rank of Augustus. The success of Theodosius in coping with the Gothic peril and in suppressing the usurpers Maximus and Eugenius, combined with his vigorous championship of orthodox Christianity, won for him the title of the "Great." With the accession of Arcadius and Honorius and the permanent division of the Empire into an eastern and a western half, there begins a new epoch in the history of the Late Empire.

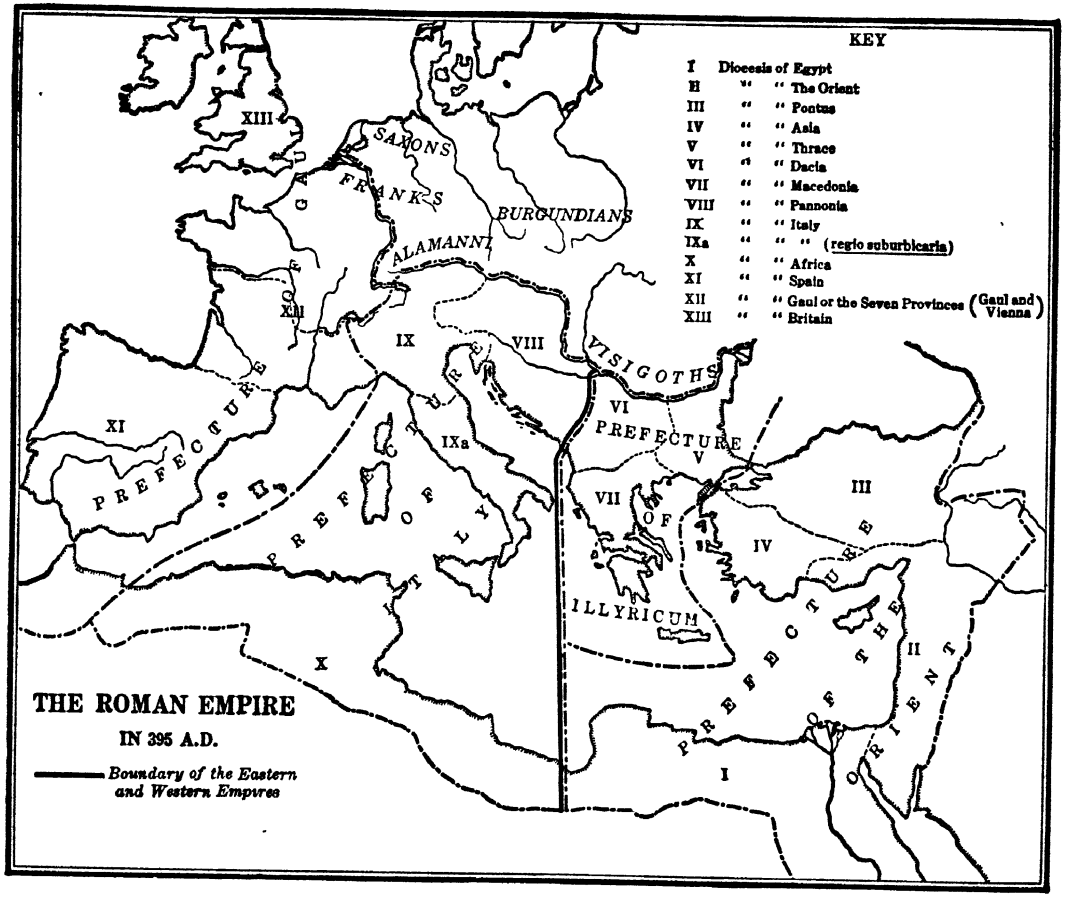
CHAPTER XXIII. THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE AUTOCRACY

I. THE AUTOCRAT AND HIS COURT

Powers and Titles of the Emperor. The Government of the late Roman Empire was an autocracy, in which the emperor was the active head of the administration and at the same time the source of all legislative, judicial, and military authority. For the exercise of this authority the support of the army and the bureaucracy was essential. All the sovereign rights of the Roman people were regarded as having been transferred to the imperial power. The emperor was no longer the First of the Roman citizens—the *primus inter pares*—but all within the Empire were in equal degree his subjects. This view of the exalted status of the emperor was expressed in the assumption of the divine titles Jovius and Herculius by Diocletian and Maximian and their public recognition as gods by their subjects. Their Christian successors, although for the greater part of the fourth century they accepted deification from their pagan subjects, found a new basis for their autocracy in the conception of the emperor as the elect of God, who ruled by divine guidance. Thus the emperor could speak of the *imperium* which had been conferred upon him by the heavenly majesty. The adjectives "sacred" and "divine" were applied not only to the emperor's person but also to everything that in any way belonged to him, and the "imperial divinity" was an expression in common use.

As the sole author of the laws, the emperor was also their final interpreter; and since he acted under divine guidance, those who questioned his decisions and those who neglected or transgressed his ordinances were both alike guilty of sacrilege. The emperor was held to be freed from the laws in the sense that he was not responsible for his legislative and administrative acts; yet he was bound by the laws in that he had to adhere to the general principles and forms of the established law of the state and had also to abide by his own edicts, for the imperial authority rested upon the authority of the laws.

The titles of the emperor bore witness to his autocratic power. From the Principate he had inherited those of Imperator, the significance of which was revealed in its Greek rendering of Autocrator, and Augustus,


KEY
I Diocesis of Egypt
II " " The Orient
III " " Pontus
IV " " Asia
V " " Thrace
VI " " Dacia
VII " " Macedonia
VIII " " Pannonia
IX " " Italy
IXa " " " (regio suburbicaria)
X " " Africa
XI " " Spain
XII " " Gaul or the Seven Provinces (Gaul and Vienna)
XIII " " Britain
SAXONS
FRANKS
BURGUNDIANS
ALAMANNI
VISIGOTHS
PREFECTURE OF GAUL
PREFECTURE OF ITALY
PREFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM
PREFECTURE OF THE ORIENT
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
IN 395 A.D.
Boundary of the Eastern and Western Empires

which was as well suited to the new as to the old position of the emperor. More striking, however, was the use of *dominus*[1] or *dominus noster,* a title which, as we have seen, was but rarely used during the Principate but which was officially prescribed by Diocletian. The term princeps, although it has long lost its original significance, still continued to be employed in official documents, at times in conjunction with *dominus.*

The imperial regalia likewise expressed the emperor's autocratic power. With Diocletian the military garb of the Principate was discarded for a robe of silk interwoven with gold; and Constantine I introduced the use of the diadem, a narrow band ornamented with jewels, which formed part of the insignia of the Persian monarchs and was symbolic of absolutism in the ancient world.

The Succession. We have seen how the scheme devised by Diocletian for regulating the succession to the throne broke down after his retirement. His successors refused to abdicate their imperial authority and only surrendered it with life itself. In the appointment of new emperors two principles found recognition—election and co-optation. The system of election was a legacy from the Principate, and recourse was regularly had to it when the imperial throne was vacant. The elected emperor was usually the choice of the leading military and civil officials, approved by the army. In Constantinople, from the fifth century at least, the nomination was made by these officers in conjunction with the reorganized Senate; and the new emperor was proclaimed before the people assembled in the Hippodrome. The emperors thus appointed claimed to have been elected by the officials, the Senate, and the army with the sanction of the people. However, as the history of the time shows, the right of election might be exercised at any time, and a victorious usurper became a legal ruler. Thus the Autocracy, as has been aptly remarked, was tempered by a legal right of revolution. As this method of election guaranteed a high average of ability among emperors, so the custom of co-optation gave opportunity to admit the claim of dynastic succession. An Augustus could appoint as his colleague the one whom he wished to succeed him on the throne. It is to be noted, however, that a son who was thus elevated to the purple became emperor by virtue of his father's will and not by right of birth.

The Imperial Court. Under Diocletian the organization and ceremonial of the imperial palace were thoroughly remodelled. The servants of the household—ushers, chamberlains, grooms, and the like—were now formed into corps on a military basis, with a definite regulation of insignia, pay, term of service, and promotion. In harmony with the general spirit of the

[1] Hence the term Dominate, often used to describe the Autocracy in contrast to the Principate.

Autocracy, the court ceremonial was designed to widen the gulf between the ruler and his subjects and to protect his person by rendering it inaccessible. Surrounded by all the pomp and pageantry of an Oriental potentate, the Roman emperor was removed from contact with all but his immediate *entourage*. The effect of this seclusion was to enhance the power of the few who were permitted to come into touch with him, in particular the officials of the imperial household. The personal servants of the emperor were placed on the same level as the public administrative officers; and the most important of them, the grand chamberlain, before the close of the fourth century had become one of the great ministers of state, with a seat in the imperial cabinet. In conformity with the assumption of the title *dominus* and of the diadem was the requirement of prostration from all who were admitted to an audience with the emperor. In addition to its civilian employees, the palace had its special armed guard. These household troops were the scholarians, organized by Constantine I when he disbanded the praetorian guards who had upheld the cause of Maxentius.

II. THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION

General Characteristics. The chief characteristics of the military organization of the late Empire were the complete separation of civil and military authority except in the person of the emperor, the sharp distinction between the mobile forces and the frontier garrisons, and the ever increasing predominance of the barbarian element, not merely in the rank and file of the soldiers, but also among the officers of highest rank.

The Border Militia. The troops composing the frontier garrisons were called *limitanei,* or borderers; also, when stationed along a river frontier, *riparienses.* They were the successors of the garrison army of the Principate and were distributed among small fortified posts (*castella*). To each of these garrisons there was assigned for purposes of cultivation a tract of land free from municipal authority. These lands were exempt from taxation; and, although they were not alienable, the right to occupy them passed from father to son with the obligation to military service. Thus the *limitanei* were practically a border militia. Their numbers were materially increased by Diocletian but reduced again by Constantine I, who transferred their best units to the field army. The *limitanei* ranked below the field troops; their physical standards were lower, and their rewards at the end of their term of service inferior.

The Field Army. To remedy the greatest weakness in the army of the Principate, namely, its lack of mobility, Diocletian, following the practice of his predecessors since Gallienus, formed a permanent field force to ac-

company the emperor on his campaigns, for it was his intention that the emperors should personally lead their armies. Since the field troops thus formed the *comitatus,* or escort, of the emperor, they received the name of *comitatenses.* Later certain units of the *comitatenses* were called *palatini,* or palace troops, a purely honorary distinction. The *palatini* and *comitatenses* were stationed at strategic points well within the frontiers.

The Size of the Military Establishment. In both the garrison and field armies the old legion was broken up into smaller detachments, to each of which the name *legion* was given. They still continued to be recruited from Romans but were regarded as inferior in caliber to the *auxilia,* the light infantry corps which were largely drawn from barbarian volunteers. A great number of new cavalry units were formed, so that the proportion of cavalry to infantry was largely increased. At the opening of the fifth century the troops stationed in Spain, in the Danubian provinces, in the Orient, and in Egypt had a nominal strength of 554,500, of which 360,000 were border militia and 194,500 field troops. It is extremely doubtful, however, if the separate detachments were maintained at their full numbers. The scholarians, organized as an imperial bodyguard by Constantine I, numbered 3,500. They were divided into seven companies called *scholae,* from the fact that a particular *schola,* or waiting-hall in the palace, was assigned to each. The personal bodyguard of the emperor, which was at the same time a training school for officers, was formed of picked troops called *domestici* and *protectores.*

Recruitment. In the late Empire the ranks of the Roman army stood open to all free men who possessed the requisite physical qualifications. Slaves were also enrolled from the fifth century onwards, but their admission to military service brought them freedom. Recruits were either volunteers or conscripts. The universal liability to service existed until the time of Valentinian I, although in practice it was limited to the municipal plebs and the agricultural classes. Valentinian placed the obligation to furnish a specified number of recruits upon the landholders of certain provinces and levied a corresponding monetary tax upon the other provinces. He also made it obligatory for the sons of soldiers to present themselves for service. Many barbarian peoples, settled within the Empire, were likewise under an obligation to furnish a yearly number of recruits, who, however, were regarded as volunteers. In general, voluntary recruitment was the rule under the late Empire even more than under the Principate, and the majority of the volunteers for military service were of barbarian origin. Corps of all sorts were named after barbarian peoples; and while barbarian officers received Roman citizenship, the rank and file remained aliens.

Discipline. The chief reason for the victories of the Roman armies of

the early Principate over their barbarian foes lay in their superior discipline and organization. And the burden of maintaining this discipline had rested upon the junior officers or centurions who came from the senatorial order of the Roman municipalities. By the end of the third century the centuriate had disappeared for lack of volunteers of this class, and with its disappearance began a decline in discipline and training. As we have seen, the construction of the fortified camp was no longer required, the soldier's heavy pack was discarded, and the burdensome defensive armor had also been given up. In equipment and tactics the Roman troops of the late Empire were on a level with their barbarian opponents, although the traditions of Roman generalship still gave their leaders a certain advantage over their enemies. Just as the Roman Empire was unable to assimilate the barbarian settlers within its frontiers, so the Roman army proved unable to absorb the barbarian elements within its ranks.

Characteristic of the times was the removal of soldiers from the jurisdiction of the civil authority. In the fourth century they could be prosecuted on criminal charges only in the courts of their military commanders, and in the fifth century they were granted this privilege in civil cases also.

Foederati. As a result of the decline in efficiency of the Roman troops and the confessed inability of the state to deal with its military obligations, warlike peoples along the Roman frontiers were taken into the Roman pay. Such peoples were called federated allies (*foederati*). They were under obligation to protect the territory of the Empire in return for a stipulated remuneration in money or supplies. These were the terms upon which the Goths were granted lands south of the Danube by Theodosius the Great. But in this case, as in others, it is hard to distinguish between subsidies paid to *foederati* and the payments made by many emperors to purchase immunity from invasion by dangerous neighbors. A danger inherent in the system was that the *foederati* might at any moment turn their arms against their employers. Retaining as they did their political autonomy and serving under their own chiefs, the *foederati* were not regarded as forming a part of the imperial forces.

The Duces and the Magistri Militum. We have already referred to the complete separation of military and civil authority. This policy, begun by Gallienus, was adopted and perfected as far as the border troops were concerned by Diocletian. The frontiers were divided into military districts which corresponded to the provinces, and the garrisons in each were placed under an officer with the title of *dux* (duke). The *duces* of highest rank were regularly known as *comites* (counts). Under Diocletian the praetorian prefects remained the highest military officers and were in command of the field army. As we have seen, Constantine I deprived the praetorian prefecture

of its military functions and appointed two new commanders in chief—the master of the foot (*magister peditum*) and the master of the horse (*magister equitum*), the latter of whom was the successor to the commander of the separate cavalry corps established by Gallienus. Under the successors of Constantine these officers were increased in number, and the distinction between infantry and cavalry commands was abandoned. Consequently, the title of master of the horse and master of the foot were altered to those of masters of horse and foot, masters of each service, or masters of the soldiers. In the East by the close of the fourth century there were two masters of the soldiers at Constantinople, each commanding half of the palatini in the vicinity of the capital, and three others commanding the field troops in the Orient, Thrace, and Illyricum, respectively. In the West there were two masters of the soldiers (still technically called of the foot and of the horse) at the court and a master of the horse in the diocese of Gaul.

While in the East the several masters of the soldiers enjoyed independent commands, in the West by 395 A.D. there had developed a concentration of the supreme military power in the hands of one master, who united in his person the two masterships at the court. The master in Gaul, as well as the dukes and counts in the provinces, was under his orders. This subordination was emphasized by the fact that the heads of the office staffs (*principes*) of the counts and dukes were appointed by the master at the court. On the other hand, in the East, these *principes* were appointed by a civil official, the master of the offices, who was also charged with the inspection of the frontier defences and from the opening of the fifth century exercised judicial authority over the dukes. The latter, however, remained the military subordinates of the masters of the soldiers. Thus the concentration of military power in the West in the hands of a single commander in chief prepared the way for the rise of the king-makers of the fifth century, while the division of the higher command in the East prevented a single general from completely dominating the political situation.

III. THE PERFECTION OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The Administrative Divisions of the Empire. The administrative machinery of the late Empire was simply an outgrowth from, and a more complete form of, the bureaucracy which had developed under the Principate. All the officers of the state were now servants of the emperor, appointed by him and dismissed at his pleasure. At the basis of the administrative organization lay the division of the Empire into prefectures, dioceses, and provinces. By the close of the fourth century there were one hundred and twenty provinces, grouped into fourteen dioceses, which made up the four pre-

fectures of Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and the Orient.[2] These four prefectures probably had their origin in Diocletian's division of the administration between two Augusti and two Caesars and the assignment of a praetorian prefect to each of the four administrative divisions of the Empire thus created. The permanent establishment of separate prefectures, however, was the work of Constantine I between the years 324 and 330 A.D. From 324 to 395 A.D. there were three main prefectures—the Orient, Italy, and Gaul—to which were added for a brief time under Constantine himself and again under Constans a prefecture of Africa and later for short periods a prefecture of Illyricum. With the division of the Empire in 395 A.D., the latter was put on a permanent basis and became, along with the prefecture of the Orient, part of the Empire in the East. The remaining two prefectures, Italy and Gaul, constituted the Empire in the West.

The Praetorian Prefects and Their Subordinates. Each province had a civil governor, variously known as proconsul, consular, *corrector,* or *praeses,* according to the relative importance of his governorship. The provincial governors, with a few exceptions, were subject to the vicars, who were in charge of the several dioceses and who, in turn, were under the administrative control of the four praetorian prefects, the heads of the prefectures. The prefects and their subordinates were in charge of the raising of taxes paid in kind and of the administration of justice for the provincials. Italy was now divided into several provinces, and Italian soil was no longer exempt from taxation. With the exception of the population of Rome, the inhabitants of Italy were upon the same footing as those of the other provinces, with whom they shared the name of provincials.

The Central Administrative Bureaus. The remaining branches of the civil administration were directed by a group of ministers resident at the court, with subordinates in the various administrative departments. These ministers were the master of the offices, the quaestor, the count of the sacred largesses, and the count of the private purse. The master of the offices united in his hands the control of the secretarial bureaus of the palace, the oversight over the public post, the direction of the *agentes-in-rebus* who constituted the imperial secret service, the command of the scholarians, the supervision of several branches of the palace administration, and jurisdiction over practically all of the personal servants of the emperor. As we have seen, in the East he also exercised certain authority over the *duces.* The quaestor

[2] The distribution of the dioceses among the prefectures was as follows:
Prefecture of Gaul—dioceses of Britain, Gaul, Spain;
Prefecture of Italy—suburban diocese of the city of Rome, and the dioceses of Italy, Africa, Illyricum;
Prefecture of Illyricum—dioceses of Eastern Illyricum, Thrace, Macedonia;
Prefecture of the Orient—dioceses of Asia, Pontus, the Orient, and Egypt.

(to be distinguished from the holders of the urban quaestorships) was a minister of justice, part of whose duties consisted in the preparation of imperial legislation. The count of the sacred largesses was the successor to the *rationalis,* who had been in charge of the imperial fiscus under the Principate. He was charged with the collection and disbursement of the public revenues which were paid in money, and his title was derived from the fact that the funds under his control were used for the imperial donations or largesses. He likewise had the supervision of the imperial factories engaged in the manufacture of silks and other textiles. The count of the private purse was the head of the department of the *res privata* and in charge of the revenues from the imperial domains. These ministers with certain other administrative officials of the court and the chief officers of the imperial household, such as the grand chamberlain, were known as the palace dignitaries (*dignitates palatinae*).

Rome and Constantinople were exempt from the authority of the praetorian prefects and were each administered by a city prefect. Two consuls were nominated annually, one at Rome and one at Constantinople, and gave their names to the official year; but their duties were limited to furnishing certain entertainments for the populace of the capitals. This was also the sole function of the praetorship and quaestorship, which were now filled by imperial appointment upon the recommendation of the city prefects.

The Imperial Council of State. The system of graded subordination, which placed the lower officials in each department under the orders of those having wider powers, brought about the ultimate concentration of the civil and military administration in the hands of about twenty officers who were directly in touch with the emperor and responsible to him alone. From these were drawn the members of the council of state or imperial consistory (so called from the obligation to remain standing in the presence of the emperor). Permanent members of this council were the four ministers of the court mentioned above, who were known as the counts of the consistory, and also the grand chamberlain.

The Officia. The officials who were at the head of administrative departments, civil or military, had at their disposal an *officium* or bureau, the members of which were known as *officiales.* These subaltern employees of the state were free men, no longer slaves or freedmen like many of their predecessors in the Principate. As in the case of the palace servants, their numbers, terms of service (*militia*), promotion and discharge were fixed by imperial edicts; and they were not placed at the mercy of the functionary whose office staff they formed. Indeed, owing to the permanent character of the organization of the *officia,* the burden of the routine administration fell upon their members, and not upon their temporary director, for whose

acts they were made to share the responsibility. This was particularly true of the bureau chief (*princeps*), who was regularly appointed from the *agentes-in-rebus* as a spy upon the actions of his superior. Like the soldiers, the civil service employees enjoyed exemption from the ordinary courts of justice and the privilege of defending themselves in the courts of the chief of that branch of the administration to which they were attached.

Official Corruption. The attitude of the emperor towards his chief servants was marked by mistrust and suspicion. The policy which led to the attempt to weaken the more powerful offices by the separation of civil and military authority and by the subdivision of the administrative districts was adhered to in the provisions for direct communication between the emperor and the subordinates of the great ministers and in the highly developed system of state espionage whereby the ruler kept watch upon the actions of his officers. However, in spite of the efforts of the majority of the emperors to secure an honest and efficient administration, the actual result of the development of this elaborate bureaucratic system was the erection of an almost impassable barrier between the emperor and his subjects. Neither did their complaints reach his ears, nor were his ordinances for their relief effective, because the officials co-operated with one another to conceal their misdemeanors and to enrich themselves at the expense of the civilian population. So thoroughly had the spirit of "graft" and intrigue penetrated all ranks of the civil and military service that to gratify their personal ambitions they were even willing to compromise the safety of the Empire itself. The burden imposed upon the taxpayers by the vast military and civil establishment was immensely aggravated by the extortions practised by representatives of both services, whose rapacity knew no bounds.

IV. THE NOBILITY AND THE SENATE

The Senatorial Order. The conflict between the Principate and the Senate resulted, as we have seen, in the exclusion of members of the senatorial order from all offices of state. But it was unthinkable that the great landed proprietors should be permanently shut out of the public service, and with the loss of any claim to authority by the Senate as a body there was no longer any objection to their entering the service of the emperor. Consequently, the essential distinction between the senatorial and equestrian orders vanished, and a new senatorial order arose into which a large equestrian element was merged.

The distinguishing mark of this new senatorial order was the right to the title *clarissimus,* which might be acquired by inheritance, by imperial grant, or by the attainment of an office which conferred the clarissimate upon its

holder, either during his term of service or upon his retirement. Practically all of the higher officials in the imperial service were *clarissimi,* and there was consequently a great increase in the number of senators in the course of the fourth century. The place of the equestrian order was in part filled by the prefectissimate, an inferior order of rank conferred upon lower imperial officials and municipal senators.

The Higher Orders of Rank. The development of an orientalized court life with its elaborate ceremonial demanding a fixed order of precedence among those present at imperial audiences, and the increase in the number and importance of the public officials, which necessitated a classification of the various official posts from the point of view of rank, led to the establishment of new and more exclusive rank classes within the circle of the *clarissimi.* There were in the ascending order the *spectabiles,* or Respectables, and the *illustres* (also called *illustrissimi*), or Illustrious (Most Illustrious). The illustriate was conferred solely upon the great ministers of state. Under Justinian, in the sixth century, there was established the still higher order of the *gloriosi* (the Glorious). The official positions to which these titles of rank were attached were called dignities (*dignitates*), and the great demand for admission to these rank classes, which entitled their members to valuable privileges, caused the conferment of many honorary dignities, *i.e.,* titles of official posts with their appropriate rank but without the duties of office.

The Patricians and Counts. The other titles of nobility were those of patrician and count. The former, created by Constantine I in imitation of the older patrician order, was granted solely to the highest dignitaries, although it was not attached to any definite official post. It was Constantine also who revived the *comitiva,* which had been used irregularly of the chief associates of the princeps until the death of Severus Alexander, and put it to a new use. The term *count* became a title of honor definitely attached to certain offices but also capable of being conferred as a favor or a reward of merit. Like the other titles of rank, the patriciate and the *comitiva* brought with them not only precedence but also valuable immunities.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the importance of official positions than the division of the people of the Empire as a whole into two classes—the *honestiores* (more honorable) and the *humiliores* (more humble or plebeians). The former class, which included the imperial senators, the soldiers, and the veterans, were exempt from execution except with the emperor's consent, from penal servitude, and, with some limitations, from torture in the course of judicial investigations.

The Senate. The Senate at Rome was not abolished but continued to function both as a municipal council and as the mouthpiece of the senatorial

order. After the founding of Constantinople a similar Senate was established there for the eastern part of the Empire. At first all *clarissimi* had a right to participate in the meetings of the Senate, and their sons were expected to fill the quaestorship. But after the middle of the fifth century only those having the rank of *illustris* were admitted to the senate chamber, and the active Senate became a gathering of the highest officials and ex-officials of the state. In addition to their functions as municipal councils, the Senates made recommendations for the quaestorship and praetorship, discussed with the imperial officials the taxes which affected the senatorial order, and even participated to a certain extent in drafting imperial legislation.

The most important privilege enjoyed by the senators was their exemption from the control of the officials of the municipalities within whose territories their estates were situated. As we shall see, this was one of the chief reasons for the extension of their power in the provinces.

V. THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

The New Economic Order. While politically the government of the Roman Empire had gradually been transformed into an autocracy, economically the policies which it had pursued in meeting its financial needs had paved the way for a condition of state socialism in which the economic activities of the individual were prescribed and limited by state regulation. The ultimate result was a form of totalitarian state. This was not called into being in its entirety as a set plan or as the embodiment of a social theory by Diocletian and Constantine but matured as the result of reforms which they initiated and which were carried to their logical conclusion in the legislation of their successors. The immediate economic problem which confronted the government was the raising of revenues large enough to maintain the expensive military establishment, the enlarged bureaucracy, and the imperial court. Since the income produced from the diminished and impoverished population by ordinary taxation was quite inadequate, the emperors continued and carried to extremes the practices of the late Principate by demanding more and more of different classes of the population in the way of public services and in circumscribing their freedom of activity. Although there was no deliberate attempt made to eliminate freedom of initiative in industrial or business activities, that was the inevitable result of the policies adopted.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to regard the Late Empire as a period of continuous and uninterrupted economic decline. The restoration of comparative internal peace and the stabilization of the coinage did something to stimulate a recovery after the chaos of the third century, even if

that recovery was by no means universal or continuous. Trade within provincial areas and to a lesser degree between province and province was resumed or, where it had not died out, became more active. There was even a certain degree of commerce maintained with India and the Far East, partly through Persia but mainly by the Red Sea route. Certain parts of the Empire prospered more than others. In Egypt, following the restoration of the irrigation system, which had fallen into decay, agriculture made a partial recovery. The commerce and industry of the Syrian cities also experienced a revival. In Gaul and along the Rhine, the residence of the emperors at Trèves for long periods and the successful defence against the German tribes gave an impetus to a rehabilitation of agriculture and industry. But most of the towns remained mere ghosts of their former selves, crowded within fortified circuits that enclosed only a small fraction of their former areas and serving chiefly as fortresses occupied by officials and a small mercantile element. The large landed proprietors, who were the only truly prosperous class of the population, withdrew to their estates, which were tilled by forced labor. Technically, agriculture was carried on less intensively and became less productive than previously, while industry, owing to the loss of skilled workmen and the failure to train others to take their places, resorted to more primitive practices and produced articles of inferior quality. An exception was the glass industry, which enjoyed particular advantages under imperial protection. Britain was the only province where conditions seem to have been equally if not more prosperous in the first half of the fourth century than before the debacle of the third, owing mainly to the fact that it had largely been spared the devastations of civil strife and barbarian raids which had produced such havoc elsewhere. But in Britain, as in Gaul, the towns declined, and the rural villas became the centers of economic life. At best, however, conditions throughout the Empire as a whole fell far short of those characteristic of the first and second centuries A.D. The population never regained anything like its earlier numbers, the municipalities failed to revive, and the economic life of the state came more and more to be based upon large estates tilled by compulsory agricultural labor. Except in the matter of luxury articles, production beyond local needs was largely for the use of the state, and the movement of goods took place under its direction. Indeed, the government itself was a large producer. Apart from the vast imperial domains, there were imperial factories which produced arms and equipment for the troops besides articles designed for the use of the court.

Money and Barter. We have already had reference to the wholesale debasement of the coinage after 250 A.D. with the consequent tremendous rise in prices. Whereas Aurelian had sought to combat this tendency by stabilizing the depreciated billon (copper and silver) coins of low value, Diocle-

tian had reformed the gold and silver coinage. Since the gold coins had remained pure in content but had been made lighter and irregular in weight, Diocletian in 286 A.D. fixed the weight of the standard gold coin (the *aureus*) at 1/60 of a pound, and in 293 A.D. he issued an improved silver coin. The final reform, however, was made by Constantine I, who reduced the gold coin, now called the *solidus*, to 1/72 of a pound and issued a new silver coin called the *siliqua*, valued at 1/24 of a *solidus*. From this time on the *solidus* retained a constant weight and purity. But owing to the shortage of both gold and silver, great use was made of billon coins of small denominations known by different names. This billon coinage, in spite of attempts at reform, shows a continuous depreciation which was responsible for price fluctuations, although nothing comparable to the great inflation of the time of Gallienus.

It has been held that, owing to a lack of an adequate gold and silver coinage and the depreciation of the billon, by the fourth century payments in kind, both for goods and services, had taken the place of payments in money. More recent studies of the available evidence have shown, however, that there was no general transition from a money economy to a natural economy. If the government did pay its officials and employees in kind, this was due to other reasons, as we shall see; and provision was made for commuting these allowances into money payments. Nevertheless, in certain forms of business transactions, payment in kind became much commoner than in coin. Such was the case with farm leases, loans to finance crops, and with wages for day labor. On the whole, the rural population seems to have dealt in natural products rather than money, and its lack of that commodity decreased its already declining purchasing power and so further diminished the market for manufactured articles.

The New Tax System. Confronted by complete disorganization in the public finances due to the depreciation of the coinage and the economic decline of the middle third century, Diocletian made a drastic revision of the whole system of taxation. The old land taxes were abolished, and their place was taken by the *annona*, a tax collected in kind, which amounted to a regularization of the extraordinary levies which had become so important in the Late Principate. The resort to a land tax in natural products rather than to an increase in monetary taxes is probably to be explained by a desire to protect the state against loss in case of any future inflation. Not only was the land tax revised but along with it the method of assessment. On the basis of the returns from a new census, the land under cultivation was divided into units of equal tax-paying power called *iuga*, which varied in size according to the quality of the soil and the type of cultivation practised on them. In the case of the ploughland, however, the basis of the *iugum* was

the amount of land which one man could till and which was adequate to support him and his family. For example, in Syria a *iugum* comprised either 20 acres of first-class, 40 acres of second-class, or 60 acres of third-class arable land. In the same province 5 acres of vineyard constituted a *iugum,* as did an olive grove of 225 trees in the lowlands or 450 in the uplands. But the labor necessary to cultivate a *iugum* was also regarded as a unit of taxation, called a *caput,* equated with a *iugum* in taxability. This unit of labor was defined as one man or two women engaged in agricultural work. Thus the land was taxed and also the labor which worked it. From a recently discovered papyrus we know that the new system of taxation involving both the tax on the *iugum* (*iugatio*) and on the *caput* (*capitatio*) was put into effect in Egypt in 297 A.D. In some provinces there was also a poll tax on certain elements of the population (*capitatio humana*) and a tax on livestock (*capitatio animalium*), in both of which the unit of taxation was a *caput,* although we do not know exactly how it was defined.

The Indiction. The total amount of the land tax to be raised each year was announced in an annual proclamation called an indiction (*indictio*), which also specified the amount assessed against each province; and a revaluation of the tax units was made periodically. The term *indiction* was also used of the period between two reassessments, which occurred at first every five, but after 312 A.D. every fifteen, years. The indictions thus furnished the basis for a new system of chronology. From the taxes raised in kind, the soldiers and those in the civil service received their pay in the form of an allowance (*annona*), which might under certain conditions be commuted for its monetary equivalent. Payment in kind proved a decided advantage to the government employes for it protected them against price fluctuations. On the other hand, it caused hardship for the farmers who could not profit from a market favorable to them.

Monetary Taxes. In addition to the land tax raised in the form of produce on the basis of the *iuga* and *capita,* there were certain other taxes payable in money. The chief of these were: the *chrysargyrum,* a tax levied on all trades; the *aurum coronarium,* a nominally voluntary but really compulsory contribution paid by the municipal senators every five years to enable the emperor to distribute largesses to his officials and troops; the *aurum oblaticium,* a similar payment made by the senatorial order of the Empire; and the *collatio glebalis* or *follis senatoria,* a special tax imposed upon senators by Constantine I.

Forced Public Services. Besides the taxes, the government laid upon its subjects the burden of performing certain public services without compensation. The most burdensome of these charges (*munera*) were the upkeep of the public post and the furnishing of quarters (*hospitium*) and rendering

other services in connection with the movement of troops, officials, and supplies. So heavy was the burden of the post that it denuded of draught animals the districts it traversed and had to be abandoned in the sixth century. It was in connection with the exaction of these charges, the collection of the revenue in kind, and in the administration of justice that the imperial officials found opportunity to practise extortions which weighed more heavily upon the taxpayers than the taxes themselves.

The Curiales. The class which suffered most directly from the new fiscal system was that of the municipal councillors, now called *curiales* from the *curia* (council) to which they belonged. As we have seen, these landholders and merchants, once the prosperous middle class of the Empire, had been severely reduced in numbers and brought to the verge of ruin in the period between Severus Alexander and Diocletian. In the course of the third century membership in the *curia* had become an obligation upon all who possessed a definite property qualification, fixed at twenty-five *iugera* of land in the fourth century. Since the local senates had become agents of the *fiscus* in collecting the revenues from their municipal territories, the *curiales,* through the municipal officers or committees of the local council, had to apportion the quotas of the municipal burden among the landholders, to collect them, and be responsible for the payment of the total amount to the public officers. They were also responsible for the maintenance of the public post and the performance of other services resting upon the municipalities. Inevitably the *curiales* sought to protect themselves by shifting the burden of taxation as much as possible upon the lower classes in the municipal territory, who regarded them as oppressors. "Every *curialis* is a tyrant" (*quot curiales, tot tyranni*), says a fourth-century writer.

The exactions of the imperial officers proved more than the *curiales* could meet, and they attempted to withdraw from their order and its obligations. But the government required responsible landholders as its agents for they alone could offer security for the taxes assessed against their communities and so guarantee the government against loss. Therefore the status of *curialis* was made hereditary, and, in order to prevent men from escaping its obligations by giving up part or all of their properties, they were forbidden to alienate these and were not allowed to leave their places of residence without special permission. If they tried to find exemption from their inherited obligations by entering the imperial senatorial order, the military or civil service, or the clergy, these avenues of escape were likewise closed. Only those who had filled all the municipal offices might become *clarissimi* and immune from the curial obligations, and only clergy of the rank of bishops were excused, while the lower orders had to supply a substitute or surrender two thirds of their property before they could leave the *curia.*

Valentinian I attempted to aid the *curiales* by appointing officials known as *defensores civitatium* or *plebis*—"defenders of the cities" or "of the plebs" —whose duty it was to check unjust exactions and protect the common people against officials and judges. These *defensores* were at first persons of influence, chosen by the municipalities and approved by the emperor. They were empowered to try certain cases themselves and had the right to address themselves directly to the emperor without reference to the provincial governor. But the *defensores* accomplished little, and in the fifth century their office had become an additional obligatory service resting upon the *curiales*. By 429 A.D. hardly a *curialis* with adequate property qualifications could be found in any city, and by the sixth century the class of municipal landholders had practically disappeared.

The Hereditary Corporations. In place of colleges, the associations of businessmen, tradesmen, and craftsmen throughout the Empire were now called corporations (*corpora*), and their members accordingly were known as *corporati*. Like the *curiales*, the *corporati* found themselves called upon to devote much of their time, energy, and resources to the performance of public duties in the service of the state or of their respective municipalities. The idea that such duties constituted an obligation had developed gradually during the Late Principate and was accepted as axiomatic under the Autocracy. It became of great importance with the introduction of the general land tax in kind, for the transportation, warehousing, and distribution of the revenues in natural products necessitated the employment of many more persons engaged in these occupations than heretofore. The first step taken by the state to insure the performance of these services was to make this duty a charge which rested permanently upon the property of the members of the corporations, no matter into whose possession it passed. But men as well as money were needed for the performance of these charges; and consequently, in order to prevent a decline in the numbers of the *corporati*, the state made membership in their associations an hereditary obligation. This was really an extension of the principle that a man was bound to perform certain services in the community in which he was enrolled (his *origo*, as it was called). Finally, the emperors exercised the right of conscription and attached to the various corporations which were in need of recruits persons who were engaged in less essential occupations.

The burden of their charges led the *corporati*, like the *curiales*, to seek refuge in some other profession. They tried to secure enrollment in the army, among the *officiales*, or to become *coloni* of the emperor or senatorial landholders. But all these havens of refuge were closed by imperial edicts; and when discovered, the truant *corporatus* was dragged back to his asso-

ciation. Only those who attained the highest office within their corporation were legally freed from their obligations.

Although the corporations probably retained their former organization and officers, their active heads were now called patrons (*patroni*), and these directed the public services of their *corporati*. In Rome and Constantinople the corporations were under the supervision of the city prefects, in the municipalities under that of the local magistrates and provincial governors. The professional corporations are the only ones which survived during the late Empire. The religious and funerary associations vanished with the spread of Christianity and the general impoverishment of the lower classes.

The Colonate. Just as the *curiales* were bound to the *curia* and the *corporati* to their associations, so were the tillers of the soil bound to the estates which they cultivated. These agricultural workers were known generally as *coloni,* and their status was called the colonate. This condition arose as a result of forces which were operative under the Principate and still continued to affect agricultural conditions plus the consequences of the new system of taxation introduced by Diocletian. We have had occasion to notice the increasing poverty of the peasants owing to the growing weight of the taxes and public services demanded of them. With the decline in the rural population these burdens pressed more heavily upon those who remained, with the result that there was little incentive for them to take up leases on either public or private land. Furthermore, many captive barbarians had already been settled on vacant land as state tenants under obligation not to leave their holdings. And now with the imposition of the land and labor tax in kind, the proprietors were under the necessity of maintaining the crop returns from their estates at a sufficiently high level. Very naturally they leased their farm plots in return for rentals in kind, with or without obligation to do additional work on the unleased portion of the estate. When the tenants were unable to fulfill their obligations and became indebted to their landlords, they threw up their leases and left their land untenanted. Since this threatened the public revenues, the government stepped in and attached the *coloni* to the estates upon which they had been working. We do not know when this step was taken or if the obligation was extended to all the free tenants of the Empire at the same time. It seems clear, however, that the obligation had become universal by 325 A.D.

The status of the *coloni* became hereditary, like that of the *corporati.* Their condition was halfway between that of freemen and that of slaves, for while they were bound to the estate upon which they resided and passed with it from one owner to another, they were not absolutely under the

power of the owner and could not be disposed of by him apart from the land. They had also other rights which slaves lacked, yet as time went on their condition tended to approximate more and more closely to servitude. "Slaves of the soil," they were called in the sixth century. As this status of serfdom was hitherto unknown in Roman law, a great many imperial enactments had to be issued defining the rights and duties of the *coloni.*

The Growth of Private Domains. The development of vast private estates at the expense of the public and imperial domains was another prominent characteristic of the times. This was the result of the failure of the state to check the spread of waste lands, in spite of its attempt to develop a system of hereditary leaseholds to small farmers. To maintain the level of production, the government opened the way for the great proprietors to take over all deserted lands under various forms of heritable lease or in freehold tenure. The system of attaching waste lands to those of the neighboring landholders and making the latter responsible for their cultivation was an added cause of the growth of large estates. The result of this development was that in many cases the state tenants became *coloni* of the great landlords, and the latter were responsible for the taxes and other obligations of their *coloni* to the state. The weight of these obligations rested as before upon the *coloni* and led to their continued flight and a further increase in waste land. Like the *curiales* and *corporati,* the *coloni* tried to exchange their status by entering the public service or attaining admission to another social class. But, in like manner also, they found themselves excluded from all other occupations and classes. Only the fugitive *colonus* who had managed to remain undetected for thirty years (in the case of women twenty years) could escape being handed back to the land which he had deserted.

The Power of the Landed Nobility. The immunities of the senatorial order and the power of the high officials tended to give an almost feudal character to the position of the great landed proprietors. These had inherited the judicial powers of the procurators on the imperial estates and transferred this authority to their own domains. Over their slaves and *coloni* they exercised the powers of police and jurisdiction. As they were not subject to the municipal authorities and, during the greater part of the fourth century, were also exempt from the jurisdiction of the provincial governors, they assumed a very independent position and did not hesitate to defy the municipal magistrates and even the minor agents of the imperial government. Their power made their protection extremely valuable and led to a new type of patronage. Individuals and village communities, desirous of escaping from the exactions to which they were subject in their municipal districts, placed themselves under the patronage of some senatorial land-

holder and became his tenants. And he did not hesitate to afford them an illegal protection against the local authorities. Complaints by the latter to higher officials secured little redress for they were themselves proprietors and sided with those of their own class. The power of the state was thus nullified by its chief servants, and the landed aristocracy became the heirs of the Empire.

Résumé. The transformation which society underwent during the Empire may be aptly described as the transition from a régime of individual initiative to a régime of status, that is, from one in which the position of an individual in society was mainly determined by his own volition to one in which this was fixed by the accident of his birth. The population of the Empire was divided into a number of sharply defined castes, each of which was compelled to play a definite role in the life of the state. The sons of senators, soldiers, *curiales, corporati,* and *coloni* had to follow in their fathers' walks of life, and each sought to escape from the tasks to which he was born. In the eyes of the government *collegiati, curiales,* and *coloni* existed solely to work or to pay taxes for the support of the bureaucracy and the army. The consequence was the attempted flight of the population to the army, civil service, the church, or the wilderness. Private industry languished, commerce declined, the fields lay untilled; a general feeling of hopelessness paralyzed all initiative. And when the barbarians began to occupy the provinces they encountered no national resistance; rather were they looked upon as deliverers from the burdensome yoke of Rome.

CHAPTER XXIV. THE GERMANIC OCCUPATION OF ITALY AND THE WESTERN PROVINCES: 395–493 A.D.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD

The Partition of the Empire. With the death of Theodosius the Great the Empire passed to his sons, Arcadius a youth of eighteen, whom he had left in Constantinople, and Honorius a boy of eleven, whom he had designated as the Augustus for the West. However, in the East the government was really in the hands of Rufinus, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, while an even greater influence was exercised in the West by Stilicho, the Vandal master of the soldiers, whom Theodosius had selected as regent for the young Honorius. The rivalry of these two ambitious men and the attempt of Stilicho to secure for Honorius the restoration of eastern Illyricum, which had been attached by Gratian to the sphere of the eastern emperor, were the immediate causes of the complete and formal division of the Empire into an eastern and a western half, a condition which had been foreshadowed by the division of the imperial power throughout the greater part of the fourth century.

The fiction of imperial unity was still preserved by the nomination of one consul in Rome and one in Constantinople, by the joint display of the statues of both Augusti in each part of the Empire, and by the issuance of imperial enactments under their joint names. Nevertheless, there was a complete separation of administrative authority, the edicts issued by one emperor required the sanction of the other before attaining validity within his territory, and upon the death of one Augustus the actual government of the whole Empire did not pass into the hands of the survivor. The Empire had really split into two independent states.

The Germanic Invasions. In addition to the partition of the Empire, the period between 395 and 493 is marked by the complete breakdown of the Roman resistance to barbarian invasions and the penetration and occupation of the western provinces and Italy itself by peoples of Germanic stock. The position of Romans and barbarians is reversed; the latter become the rulers, the former their subjects, and the power passes from the Roman officials to the Germanic kings. Finally, a barbarian soldier seats

himself upon the throne of the western emperor, and a Germanic kingdom is established in Italy.

The Military Dictators. During this period of disintegration, the real power in the western empire was in the hands of a series of military dictators, who with the office of master of the soldiers secured the position of commander in chief of the imperial armies. Beside them the emperors exercised only nominal authority. But as these dictators were either barbarians themselves or depended upon barbarian troops for their support, they were continually intrigued against and opposed by the Roman or civilian element, headed by the civil officers of the court. Yet the fall of one "kingmaker" was always followed by the rise of another, for by their aid alone could the Romans offer any effective resistance to the flood of barbarian invasion.

The Empire Maintained in the East. But while the western Empire was thus absorbed by the Germanic invaders, the Empire in the East was able to offer a successful resistance both to foreign invasions and the ambitions of its own barbarian generals. This is in part accounted for by the greater solidarity and vigor of the Hellenic civilization of the eastern provinces, and the military strength of the population, particularly in Asia Minor, and in part by the success of the bureaucracy in holding the generals in check, a task which was facilitated by the division of the supreme military authority among several masters of the soldiers. The strength of the eastern Empire caused the West to look to it for support, and the western emperors upon several occasions were nominated, and at other times given the sanction of legitimacy, by those in the East.

II. THE VISIGOTHIC MIGRATIONS

The Revolt of Alaric: 395 A.D. Seizing the opportunity created by the death of Theodosius and the absence of the army of the East, which he had led into Italy, Alaric, a prince of the Visigothic *foederati,* began to ravage Thrace and Macedonia with a band of his own people, aided by other tribes from across the Danube. He was opposed by Stilicho, who was leading back the troops of the eastern emperor and intended to occupy eastern Illyricum. However, the latter was ordered by Arcadius to send the army of the East to Constantinople and complied. This gave Alaric free access to southern Greece, which he systematically plundered. But Stilicho once again intervened. He transported an army by sea to the Peloponnesus and maneuvered Alaric into a precarious situation but came to terms with him, possibly because of a revolt which had broken out in Africa. Stilicho was declared an enemy by Arcadius, while Alaric, after devastating

Epirus, settled there with his Goths and extorted the title of *magister militum* from the eastern court.

The Death of Stilicho: 408 A.D. In 401 A.D., when Stilicho was occupied with an inroad of Vandals and Alans into Raetia, Alaric invaded Italy. Stilicho, however, forced him to withdraw and foiled a second attempt at invasion in 403 A.D. But Alaric did not long remain inactive. He now held the title of master of the soldiers from Honorius and had agreed to help Stilicho to accomplish his designs upon Illyricum. But when the western empire was embarrassed by new invasions and the appearance of a usurper in Gaul, he made his way into Noricum and demanded an indemnity and employment for his troops. By the advice of Stilicho his demands, which included a payment of 4,000 pounds of gold, were complied with. Shortly afterwards, Stilicho fell a victim to a plot hatched by the court officials who were jealous of his influence (408 A.D.).

The Visigoths in Italy. The death of Stilicho removed the only capable defender of Italy, and, when Honorius refused to carry out the agreement with Alaric, the latter crossed the Alps. Honorius shut himself up in Ravenna; and the Goths marched on Rome, which ransomed itself at a heavy price. As Honorius still refused to give him lands and supplies for his men, Alaric returned to Rome and set up a new emperor, named Attalus. Yet Honorius, supported by troops from the eastern empire, remained obdurate, and a disagreement between Alaric and Attalus led to the latter's disposition. Rome was then occupied by the Goths, who plundered it for three days (410 A.D.). Alaric's next move was to march to South Italy with the intention of crossing to Sicily and Africa. But his flotilla was destroyed by a storm, and while retracing his steps northwards he suddenly took sick and died.

The Goths in Gaul and Spain. Alaric's successor was his brother-in-law, Ataulf, who led the Visigoths into Gaul (412 A.D.), where he at first allied himself with a usurper, Jovinus, but soon deserted him to take service with the Romans. However, when Honorius failed to furnish him supplies, he seized Narbonne and other towns in southern Gaul and married the emperor's sister, Placidia, whom the Goths had carried off captive from Rome. He again attempted to come to terms with the Romans but failed, and Constantius, the Roman master of the soldiers, who had succeeded to the position and influence of Stilicho, forced him to abandon Gaul. Ataulf and his Goths crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, where he died in 415 A.D. His successor Wallia, being hard pressed by famine and failing in an attempt to invade Africa, came to terms with the Romans. He surrendered Placidia and in the name of the emperor attacked the Vandals and Alans who had occupied parts of Spain. Alarmed by his success, Constantius re-

called the Goths to Gaul, where they were settled in southern Aquitania (418 A.D.).

The Visigothic Kingdom in Gaul. The status of the Goths in Gaul was that of *foederati,* bound to render military aid to Rome but governed by their own kings. The latter, however, had no authority over the Roman population among whom the Goths were settled. This condition was unsatisfactory to the Gothic rulers, who sought to establish an independent Gothic kingdom. Theodoric I, the successor of Wallia, forced the Romans to acknowledge his complete sovereignty over Aquitania but failed in his attempt to conquer Narbonese Gaul. Subsequently he joined forces with the Romans against Attila the Hun and was largely responsible for checking the latter at the battle of the Mauriac plain near Châlons-sur-Marne (451 A.D.) in which he lost his life. For a time the Goths remained on friendly terms with the imperial authority; but under Euric, who became king in 466 A.D., the anti-Roman faction was in the ascendant, and they embarked upon a policy of expansion. In 475 Euric, after a protracted struggle, gained possession of the district of Auvergne, and the Roman emperor acknowledged his sovereignty over the country between the Atlantic and the Rhone, the Loire, and the Pyrenees, besides some territory in Spain. Two years later the district between the Rhone and the Alps, south of the Durance, was added to the Visigothic kingdom.

III. THE VANDALS

The Invasions of 406 A.D. In 405 A.D. an invading horde of Vandals and Alans, who had descended upon Italy, was utterly defeated by Stilicho. But in the following year fresh swarms of the same peoples, united with the Suevi, crossed the Rhine near Mainz and plundered Gaul as far as the Pyrenees. For a short time they were held in check by the usurper Constantine, who held sway in Gaul and Spain. But later, when he was involved in a struggle with a rival, Gerontius, they found an opportunity to make their way into Spain (409 A.D.).

The Occupation of Spain. The united peoples speedily made themselves masters of the whole Iberian peninsula; but in spite of their successes over the Roman troops, the lack of supplies forced them to come to terms with the Empire. In 411 they became Roman *foederati* and were granted lands for settlement. Under this agreement the Asdingian Vandals and the Suevi occupied the northwest of Spain, the Alans the center, and the Silingian Vandals the south. The Roman government, however, had made peace with the Vandals and their allies only under pressure and seized the first opportunity to rid themselves of these unwelcome guests. In 416 Constantius

authorized the Visigoths under Wallia to attack them in the name of the emperor. Wallia was so successful that he utterly annihilated the Silingian Vandals and so weakened the Alans that they united themselves with the Asdingian Vandals, who escaped destruction only through the recall of the Visigoths to Gaul. Nevertheless the Vandals quickly recovered from their defeats, waged successful war upon the Suevi, who had reached an agreement with the Romans, and occupied the whole of southern Spain.

The Vandal Kingdom in Africa. In 429 A.D. the Vandals under the leadership of their king Gaiseric crossed into Africa, attracted by the richness of its soil and its strategic importance as one of the granaries of the Roman world. Their invasion was facilitated by the existence of a state of war between Count Bonifacius, the military governor of Africa, and the western emperor. The number of the invaders was estimated at 80,000, of whom probably 15,000 or 20,000 were fighting men.

In spite of the reconciliation between Bonifacius and the imperial government and their united opposition, Gaiseric was able to overrun the open country although he failed to capture the chief cities. In 435 A.D. peace was concluded, and the Vandals were allowed to settle in Numidia, once more as *foederati* of the empire. In 439 A.D., however, Gaiseric broke the peace and treacherously seized Carthage. This step was followed by the organization of a fleet which harried the coasts of Sicily. In 442 the western emperor acknowledged the independence of the Vandal kingdom. Peace continued until 455, when the assassination of the emperor Valentinian III gave Gaiseric the pretext for a descent upon Italy and the seizure of Rome, which was systematically plundered of its remaining treasures, although its buildings and monuments were not wantonly destroyed. Among the captives was Eudoxia, widow of the late emperor, and her daughters, who were valuable hostages in the hands of Gaiseric.

The lack of co-operation between the eastern and western Empires against the Vandals enabled them to extend their power still further. Their fleets controlled the whole of the Mediterranean and ravaged both its western and its eastern coasts. A powerful expedition fitted out by the eastern emperor Leo I in 468 for the invasion of Africa ended in utter failure, and in 476 his successor Zeno was compelled to come to terms and acknowledge the authority of the Vandals over the territory under their control. At the death of Gaiseric in 477 A.D. the Vandal kingdom included all Roman Africa, the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, and the fortress of Lilybaeum in Sicily.

IV. THE BURGUNDIANS, FRANKS, AND SAXONS

The Burgundian Invasion of Gaul. The invasion of Gaul by the Vandals and Alans in 406 A.D. was followed by an inroad of the Burgundians, Ripuarian Franks, and Alemanni. The two latter peoples established themselves on the left bank of the Rhine, while the Burgundians penetrated farther south. In 433 the Burgundians were at war with the Empire and were defeated by Aetius, the Roman master of the soldiers in Gaul. Subsequently they were settled in the Savoy. Thence, about 457, they began to expand until they occupied the whole valley of the Rhone as far south as the Durance.

Yet on the whole they remained loyal *foederati* of the Empire. They fought under Aetius against Attila in 451, and their kings bore the Roman title of *magister militum* until the reign of Gundobad (473–516), who was given the rank of patrician by the emperor Olybrius.

The Salian Franks. The Salian Franks—as those who had once dwelt on the shores of the North Sea were called in contrast to the Ripuarians, whose home was on the banks of the Rhine—crossed the lower Rhine before the middle of the fourth century and occupied Toxandria, the region between the Meuse and the Scheldt. They were defeated by Julian, who, however, left them in possession of this district as Roman *foederati*. The disturbances of the early fifth century enabled the Salian Franks to assert their independence of Roman suzerainty and to extend their territory as far south as the Somme. Still, they fought as Roman allies against the Huns in 451 A.D.; and their king Childeric, who began to rule shortly afterwards, remained a faithful *foederatus* of Rome until his death in 481 A.D.

In 486 A.D. Clovis, the successor of Childeric, overthrew the Gallo-Roman state to the south of the Somme and extended his kingdom to meet the Visigoths on the Loire. Thus the whole of Gaul passed under the rule of Germanic peoples.

The Saxons in Britain. After the decisive defeat of the Picts and Scots by Theodosius, the father of Theodosius the Great, in 368 and 369 A.D., the Romans were able to maintain the defence of Britain until the close of the fourth century. But in 402 Stilicho was obliged to recall part of the garrison of the island for the protection of Italy; and in 406 Constantine, who had laid claim to the imperial crown in Britain, took with him the remaining Roman troops in his attempt to obtain recognition on the continent. The ensuing struggles with the barbarians in Gaul prevented the Romans from sending officials or troops across the channel, and the Britons had to depend upon their own resources for their defence.

The task proved beyond their strength, and it is probable that by the middle of the fifth century the Germanic tribes of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes were firmly established in the eastern part of Britain. Because of the uncivilized character of these peoples, the fact that Roman culture was not very deeply rooted among the native population, and the desperate resistance offered by the latter to the invaders, the subsequent struggle for the possession of the island resulted in the obliteration of the Latin language and the disappearance of that material civilization which had developed under four centuries of Roman rule.

V. THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

Honorius: 395–423 A.D. After the murder of Stilicho in 408 A.D., Honorius was faced with the problem of restoring his authority in Gaul, where for a time he had been forced to acknowledge the rule of the rival emperor Constantine, who had donned the purple in Britain in 406 A.D. Constantius, a Roman noble who had succeeded Stilicho as master of the soldiers, was dispatched to Gaul in 411 and soon overthrew the usurper. Two years later another rival, Jovinus, was crushed with the help of the Visigoths.

Constantius, the leader of the antibarbarian faction of the court, was now the mainstay of the power of Honorius and used his influence to further his own ambitions. After the surrender of the princess Placidia by the Visigoths, he induced the emperor to grant him her hand in marriage (417 A.D.). In 421 A.D. Honorius appointed him coemperor, but he was not recognized as an Augustus at Constantinople and died in the same year. His death was followed by a quarrel between the emperor and his sister, as a result of which Placidia and her son took refuge under the protection of the eastern emperor, Theodosius II.

Valentinian III: 425–455 A.D. Honorius died in 423 A.D. leaving no children; and Castinus, the new master of the soldiers, secured the nomination of John, a high officer of the court, as his successor. However, Theodosius refused him recognition, and his authority was defied by Bonifacius, an influential officer who had established himself in Africa. Valentinian, the five-year-old son of Placidia and Constantius, was escorted to Italy by forces of the eastern Empire, and John was deposed. His chief supporter Aetius, who had brought an army of Huns to his aid, was induced to dismiss his troops and accept a command in Gaul with the rank of count. Placidia, who had returned to Italy with Valentinian, became regent with the title of Augusta.

Aetius. During the reign of Valentinian III interest centers about the

career of Aetius, "last of the Romans." In 429, after getting rid of his enemy Felix, who had succeeded to the position of Castinus, Aetius himself became master of the soldiers and the real ruler of the Empire. Fearing his influence, the Augusta Placidia endeavored to compass his downfall by an appeal to Bonifacius, who after his revolt of 427 A.D. had fought in the imperial cause against the Vandals. In 432 Bonifacius returned to Italy and was appointed master of the soldiers in place of Aetius. The latter appealed to arms, was defeated near Ariminum, and forced to flee for refuge to his friends the Huns. But as Bonifacius died not long after his victory, Aetius, with the backing of the Huns, was able to force the emperor to reappoint him master of the soldiers in 433 A.D. From that time until his death in 454 he directed the imperial policy in the West. He received embassies from foreign peoples, and the latter made treaties with him and not with the emperor.

Attila's Invasion of Gaul: 451 A.D. The chief efforts of Aetius were directed towards the preservation of central and southeastern Gaul for the Empire. In this he was successful, holding in check the Franks on the north, the Burgundians on the east, and the Goths in the southwest. But though Gaul was saved, Africa was lost to the Vandals, Britain to the Saxons, and the greater part of Spain to the Suevi. The success of Aetius in Gaul was principally due to his ability to draw into his service large numbers of Hunnish troops, owing to the influence he had acquired with the leaders of that people while a hostage among them. At this time the Huns occupied the region of modern Hungary, Rumania, and South Russia. They comprised a number of separate tribes, which in 444 A.D. were united under the strong hand of King Attila, who also extended his sway over neighboring Germanic and Scythian peoples.

At first Attila remained on friendly terms with Aetius, but his ambitions and his interference in the affairs of Gaul led to friction and to his demand for the hand of Honoria, sister of Valentinian III, with half of the western Empire as her dowry. When the emperor refused to comply, Attila led a great army across the Rhine into Gaul and laid siege to Orleans. Their common danger brought together the Romans and the Germanic peoples of Gaul, and Aetius was able to face the Huns with an army strengthened by the presence of the kings of the Visigoths and the Franks. Repulsed at Orleans, Attila withdrew to the Mauriac plain, where, in the vicinity of Troyes, a memorable battle was fought between the Huns and the forces of Aetius. Although the result was indecisive, Attila would not risk another engagement and recrossed the Rhine. The next year he invaded Italy, but the presence of famine and disease among his own forces and the arrival of troops from the Eastern Empire induced him to listen to the appeal of a

Roman embassy led by the Roman bishop Leo and to withdraw from the peninsula without occupying Rome. Upon his death in 453 A.D. his empire fell to pieces, and the power of the Huns began to decline.

Maximus and Avitus: 455–456 A.D. The death of Attila was soon followed by that of Aetius, who was murdered by Valentinian at the instigation of his chamberlain Heraclius (454 A.D.). This rash act deprived him of the best support of his authority, and in the next year Valentinian himself fell a victim to the vengeance of followers of Aetius. With him ended the dynasty of Theodosius in the West. The new emperor, a senator named Petronius Maximus, compelled Valentinian's widow, Eudoxia, to marry him; but when the Vandal Gaiseric appeared in Italy in answer to her call, he offered no resistance and perished in flight. Maximus was succeeded by Avitus, a Gallic follower of Aetius, whom he had made master of the soldiers. But after ruling little more than a year, Avitus was deposed by his own master of the soldiers, Ricimer (456 A.D.).

Ricimer. Ricimer, a German of Suevic and Gothic ancestry, who succeeded to the power of Aetius, was the virtual ruler of the western Empire from 456 until his death in 472. Backed by his mercenary troops, he made and unmade emperors at his pleasure and never permitted his nominees to be more than his puppets. Majorian, who was appointed emperor in 457 A.D., was overthrown by Ricimer in 461 and was followed by Severus. After the death of Severus in 465 no emperor was appointed in the West for two years. The imperial power was nominally concentrated in the hands of the eastern emperor, Leo, while Ricimer was in actual control of the government in Italy. In 467, Leo sent as emperor to Rome, Anthemius, a prominent dignitary of the eastern court, whose daughter was married to Ricimer in order to secure the co-operation of the latter in a joint attack of the two empires upon the Vandal kingdom in Africa. In 472, however, Ricimer broke with Anthemius, who had endeavored with the support of the Roman Senate to free himself from the influence of the powerful barbarian. Anthemius was besieged in Rome and put to death following the capture of the city. Thereupon Ricimer raised to the purple Olybrius, a son-in-law of Valentinian III. But both the new emperor and his patron died in the course of the same year (472 A.D.).

The Last Years of the Western Empire. In 473 A.D. Gundobad, the nephew of Ricimer, caused Glycerius to be proclaimed emperor. But his appointment was not recognized by Leo, who nominated Julius Nepos. The next year Nepos invaded Italy and overthrew his rival, only to meet a like fate at the hands of Orestes, whom he had made master of the soldiers (475 A.D.). Orestes did not assume the imperial title himself but bestowed it upon his son Romulus, known as Augustulus. But Orestes was unable to

maintain his position for long. The Germanic mercenaries in Italy—Heruli, Sciri, and others—led by Odovacar, demanded for themselves lands in Italy such as their kinsmen had been granted as *foederati* in the provinces. When their demands were refused, they mutinied and slew Orestes. Romulus was forced to abdicate, and Odovacar assumed the title of king (476 A.D.). The soldiers were settled on Italian soil, and the barbarians acquired full control of the western Empire.

The Kingship of Odovacar: 476–493 A.D. With the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the commander in chief of the barbarian soldiery, long the virtual ruler in the western Empire, was legally confirmed in the exercise of his power. The imperial authority was united in the person of the eastern emperor, who sanctioned the rule of Odovacar by granting him the title of patrician, which had been held already by Aetius, Ricimer, and Orestes. The barbarian king was at the same time the imperial regent in Italy.

But it was only in Italy that Odovacar obtained recognition. The last remnants of Roman authority vanished in Gaul and Spain, while Raetia and Noricum were abandoned to the Alemanni, Thuringi, and Rugii.

The Ostrogothic Conquest of Italy: 488–493 A.D. In 488 A.D. the position of Odovacar in Italy was challenged by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. This people, after having long been subject to the Huns, recovered their freedom at the death of Attila and settled in Pannonia as *foederati* of the eastern Empire. Theodoric, who became sole ruler of the Ostrogoths in 481 A.D., had proved himself a troublesome ally of the emperor Zeno, who mistrusted his ambitions. Accordingly, when Theodoric demanded an imperial commission to attack Odovacar in Italy, Zeno readily granted him the desired authority in order to remove him to a greater distance from Constantinople. In 488 Theodoric set out with his followers to invade Italy. Odovacar was defeated in two battles and, in 490 A.D., blockaded in Ravenna. After a long siege he agreed to surrender upon condition that he and Theodoric should rule jointly over Italy. Shortly afterwards he and most of his followers were treacherously assassinated by the Ostrogoths (493 A.D.). Theodoric now ruled Italy as king of the Ostrogoths and an official of the Roman Empire, probably retaining the title of master of the soldiers which he had held in the East.

VI. THE SURVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE IN THE EAST

Arcadius: 395–408 A.D. The year of the death of Theodosius the Great saw the Asiatic provinces of the Empire overrun by the Huns, who ravaged Syria and Asia Minor, while the Visigoths under Alaric devastated the Balkan peninsula. The absence of the eastern troops in Italy prevented the

government from offering any effective opposition to either foe. And when Stilicho came to the rescue from Italy and was holding the Visigoths in check, his rival the praetorian prefect Rufinus, who directed the policy of the young Arcadius, induced the emperor to order Stilicho to withdraw and send the troops of the East to Constantinople. This order resulted in the death of Rufinus, who was killed by the returning soldiery at the orders of their commander, the Goth Gaïnas.

The influential position of Rufinus at the court fell to the grand chamberlain Eutropius, who had been an enemy of the late prefect. He had induced Arcadius to marry Eudoxia, daughter of a Frankish chief, instead of the daughter of Rufinus, as the latter had desired. The fall of Eutropius was brought about by Gaïnas, now a master of the soldiers, who sought to play the role of Stilicho in the East. He was supported by the empress Eudoxia, who chafed under the domination of the chamberlain. In 399, on the occasion of a revolt of the Gothic troops in Phrygia, Gaïnas held aloof and the failure of the nominee of Eutropius to crush the movement gave him the opportunity to bring about the latter's dismissal and eventually his death.

But Gaïnas did not long retain his power. He quarrelled with the empress, and the Arianism of himself and his followers roused the animosity of the population of the capital. A massacre of the Goths in Constantinople followed; and with the aid of a loyal Goth Fravitta, Gaïnas was driven north of the Danube, where he was slain by the Huns (400 A.D.). The influence of Eudoxia was now paramount. But she herself found a critic in the eloquent bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, who inveighed against the extravagance and dissipation of the society of the court and directed his censures towards the empress in particular. Ultimately, Eudoxia was able to have him deposed from his see in 404 A.D., a few months before his death. Four years later Arcadius himself died, leaving the Empire to his eight-year-old son Theodosius II.

Theodosius II: 408–450 A.D. At the opening of the reign of Theodosius II the government was in the hands of the praetorian prefect Anthemius, who had shown himself an able administrator during the last years of Arcadius. In 414, however, the emperor's elder sister, Pulcheria, was made regent with the title of Augusta. She was a strong personality and for many years completely dominated the emperor, who was lacking in independence of character and energy. In 421 Pulcheria selected as a wife for Theodosius, Athenais, the daughter of an Athenian sophist, who took the name of Eudocia upon accepting Christianity. After a lapse of some years differences arose between the empress and her sister-in-law which led to the latter's withdrawal from the court (after 431 A.D.). But, about 440, Eudocia lost

her influence over the emperor; she was compelled to retire from Constantinople and reside in Jerusalem, where she lived until her death in 460. The reins of power then passed to the grand chamberlain Chrysapius, whose corrupt administration rivalled that of his predecessor Eutropius.

During the reign of Theodosius II the peace of the eastern Empire was broken by a war with Persia and by inroads of the Huns. The Persian war, which began in 421 as a result of persecutions of the Christians in Persia, was brought to a victorious conclusion in the next year. A second war, the result of a Persian invasion in 441, ended with a Persian defeat in 442. But with the Huns the Romans were not so fortunate. In 424, King Rua, the ruler of the Huns in the plains of Hungary, had extorted from the Empire the payment of an annual tribute to secure immunity from invasion. At the accession of Attila and his brother in 433, this tribute was raised to 700 pounds of gold, and the Romans were forbidden to give shelter to fugitives from the power of the Huns. But the payment of tribute failed to win a permanent respite, for Attila was bent on draining the wealth of the Empire and reducing it to a condition of helplessness. In 441–443 the Huns swarmed over the Balkan provinces and defeated the imperial armies. An indemnity of 6,000 pounds of gold was exacted and the annual payment increased to 2,100 pounds. Another disastrous raid occurred in 447. The Empire could offer no resistance, and so Chrysapius plotted the assassination of Attila, but the plot was detected. Attila claimed to regard himself as the overlord of Theodosius.

In 438 there was published the Theodosian code, a collection of imperial edicts which constituted the administrative law of the Empire and which was accepted in the West as well as in the East. Theodosius died in 450, without having made any arrangements for a successor.

Marcian: 450–457 A.D. The officials left the choice of a new emperor to the Augusta Pulcheria. She selected Marcian, a tried officer, to whom she gave her hand in formal marriage. Marcian proved himself an able and conscientious ruler. He refused to continue the indemnity to Attila and was able to adhere to this policy owing to the latter's invasion of the West and subsequent death. It was he who permitted the Ostrogoths to settle as *foederati* in Pannonia (454 A.D.).

Leo I: 457–474 A.D. At the death of Marcian in 457 the imperial authority was conferred upon Leo, an officer of Dacian origin. His appointment was due to the Alan Aspar, one of the masters of the soldiers, whose power in the East rivalled that of Ricimer in the West. But Leo did not intend to be the puppet of the powerful general, whose loyalty he eventually came to suspect. Accordingly as a counterpoise to the Gothic mercenaries and *foederati,* the mainstay of Aspar's power, he drew into his service the

Isaurians, the warlike mountaineers of southern Anatolia, who had defied the Empire under Arcadius and Theodosius. The emperor's eldest daughter was given in marriage to Zeno, an Isaurian, who was made master of the soldiers in the Orient. In 470, however, Aspar was still strong enough to force Leo to bestow the hand of his second daughter upon his son Leontius and to appoint the latter Caesar. But in the following year when Zeno returned to Constantinople, the Alan and his eldest son were treacherously assassinated in the palace.

Leo II: 473–474 A.D. In 473 Leo took as his colleague and destined successor his grandson, also called Leo, the son of Zeno. The death of the elder Leo occurred early in 474, and the younger soon crowned his father Zeno as coemperor. When Leo II died before the close of the same year, Zeno became sole ruler.

Zeno: 474–491 A.D. The reign of Zeno was an almost uninterrupted struggle against usurpers and revolting Gothic *foederati.* In 474 occurred an outbreak of the latter led by their king Theodoric the son of Triarius, called Strabo or "the Squinter," who ruled over the Goths settled in Thrace as a master of the soldiers of the Empire. Before this revolt was over, the unpopularity of the Isaurians induced Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo I, to plot to seize the throne for himself. He was supported by his sister, the ex-empress Verina, and Illus, the chief Isaurian officer in Zeno's service. The conspirators seized Constantinople and proclaimed Basiliscus emperor (475 A.D.). But his heretical religious views aroused strong opposition, and he was deserted by both Verina and Illus. Zeno re-entered the capital, and Basiliscus was executed.

During the revolt Zeno had been supported by Theodoric the Amal, a Gothic prince who was a rival of Theodoric, son of Triarius. The emperor therefore tried to crush the latter with the help of the former, but the two Theodorics came to an agreement and acted in concert against Zeno (478 A.D.). In 479 peace was made with Strabo, but hostilities continued with the Amal. At this time another insurrection broke out in Constantinople, under the leadership of Marcian, a son-in-law of Leo I, as a protest against the predominance of the Isaurians, in particular Illus. This revolt, however, was easily put down.

Theodoric, son of Triarius, was killed in 481; and in 483 Zeno made peace with Theodoric the Amal, creating him patrician and master of the soldiers and granting him lands in Dacia and lower Moesia. These concessions were made in consequence of the antagonism which had developed between the emperor and his all-powerful minister Illus. This friction culminated in 484 A.D. when Illus, who was master of the soldiers in the Orient, induced the dowager empress Verina to crown a general, named

Leontius, as emperor. But outside of Isauria the movement found little support, and after a long siege in an Isaurian fortress the leaders of the revolt were taken and put to death (488 A.D.). In the meantime Theodoric the Amal had asked and received an imperial warrant for the conquest of Italy, and with the departure of the Goths the eastern Empire was delivered from the danger of Germanic domination. Zeno died in April, 491 A.D.

Anastasius: 491–518 A.D. The choice of a successor was left to the empress Ariadne, who selected as emperor and her husband an experienced officer of the court, Anastasius. The first act of Anastasius was to remove the Isaurian officials and troops from Constantinople. This led to an Isaurian rebellion in southern Asia Minor which was not stamped out until 498. In the struggle the power of the Isaurians was broken, their strongholds were captured, part of their population was transported to Thrace, and they ceased to be a menace to the peace of the Empire.

In the place of the Goths new enemies appeared on the Danubian border in the Slavic Getae and the Bulgars, who overran the depopulated provinces of the northern Balkan peninsula. So extended were their ravages and so utterly did the imperial troops fail to hold them in check that Anastasius was obliged to build a wall across the peninsula upon which the city of Constantinople stands for the protection of the capital itself. Anastasius had also to cope with a serious Persian war which began with an invasion of Roman Armenia and Mesopotamia by King Kawad in 502 A.D. After four years of border warfare, in which the Persians gained initial success but the fortune of the Roman arms was restored by the master of the offices Celer, peace was re-established on the basis of the *status quo ante.*

The civil administration of Anastasius is noteworthy for the abolition of the tax called the *chrysargyrum* (498 A.D.) and for his relief of the *curiales* from the responsibility for the collection of the municipal taxes. A testimony of the increasing influences of Christian morality was the abolition of certain pagan festivals and of combats between gladiators and wild beasts in the circus.

In spite of the justness and efficiency of his administration, the reign of Anastasius was marked by several popular upheavals in Constantinople and in other cities of the Empire as well. The cause lay in his sympathy for the Monophysite doctrine, which was vigorously opposed by the orthodox Christians. In 512 the appointment of a Monophysite bishop at Constantinople provoked a serious rebellion which almost cost Anastasius his throne.

Although the emperor was able to quiet the city rabble by a display of cool courage, the prevailing religious discord encouraged Vitalian, the commander of the Bulgarian *foederati* in the Thracian army, to raise the stand-

ard of revolt (514 A.D.). He defeated all forces sent against him and endangered the safety of the capital. However, he was induced to withdraw by a ransom of 5,000 pounds of gold and the office of master of the soldiers in Thrace. But the truce was only temporary, and in 515 he again advanced on Constantinople. This time his forces met with a crushing defeat on land and sea, and the rebellion came to an end. Three years later Anastasius died.

CHAPTER XXV. THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN: 518–565 A.D.

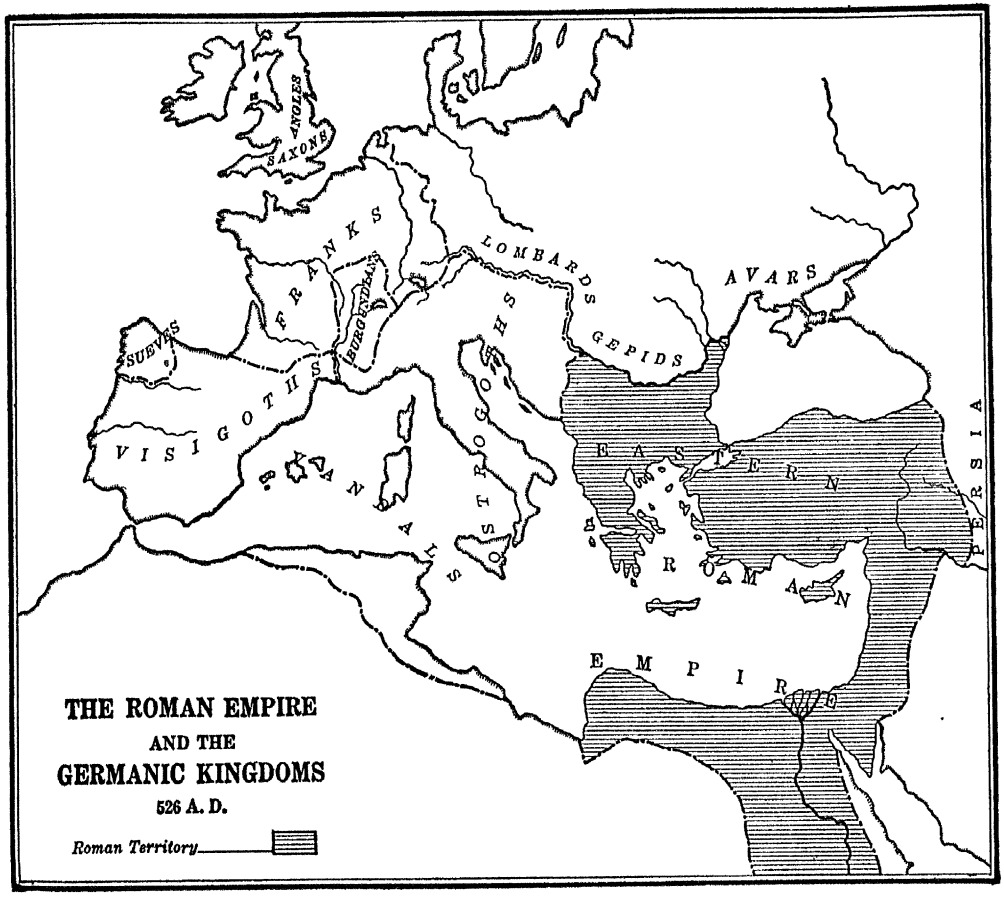
I. THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS IN THE WEST TO 533 A.D.

The Germans and the Romans. The passing of Italy and the western provinces under the sway of Germanic kings was accomplished, as we have seen, by the settlement of large numbers of barbarians in the conquered territories. This necessitated a division of the soil and a definition of the status of the Romans with respect to the invaders, who were everywhere less numerous than the native population. These questions were settled in different ways in the several kingdoms.

Under the Visigoths. In the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul the Goths and the Romans lived side by side as separate peoples, each enjoying its own laws, and the Romans were not regarded as subjects having no rights against their conquerors. Intermarriage between the two races was, however, forbidden. The law which applied to the Romans was published by King Alaric in 506 A.D. and is known as the *Lex Romana Visigothorum,* or the Breviary of Alaric; his predecessor Euric had caused the compilation of a code of the Gothic customary law in imitation of the imperial Theodosian code.

The settlement of the Goths on the land took the form of *hospitium* or quartering. By this arrangement the Roman landholders gave up to the Goths two thirds of their property, both the land itself and the cattle, *coloni,* and slaves which were on it. The shares which the Goths received were not subject to taxation.

For the purposes of administration the Roman provincial and municipal divisions were retained (*provinciae* and *civitates*), the former being placed under dukes and the latter under counts of the cities (*comites civitatium*). The Goths settled within these districts formed their national associations of tens, hundreds, and thousands, under native Gothic officers. But the adoption of a more settled form of life deeply affected the Gothic tribal institutions. The Gothic national assembly could no longer be easily called together and came to exist in the form of the army alone. In the division of the land the more influential warriors and friends of the king received the larger shares, and this helped the rise of a landed nobility. The govern-


SAXONS
ANGLES
FRANKS
BURGUNDIANS
LOMBARDS
AVARS
GEPIDS
SUEVES
VISIGOTHS
OSTROGOTHS
VANDALS
EASTERN
EMPIRE
PERSIA
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AND THE
GERMANIC KINGDOMS
526 A. D.
Roman Territory

ment was concentrated at the capital, Toulouse, where central ministries were established modelled on those of the Roman court. This led to a considerable strengthening of the royal power. The language of government remained Gothic for the Goths and Latin for the Romans, but the leading Goths appear to have been familiar with both tongues.

Under the Vandals. In the Vandal kingdom of Africa the position of the Romans was much less favorable. They were treated as conquered subjects, and, as under the Goths, intermarriage between them and the conquering race was prohibited. In the province of Zeugitana (old Africa), where the Vandal settlement occurred, the Roman landowners were completely dispossessed and their estates turned over to new proprietors. The *coloni* and other tenants, however, remained on the soil, and the Vandal landlords entrusted the management of their properties to Roman stewards. Elsewhere the Romans were undisturbed in their possessions.

The Roman administrative territorial divisions were retained, but the regions settled by the Vandals stood outside of these and had a separate organization. Here the Vandals preserved their tribal divisions of hundreds and thousands. The administration of justice for the Vandals was in the hands of their own officials and according to their customary laws; for the Romans it rested with their previous authorities in accordance with Roman law but under the supervision of the Vandal king.

The Vandal kingdom was a strongly centralized monarchy. This led to the development of a nobility based on employment in the imperial service. The African climate and the sudden acquirement of wealth which enabled them to enjoy all the luxurious extravagance of Roman life in the upper classes of society soon produced an enervating effect upon the northern conquerors. On the other hand, although they were completely lacking in political rights, the Roman agricultural population of Africa felt the rule of the Vandals to be less oppressive than that of the Roman bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the Arianism of the Vandals prevented their winning the loyalty of the Roman subjects.

Under the Ostrogoths. In Italy, Odovacar had maintained the Roman administrative system in its entirety, and Theodoric continued his policy. He made no attempt to found a new state but regarded himself as one of the rulers of the Roman Empire. In 497 he asked and received from Anastasius the symbols of imperial power which Odovacar had sent to Constantinople upon the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476. From this time the Gothic king may be regarded as a colleague of the eastern emperor. Not merely did he retain the Roman administrative organization but all his civil officials were Romans. He published an edict which constituted a code of law applicable to Goths and Romans alike. So thoroughly

Roman was Theodoric's administration that even the army was open to Romans, who are found among his prominent generals.

The Ostrogoths received assignments of land in Italy, but it seems probable that there was no confiscation of private property, one third of the state lands being allotted for this purpose. Ravenna was the royal residence and center of government, but the Roman Senate exercised a great deal of influence and until the later years of his reign cordially supported the authority of Theodoric.

The Burgundians and the Franks. The Burgundians in the Rhone valley effected their settlement, like the Visigoths, according to the system of *hospitium.* In general their relations with the Roman population were peaceful, intermarriage between the two peoples was sanctioned, and the Burgundian kings showed themselves appreciative of Roman culture. Gundobad, who reigned from 473 to 516, issued both a code of Burgundian laws and the Burgundian Roman Law (*Lex Romana Burgundionum*) which applied to his Roman subjects and also to the Burgundians in their disputes with Romans. The Franks in the course of their advance to the Seine had annihilated the Roman population of northern Gaul. In the region between the Seine and the Loire, however, they left the Romans in undisturbed possession of their property, the Frankish kings making no distinction between their Frank and Roman subjects.

The Religious Question. In addition to racial differences, there was also a religious line of demarcation between the Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians on the one hand, and the Roman population on the other. The Goths and neighboring Germanic peoples had been converted to Christianity in the latter half of the fourth century, largely through the missionary activities of Ulfila, who translated the Bible into Gothic. Under his influence they had been won to the Arian and not the Nicaean creed and consequently were regarded as heretics by the orthodox Romans, who never became reconciled to rulers of another confession than themselves. This hostility led frequently to government intervention and persecution. But in this respect the policy of the several Germanic kingdoms varied under different rulers.

In general the Visigoths pursued a policy of toleration, leaving the orthodox clergy undisturbed except when the latter were guilty of disloyalty in giving support to outside enemies. At the time of their settlement in Zeugitana the Vandals confiscated the property of the orthodox Church in that province and turned it over to their own Arian clergy. Elsewhere in Africa the Catholics remained unmolested during the reign of Gaiseric but were persecuted by his successors. In the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy Theodoric, although an Arian, gave complete freedom to the orthodox Church through-

out the greater part of his rule; but his policy changed when the eastern emperor, Justin, began to persecute the Arians within his dominions in 523 A.D. The ban upon Arianism found support among the Romans in Italy, particularly among the orthodox clergy and the senators. This caused Theodoric to suspect that the emperor's action had been stimulated by a faction in the Roman Senate and led to the execution of Boethius and other notables on the charge of treason. Realizing the effect that the imperial proscription of Arianism would produce upon the relations of his Roman and Gothic subjects, Theodoric sent a delegation, headed by the bishop of Rome, to Constantinople to secure the annulment of the anti-Arian decree. When he failed to attain this, he resolved upon a general persecution of the Catholics, which was forestalled, however, by his death in 526 A.D.

The Burgundians were also Arians, and this prevented their winning the loyal support of the orthodox clergy, who, however, recognized the authority of the Burgundian kings. Although Sigismund, the son of Gundobad, who came to the throne in 516, was converted to orthodoxy, it was too late to heal this religious breach before the fall of the Burgundian power.

Unlike their neighbors, the Visigoths and Burgundians, the Franks were pagans when they established themselves upon Roman territory and remained so until toward the close of the fifth century. In 496 the Frankish king Clovis was converted to Christianity, and to the orthodox, not the Arian, belief, a fact of supreme importance in his relations with the other Germanic peoples in Gaul.

The Expansion of the Franks. The foreign policy of Theodoric was directed towards strengthening his position in Italy by establishing friendly relations with the western Germanic kingdoms and maintaining peace and a balance of power among them. To this end he contracted a series of family alliances with the rulers of these states. In 492 he himself wedded a sister of Clovis the Frank and gave his own sister in marriage to the Vandal king Thrasamund. One of his daughters became the wife of Sigismund, king of the Burgundians; and another was married to Alaric II, who succeeded Euric as king of the Visigoths.

Theodoric's scheme was, however, rudely disturbed by the ambitions of Clovis. In 496 the latter conquered the Alemanni. He next forced the Burgundians to acknowledge his overlordship, and with these as his allies in 507 he attacked the Visigothic kingdom. The conquests of Euric in Gaul and Spain had overtaxed the strength of the Visigothic people and weakened their hold upon the territory they occupied. Furthermore, their Roman subjects gave active aid to the orthodox Clovis. In a battle near Poitiers the Visigoths were defeated and their king, Alaric II, slain. Theodoric had been hindered from intervening previously by the outbreak of hostilities between

himself and the emperor Anatasius, who gave his sanction to the action of Clovis and sent him the insignia of the consulship. Now, however, the Ostrogothic king came to the aid of the Visigoths. He repulsed the Franks and Burgundians before Arles (508 A.D.) and recovered Narbonese Gaul. Nevertheless, the greater part of Aquitania remained in the hands of the Franks. Theodoric established his grandson Amalaric as king of the Visigoths and exercised a regency in his name (510 A.D.). Clovis died in 511, and the expansion of the Franks ceased for a time, but the death of Theodoric in 526 was the signal for fresh disturbances. The Visigothic king Amalaric at once asserted his independence in southern Gaul and in Spain. But not long afterwards, in 531, he fell in battle against the Franks, who seized the remaining Visigothic possessions in Gaul except Septimania—the coast district between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. Three years later they overthrew the kingdom of the Burgundians and so brought under their sway the whole of Gaul outside of Septimania and Provence.

In 533 A.D. the situation in the West was as follows. Gaul was mainly in the hands of the Franks, Spain was under the Visigoths, the Vandals were still established in Africa, and the Ostrogoths in Italy. Both of the latter kingdoms, however, were showing signs of internal weakness. In addition to the hostility between the Germanic conquerors and the subject Roman population, factional strife had broken out over the succession to the throne. Evidence of the declining power of the Vandals in particular was the success of the Moorish tribes in winning their independence. By 525 both Mauretania and Numidia had been abandoned to them, and the tribes of Tripolis had shaken off the Vandal yoke. In 530 the Moors of southern Byzacene inflicted a severe defeat on the Vandals, which led to the deposition of the ruling king. The weakness of these states seemed to offer a favorable opportunity for the re-establishment of the imperial authority in the West.

II. THE RESTORATION OF THE IMPERIAL POWER IN THE WEST: 533–554 A.D.

Justin I: 518–527 A.D. Anastasius died in 518 and was succeeded by Justin, an Illyrian of humble origin who had risen to the important post of commander of the imperial bodyguard (*comes excubitorum*). Unlike his predecessor Justin was an adherent of the orthodox faith, and at the opening of his reign an exceedingly influential position was held by the general Vitalian, who had been the champion of orthodoxy against Anastasius. He became master of the soldiers at Constantinople and in 520 was honored with the consulship. But his power and unscrupulous ambitions constituted a real menace to the emperor and induced the latter to procure his murder.

Justin ruled for nine years. He was an experienced soldier, but illiterate, and personally unequal to the task of imperial government. The guiding spirit of his administration was his nephew Justinian, who was largely responsible for Vitalian's removal. In fact the reign of Justin served as a brief introduction to the long rule of Justinian himself, whom his uncle crowned as his colleague in 527 A.D. and who became sole emperor at the latter's death in the same year.

Justinian's Imperial Policy. Justinian was by birth a Latin peasant from near Scupi (modern Uskub) in Upper Moesia, but through his uncle he had been able to enjoy all the educational advantages offered by the schools of Constantinople. In public life he showed himself a laborious and careful administrator, of an extremely autocratic and yet at the same time somewhat vacillating, character. He was a devout Christian, zealous for the propagation of the orthodox faith, with a strong liking for, and considerable learning in, questions of dogmatic theology. He regarded religious and secular affairs as equally subject to the imperial will, and in each sphere he exercised absolute authority. In him the ideal of autocracy found its most perfect embodiment.

The goal of Justinian's imperial policy was the recovery of the lands of the western Empire from their Germanic rulers and the re-establishment of imperial unity in the person of the eastern emperor. The attainment of unity of belief throughout the Christian world he regarded as no less important than that of political unity: one empire, one law, one church was his motto.

Reconciliation with the Western Church: 519 A.D. The way was paved for the reconquest of the Roman West by a reconciliation with the Roman bishop Hormisdas, as a result of which orthodoxy was once more formally received at Constantinople and a persecution of the Monophysites and other heretics inaugurated in the eastern Empire (519 A.D.). Although this union with Rome was brought about while the influence of Vitalian was predominant, it had the cordial support of Justinian, who recognized that the good will of the clergy and the Roman population of the western provinces would in this way be won for the western emperor. Such proved to be the case, and the subsequent wars for the recovery of the West assumed the aspect of crusades for the deliverance of the followers of the orthodox church from Arian domination.

Outbreak of the Vandal War: 533 A.D. The deposition of Hilderic, who had been on friendly terms with the eastern Empire, and the accession of Gelimer, who reverted to an anti-Roman policy, afforded Justinian a pretext for intervention in the Vandal kingdom. In conformity with his policy of treating the Germanic kings as vassal princes of the Empire, he

demanded the reinstatement of Hilderic; and when this was refused, he prepared to invade Africa. An expeditionary force of ten thousand foot and five thousand horse, accompanied by a powerful fleet, was placed under the command of the able general Belisarius and dispatched from Constantinople in 533 A.D. An alliance concluded with the Ostrogoths forestalled the possibility of their coming to the aid of the Vandals.

The Military Condition of the Empire. The imperial armies of the sixth century were entirely composed of mercenary troops. While the voluntary enlistment of barbarians had been a regular method of recruitment from the time of Diocletian, such troops were at first enrolled directly in the imperial service. But by the opening of the sixth century it had become customary for private individuals, as a rule officers of repute, to enlist troops in their personal service. Such troops were known as *bucellarii,* from the word *bucella,* signifying soldiers' bread. These *bucellarii* were usually taken into the service of the state along with their leaders and were then maintained at the public expense. It was with mercenaries of this type that the ranks of Justinian's armies were largely filled. For the most part they were veteran troops and good fighters but with all the weaknesses of their class. They were greedy of plunder, impatient of discipline, and both officers and men displayed a conspicuous lack of loyalty. The most effective troops were the *cataphracti,* mailed horsemen armed with bow, lance, and sword. Beside them the infantry played only a subordinate role. The fact that the government was obliged to rely upon *condottieri* for its own maintenance reveals the internal decay of the whole imperial system, and the smallness of the forces which it could put into the field shows the weakness of its resources compared with the aims of Justinian and explains the protracted character of the wars of the period. In fact, the emperor was on the point of abandoning the invasion of Africa for financial reasons when the prophecy of an eastern bishop induced him to persevere.

The Reconquest of Africa: 533–534 A.D. The landing of Belisarius in Africa (September, 533) completely surprised the Vandals. Gelimer was defeated in battle, and Belisarius occupied Carthage. A second defeat before the close of the year sealed the fate of the Vandal kingdom. Early in 534 Gelimer surrendered, and all resistance came to an end. The Vandal insular possessions—Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands—fell to the Romans without further opposition.

Revolts of the Moors. But the Moors, who had managed to assert their independence against the Vandals, were not disposed to pass under the Roman yoke without a struggle. A revolt which broke out in 535 was not finally crushed until 539; and another, which was complicated by a mutiny of the imperial troops, raged between 546 and 548. In the end, the Roman

authority was re-established over all the African provinces except Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana. The previous system of civil administration was revived and elaborate measures taken to secure the defence of the frontiers. Unfortunately, the ravages of the Moors and the war of restoration had played such sad havoc with economic conditions in Africa that, in spite of government assistance, its former prosperity was never revived. Still, Africa had been recovered for the Empire and was destined to remain a part of it until the Saracen invasion nearly a century and a half later.

The Recovery of Italy. First Phase: 535–540 A.D. The overthrow of the Vandal kingdom had scarcely been accomplished when events in Italy gave Justinian the desired pretext for the invasion of the peninsula. Upon the death of King Athalaric, Theodoric's grandson and successor, in 534, his mother, the regent Amalasuntha, had married Theodahad, whom she made her consort. Shortly afterwards, however, he caused her to be imprisoned and, when she appealed to Justinian for aid, put her to death. As the avenger of his former ally, Justinian made war upon the Gothic king. The possession of Africa gave the Romans an excellent base of operations against Italy. In 535 Belisarius invaded Sicily with 7,500 men and speedily reduced the whole island, while another Roman army marched on Dalmatia. From Sicily Belisarius crossed into South Italy, where he found little resistance. The inactivity of Theodahad produced a revolt among his own people. He was deposed, and Witiges became king in his place. The new king was able to purchase the neutrality of the Franks, who were in alliance with Justinian, by ceding to them the Ostrogothic possessions in South Gaul. Nevertheless, Belisarius continued his advance and occupied Rome (December, 536 A.D.). There he was besieged for a year (March, 537 to March, 538) by the Goths, who were in the end forced to abandon the blockade and fall back upon North Italy. At the same time, the eunuch Narses arrived in Italy at the head of a new Roman army. But since his presence was largely due to Justinian's mistrust of Belisarius, he failed to co-operate with the latter and accomplished nothing before his recall in 539. The last episode of the campaign was the siege of Ravenna (539–540 A.D.), which was defended by the Gothic king. With its fall and his capture in 540, the resistance of the Goths came to an end. Italy was declared a Roman province, the civil administration was re-established, and Belisarius was recalled to assume the command against Persia.

Second Phase: 541–554 A.D. The withdrawal of Belisarius and his best troops led to a revolt of the Goths under the leadership of the brave and energetic Totila (or Baduila) in 541. Within the next three years he drove the Roman garrisons from the greater part of Italy, including Rome. Belisarius was dispatched against him but was given inadequate support and ac-

complished nothing except the recovery of Rome, which he held until he was recalled at his own request in 548. The drain of a fresh Persian war upon the resources of the Empire forced Justinian to the temporary abandonment of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and Italy, apart from Ravenna and a few other fortresses. At last in 552 he was able to resume the struggle and entrusted the conduct of the war to Narses, whose ability as a commander was superior to that of Belisarius himself. The army of Narses numbered over 30,000 and consisted chiefly of barbarian auxiliaries, in particular Lombards, who had been settled as *foederati* in Noricum since 547. Narses marched upon Italy by way of Illyricum and reached the Roman base at Ravenna. Thence he advanced towards Rome and met and defeated the Goths in a decisive engagement in Umbria (552 A.D.). Totila fell in the battle. A second victory in Campania in the following spring forced the surviving Goths to come to terms. They were allowed to leave Italy and seek a new home beyond the Roman borders. A fresh enemy then appeared in the Franks, who had been nominal allies of the Goths but had rendered them little assistance. A horde of Alemanni and Franks swept down upon Italy and penetrated deep into the peninsula. But Narses annihilated one of their divisions at Capua (554 A.D.), and the remainder were decimated by disease and forced to withdraw. The Roman sway was firmly established over Italy as far as the Alps; but Raetia, Noricum, and the Danubian provinces remained lost to the Empire.

The long and bitter wars of restoration had wrought frightful damage to the material welfare of Italy, and the heavy financial burdens imposed by the Roman administrative system aroused bitter protests. The measures of relief attempted proved insufficient, the middle class disappeared, the richer landed proprietors left the peninsula, and, as in Africa, the former prosperity was never recalled.

The Attempted Recovery of Spain: 554 A.D. Following the conclusion of hostilities in Italy, Justinian seized the opportunity which presented itself for intervention in Spain. He sent an army to the support of the rebel Agila against Athanagild, the king of the Visigoths (554 A.D.). The Roman forces occupied Corduba, Carthagena, and other coast towns; but on the death of Athanagild, Agila succeeded to his throne and headed the Visigothic opposition to the Romans, who were unable to advance further. They retained however, what they had already conquered.

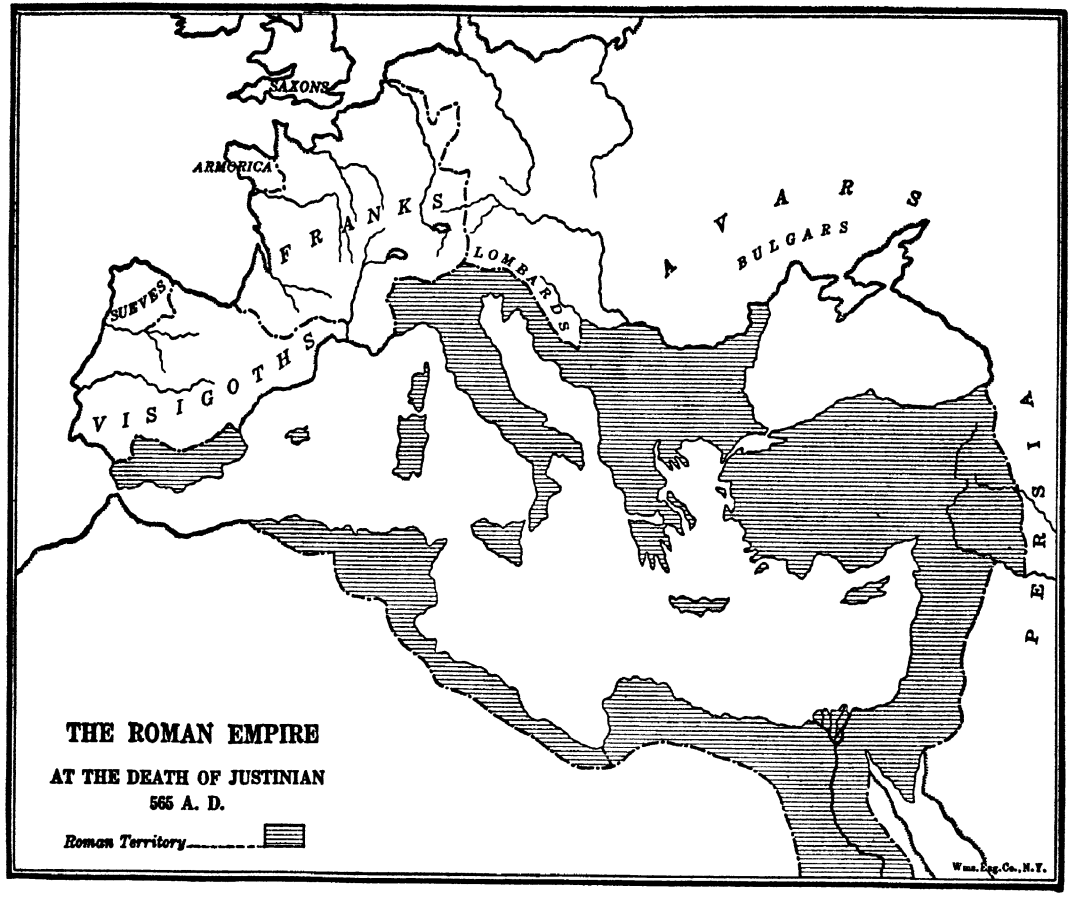
Extent of the Roman Conquests. Justinian's policy had resulted in the overthrow of the Vandal and Ostrogothic kingdoms and in the recovery for the Empire of Africa, Italy, and the Mediterranean islands, and a strip of the Spanish coast. More, the Empire was too weak to accomplish.

III. JUSTINIAN'S FRONTIER PROBLEMS AND INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

Barbarian Invasions of the Balkan Peninsula. The strain which the policy of expansion in the West imposed upon the strength of the Empire is clearly seen in the failure to defend the Danubian frontier and the ineffective conduct of the Persian wars. Time after time hordes of Bulgars and Slavs poured into the Balkans. Especially destructive were the inroads of 540 and 559. In the former the invaders penetrated as far as the Isthmus of Corinth; in the latter they threatened the capital itself but were driven off by the aged Belisarius.

The Persian Wars. In 527, the Persian king Kawad declared war upon the Empire. The struggle was indecisive; and, at the death of Kawad in 532, Justinian, who wished to be free at any price to pursue his western policy, was able to conclude peace with his successor, Chosroes I, upon condition of paying an annual indemnity. But the successes of Justinian in the West aroused the jealousy and ambitions of Chosroes in 539. The Persians overran Syria and captured Antioch, carrying off its population into captivity (540). They failed, however, to take Edessa (544). In Mesopotamia an armistice was concluded in 545, although war continued between the Arab dependents of both states, and in the district of Lazica (ancient Colchis), a Roman protectorate which transferred its allegiance to Persia. Finally, a fifty years' peace was concluded in 562 A.D. The Roman suzerainty over Lazica was acknowledged by the Persians, but the Romans obligated themselves to pay the Persians a heavy annual subsidy, in return for which the Persians undertook the defence of the Caucasus. In this way the Persians became technically Roman *foederati;* however, as in the case of the Visigoths in the fourth century, this was equivalent to a confession that the Romans were unable to subdue their enemy, who looked upon the subsidy as tribute.

The Empress Theodora. In 523 Justinian married Theodora, a former professional pantomime actress from the purlieus of the Hippodrome, after he had induced his uncle to cancel the law which forbade the marriage of senators and actresses. And when Justinian became emperor in 527, Theodora was crowned with him as Augusta. From that time until her death in 553 she was in a very real sense joint ruler with her husband. Whatever the character of her previous career, her private life as empress was beyond reproach. She was fond of power, jealous of the influence of others with the emperor, and unforgiving towards those who thwarted her purposes; both Belisarius and John of Cappadocia, the powerful praetorian prefect, were


SAXONS
ARMORICA
FRANKS
LOMBARDS
AVARS
BULGARS
SUEVES
VISIGOTHS
PERSIA
THE ROMAN EMPIRE
AT THE DEATH OF JUSTINIAN
565 A. D.
Roman Territory
Wm. Eng. Co., N.Y.

driven from the emperor's service by her enmity. On the other hand, she was a woman of dauntless courage and possessed of remarkable foresight in political affairs.

The "Nika" Riot: 532 A.D. The courage of the empress was conspicuously displayed on the occasion of the great riot of the factions of the Hippodrome—the Greens and the Blues—in 532 A.D. These factions had been organized in Constantinople in imitation of the circus factions of Rome but had acquired a different character and a greater importance in the new capital. The two factions divided between them the entire urban population and had their regularly appointed leaders, who enjoyed a recognized place in the administrative organization of the city. These parties may be regarded as the last survival of the Hellenic popular assembly of the city-state; and, owing to the extreme centralization of the administration at Constantinople, they were able to exercise considerable pressure upon the government.

The emperor and the court regularly supported one or the other of the parties. Anastasius had favored the Greens, but Justinian was a partisan of the Blues. The rivalry of the factions was intense and culminated, in the early years of Justinian's reign, in open warfare, which gave the lower elements the opportunity for the perpetration of crimes of all sorts. The punishment of notorious criminals of both factions in 532 led to their uniting in a revolt which nearly cost the emperor his throne. At first the mob demanded the release of their partisans and the dismissal of John, the praetorian prefect, whose financial policy was extremely oppressive, of Trebonian, the able but unscrupulous quaestor, and of the prefect of the city. Later, emboldened by their success, they crowned as emperor Hypatius, a nephew of Anastasius. The situation became extremely critical, for, with the exception of the palace, the whole city fell into the hands of the rebels, whose battle cry was "Nika" or "Conquer!" Justinian and his councillors had already resolved upon flight, when Theodora, by a spirited speech in which she declared that she would die before abandoning the capital, reanimated their hearts and induced them to alter their decision. By a judicious use of bribes they induced the Blues to desert the Greens, and the imperial troops exacted a bloody vengeance from the rebellious populace. For the future the population of the capital was politically a negligible quantity.

The Codification of the Roman Law. One of the greatest monuments to the reign of Justinian is the *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* a codification of the Roman law by a commission of expert jurists, headed by Trebonian. The object of this codification was the collection in a convenient form of all the sources of law then in force and the settlement of controversies in the interpretative juristic literature. The compilation was divided into three parts:

the *Code of Justinian,* the *Digest* or *Pandects,* and the *Institutes.* The *Code* was a collection of all imperial constitutions of general validity; it was first published in 529, but a revised edition was issued in 534. The *Digest,* which was issued in 533, consisted of abstracts from the writings of the most famous Roman jurists systematically arranged so as to present the whole civil law in so far as it was not contained in the *Code.* The *Institutes* was a brief manual designed as a textbook for the use of students of the law. From the time of their promulgations these compilations constituted the sole law of the Empire and alone carried validity in the courts and formed the only material for instruction in the law schools of recognized status—those at Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus (Beirut). Provision was made for the publication of future legislation in a fourth compilation—the *Novels* or *New Constitutions.*

St. Sophia. Justinian's administration was characterized by great building activity. He was zealous in the construction of frontier defences, the rebuilding of ruined cities, the founding of new ones, and the erection of religious edifices. Among the latter the most famous was the great church of the Holy Wisdom (St. Sophia), which took the place of an older building destroyed in the Nika riot. Transformed into a Mohammedan mosque, it remains to the present day as the greatest architectural monument of the eastern Roman Empire. The execution of grandiose works of this sort augmented the heavy expenditures necessitated by Justinian's foreign policy and required the continual wringing of fresh contributions from the already overburdened taxpayers. In raising the revenues needed to meet the demands upon the fiscus, the emperor found the prefect John an invaluable agent.

Justinian's Religious Policy. Throughout the whole of his reign Justinian strove with unflagging zeal to secure a united Christian Church within the Empire. To this end he did not hesitate to make use of the autocratic power which he claimed in religious as well as secular affairs. The degree to which he was able to dominate the Eastern Church is revealed in the significant reminder of the Patriarch Menas to some of the members of the Synod of 536 that "Nothing whatsoever may be done in the Church contrary to the wish and order of the emperor." Justinian's interference in ecclesiastical matters was due in large measure to his keen interest in theological discussions, and he did not hesitate to set forth in extensive writings his own views upon questions of church doctrine. The reconciliation with Rome in 519, so necessary for the recovery of the West, had alienated the Monophysites, who were predominant in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, especially among the lower classes of society. At the outset of his reign Justinian strove to heal this breach, a policy in which he was largely influenced by Theodora, who

was personally in sympathy with the Monophysites and saw the danger to the Empire in the continued hostility of the eastern peoples. This attempt however, was defeated by the energetic action of the Pope Agapetas. But Justinian resumed his efforts, and an ecumenical council convoked by him at Constantinople in 553 condemned the writings of three Church Fathers of whose teachings the Monophysites disapproved. The bishops who refused to concur in this decision were persecuted and exiled; and the Pope Vigilius, then held as a prisoner in Constantinople, was forced to give his approval. Nevertheless Justinian failed to attain the unity which he desired for the clergy of Italy and Africa did not hesitate to challenge the decision of the Council, while the Monophysites still refused to be conciliated. Towards the close of his reign Justinian adopted even more strongly the Monophysite point of view and began to persecute the clergy who ventured to oppose him. But his death in 565 removed all danger of the Monophysite doctrines becoming the orthodox belief of the Eastern Empire.

A far harsher treatment was meted out to the Arians, who were treated as heretics and punished as criminals. A rebellion of the Samaritans, occasioned by their persecution, was stamped out in blood. A determined effort was made to eradicate the last remains of the old Hellenic faith, which still claimed many adherents of note. In 529 the endowment of Plato's Academy was confiscated and the teaching of philosophy forbidden at Athens. The persecution of heretics and unbelievers was accompanied by a vigorous missionary movement which carried the Christian gospel to the peoples of southern Russia, the Caucasus, Arabia, the Sudan, and the oases of the Sahara.

The Condition of the Empire at the Death of Justinian. Justinian died on November 14, 565 A.D. He left the Empire completely exhausted by the conquest of the western provinces. The national antagonism between Greeks and Romans, which was coming more and more clearly to light, was not effectively bridged by a formal church union; and a mistaken religious policy had fostered the growth of national ambitions among the native populations of Syria and Egypt and led to further disunion within the Empire. Under Justinian the annual consulship, for a thousand years identified with the life of the Roman state, was abolished (540 A.D.). In the government of the provinces Justinian took the initial steps towards abandoning the principle of the division of civil and military authority, which was so marked a feature of Diocletian's organization, and thus prepared the way for the later form of the *themes,* or military districts, in which the military commanders were at the head of the civil government as well. It was in his reign also that the culture of the silkworm was introduced into the Empire by Persian monks, who had lived in China, learned the jealously guarded

secrets of this art, and brought some eggs of the silkworm out of the country concealed in hollow canes. The manufacture of silk goods had long been a flourishing industry in certain cities of the Greek East and was made an imperial monopoly by Justinian. The introduction of the silkworm rendered this trade to a large degree independent of the importation of raw silk from the Orient.

As Justinian was the last emperor whose native tongue was Latin, so he was the last who maintained that language as the language of government at Constantinople and who upheld the old traditions of Roman imperial policy.

CHAPTER XXVI. RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE LATE EMPIRE

I. THE END OF PAGANISM

The Paganism of the Late Empire. In spite of the tremendous impulse given to the spread of Christianity by Constantine's policy of toleration and by its adoption as the religion of the imperial house, the extinction of paganism was by no means rapid. While the chief pagan religions during the fourth century were the Oriental cults and the Orphic mysteries of Eleusis, which strongly resembled them in character, the worship of the Graeco-Roman Olympic divinities still attracted numerous followers. But, although paganism persisted in many and divers forms, these, by a process of religious syncretism, had come to find their place in a common theological system. This development had its basis in the common characteristics of the mystery religions, each of which inculcated the belief in a supreme deity and received its stimulus through the conscious opposition of all forms of paganism to Christianity, which they had come to recognize as their common, implacable foe. The chief characteristic of later paganism was its tendency to monotheism—a belief in one abstract divinity of whom the various gods were but so many separate manifestations. The development of a harmonious system of pagan theology was greatly aided by Neoplatonic philosophy, which may be regarded as the ultimate expression of ancient paganism. Neoplatonism was essentially a pantheism, in which all forms of life were regarded as emanations of the divine mind. But Neoplatonism was more than a philosophical system; it was a religion and, like the Oriental cults, preached a doctrine of salvation for the souls of men. Such was the paganism by which the Christians of the late Empire were confronted and which, because of its many points of resemblance to their own beliefs and practices, they admitted to be a dangerous rival. At the same time, this similarity made the task of conversion less difficult.

Causes of the Persistence of Paganism. There were several reasons for the persistence of paganism. The Oriental and Orphic cults exercised a powerful hold over their votaries and made an appeal somewhat similar to that of Christianity. Stoicism, with its high ideal of conduct, remained a strong tradition among the upper classes of society; and Neoplatonism had

a special attraction for men of intelligence and culture. Roman patriotism, too, fostered loyalty to the gods under whose aegis Rome had grown great, and until the close of the fourth century the Roman Senate was an indefatigable champion of the ancient faith. But more potent than all these causes was the fact that, apart from some works of a theological character, the whole literature of the day was pagan in origin and in spirit. This was the only material available for instruction in the schools and formed the basis of the rhetorical studies which constituted the higher education of the time. Thus, throughout the whole period of their intellectual training, the minds of the young were subjected to pagan influences.

The Persecution of Paganism. Constantine the Great adhered strictly to his policy of religious toleration and, although an active supporter of Christianity, took no measures against the pagan cults except to forbid private sacrifices and the practice of certain types of magical rites. He held the title of pontifex maximus and consequently was at the head of the official pagan worship. With his sons, Constantius and Constans, the Christian persecution of the pagans began. In 341 A.D. they prohibited public performance of pagan sacrifices, and they permitted the confiscation of temples and their conversion into Christian places of worship. With the accession of Julian this persecution came to an end, and there was in the main a return to the policy of religious toleration, although the government became definitely pagan and Christians were made to feel in various ways the weight of imperial disfavor. The attempt of Julian to create a universal pagan church proved abortive, and his scheme did not survive his death. His successors, Jovian, Valentinian I, and Valens, adhered to the policy of Constantine the Great.

Gratian was the first emperor to refuse the title of pontifex maximus and to deprive paganism of its status as an official religion of Rome. In 382 A.D. he withdrew the state support of the priesthoods of Rome and removed from the Senate house the altar and statue of Victory, which Julian had restored after its temporary removal by Constantius. This altar was for many of the senators the symbol of the life of the state itself, and their spokesman Symmachus made an eloquent plea for its restoration. Owing, however, to the influence of Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, the emperor remained obdurate, and a second appeal to Valentinian II was equally in vain. Although the brief reign of Eugenius produced a pagan revival in Rome, the cause of paganism was lost forever in the imperial city. In the fifth century the Senate of Rome was thoroughly Christian.

Theodosius the Great was even more energetic than his colleague Gratian in the suppression of paganism. In 380 A.D. he issued an edict requiring all his subjects to embrace Christianity, and in 391 A.D. he ordered the destruc-

tion of the great temple of Serapis at Alexandria, an event which sounded the death knell of the pagan cause in the East. The following year Theodosius absolutely forbade the practice of heathen worship under the penalties for treason and sacrilege. Theodosius II continued the vigorous persecution of the heathen. Adherence to pagan beliefs constituted a crime, and in the Theodosian Code of 438 A.D. the laws against pagans find their place among the laws regulating civic life. It was during the reign of Theodosius II, in 415 A.D., that the pagan philosopher and mathematician, Hypatia, fell a victim to the fanaticism of the Christian mob of Alexandria.

Still, many persons of prominence continued to be secret devotees of pagan beliefs, and pagan philosophy was openly taught at Athens until the closing of the schools by Justinian. The acceptance of Christianity was more rapid in the cities than in the rural districts. This gave rise to the use of the term pagan (from the Latin *paganus*, "rural") to designate non-Christian; a usage which became official about 370 A.D. And it was among the rural population that pagan beliefs and practices persisted longest. Gradually, however, between the fifth and the ninth centuries paganism practically disappeared within the lands of the Empire.

The long association with paganism and the rapid incorporation of large numbers of new converts into the ranks of the Church were not without influence upon the character of Christianity itself. The ancient belief in magic contributed largely to the spread of the belief in miracles; and the development of the cult of the saints was stimulated by the pagan conception of inferior divinities, demigods, and daemons, while many pagan festivals were Christianized and made festivals of the Church.

II. THE CHURCH IN THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE

The Emperor and the Church. The religious policy of Constantine the Great had the effect of making Christianity a religion of state and incorporating the Christian Church in the state organism. Thereby the clergy gained the support of the imperial authority in spreading the belief of the Church and in enforcing its ordinances throughout the Empire. Yet this support was won at the price of the recognition of the autocratic power of the emperor over the Church as well as in the political sphere. Subsequently, however, this recognition was accorded only to orthodox emperors, that is, those who supported the traditional doctrine of the Church as sanctioned in its general councils.

Constantine made use of his supremacy over the Church to enforce unity within its ranks. Since one of the chief reasons for his adoption and support of Christianity was his belief that its spiritual unity and firm organization

would serve to bind the population of the Empire solidly together, he could not afford to allow this hope to be jeopardized by factional strife within the Church. He did not, however, champion any particular creed but limited his interference to carrying into effect the decisions of the church councils or synods which he summoned to pass judgment upon questions which threatened the unity of the Church and the peace of the state.

These councils were a development from the provincial synods, which had previously met to decide church matters of local importance. Procedure in the councils was modelled upon that of the Roman Senate; the meetings were conducted by imperial legates, their decisions were issued in the form of imperial edicts, and it was to the emperor that appeals from these decrees were made. The first of the great councils was the Synod of Arles, a council of the bishops of the western Church, summoned by Constantine in 314 A.D. to settle the Donatist schism in the Church in Africa. This was followed in 325 A.D. by the first universal or ecumenical council of the whole Christian church, which met at Nicaea to decide upon the orthodoxy of the teachings of Arius of Alexandria.

Constantine's successors followed his example of summoning church councils to settle sectarian controversies, though, unlike him, many of them sought to force upon the Church the doctrines of their particular sect. As the general councils accentuated rather than allayed antagonisms, the eastern emperor Zeno substituted a referendum of the bishops by provinces. But this precedent was not followed. Justinian was the emperor who asserted most effectively his authority over the Church. He issued edicts upon purely theological questions and upon matters of church discipline without reference to church councils, and he received from the populace of Constantinople the salutation of "High Priest and King."[1] The decision of the council of 553 A.D., favorable to the Monophysites, provoked an attack upon the sacerdotal power of the emperor by Facundus, bishop of Hermiania in Africa, who declared that not the emperor but the priests should rule the Church. Nevertheless, this opposition had no immediate effect, and Justinian remained the successful embodiment of "Caesaro-papism."

The Growth of the Papacy. The late Empire witnessed a rapid extension of the authority of the bishopric of Rome, which had even previously laid claim to the primacy among the episcopal sees. In the West the title "pope" (from the Greek *pappas,* "father") became the exclusive prerogative of the bishop of Rome. The papacy was the only western patriarchate, or bishopric, with jurisdiction over the metropolitan and provincial bishops, and was

[1] ἀρχιερευς βασιλεύς. The title Basileus (King) was in common use in the eastern part of the Empire from the fourth century but was not assumed officially by the emperors till 629 A.D.

the sole representative of the western Church in its dealings with the bishops of the East. At the council of Serdica (343 A.D.) it was decided that bishops deposed as a result of the Arian controversy might refer their cases to the Pope Julius for final decision, and, in the course of the fifth century, eastern bishops frequently appealed to the decision of the pope on questions of orthodoxy. Nevertheless the eastern Church never fully admitted the religious jurisdiction of the papacy. The ideal of the papacy became the organization of the Church on the model of the Empire, with the pope as its religious head.

The claims of the papacy were pushed with vigor by Innocent I (402–417 A.D.) and Leo I (440–461 A.D.). The latter laid particular stress upon the primacy of Peter among the Apostles and taught that this had descended to his apostolic successors. It was Leo also who induced the western emperor Valentinian III in 455 to order the whole western Church to obey the bishop of Rome as the heir to the primacy of Peter. The Pope Gelasius (492–496 A.D.) asserted the power of the priests to be superior to the imperial authority, but the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy and the reconquest of the peninsula by the eastern emperor weakened the independence of the Roman bishopric. Justinian was able to compel the popes to submit to his authority in religious matters.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople. A rival to the papacy developed in the patriarchate of Constantinople, which at the Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D. was recognized as taking precedence over the other eastern bishoprics and ranking next to that of Rome, "because Constantinople is New Rome." The primacy of the bishop of Constantinople in the eastern Church was, however, challenged by the older patriarchates of Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria, all of which had been apostolic foundations, whereas the claims of Constantinople to that honor were more than dubious. Between 381 and 451 A.D. the bishops of Alexandria successfully disputed the doctrinal authority of the see of Constantinople, but at the council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) Pulcheria and Marcian reasserted the primacy of the patriarch of the capital. At this time also the bishopric of Jerusalem was recognized as a patriarchate. The patriarch of Constantinople was now placed on an equality with the pope, a recognition against which the Pope Leo protested in vain. However, the patriarchs of Constantinople never acquired the power and independence of the popes. Situated as they were in the shadow of the imperial palace and owing their ecclesiastical authority to the support of the throne, they rarely ventured to oppose the will of the emperor. Under Justinian the patriarch held the position of a "minister of state in the department of religion."

The Temporal Power of the Clergy. When Christianity became a re-

ligion of state, it was inevitable that the Christian clergy should occupy a privileged position. This recognition was accorded them by Constantine the Great when he exempted them from personal services (*munera*) in 313 and taxation in 319 A.D. Those who entered the ranks of the clergy were expected to abandon all worldly pursuits, and an imperial edict of 452 excluded them from all gainful occupations. In addition to their ecclesiastical authority in matters of belief and church discipline, the bishops also acquired considerable power in secular affairs. In the days of persecution the Christians had regularly submitted legal differences among themselves to the arbitration of their bishops, rather than resort to the tribunals of state. Constantine the Great gave legal sanction to this episcopal arbitration in civil cases; Arcadius, however, restricted its use to cases in which the litigants voluntarily submitted to the bishop's judgment. The bishops enjoyed no direct criminal jurisdiction, although since the right of sanctuary was accorded to the churches, they were frequently able to intercede with effect for those who sought asylum with them. In the enforcement of moral and humanitarian legislation, the state called for the co-operation of the bishops.

The influential position of the bishops as the religious heads of the municipalities led to their being accorded a definite place in the municipal administration. In protecting the impoverished taxpayers against the imperial officers, they were more effective than the "*defensores plebis.*" And in the days of the barbarian invasions, when the representatives of the imperial authority were driven from the provinces, the bishops became the leaders of the Roman population in their contact with the barbarian conquerors.

III. SECTARIAN STRIFE

Sectarianism. The history of the Church from Constantine to Justinian is largely the history of sectarian strife, which had its origin in doctrinal controversies. While the western Church in general abstained from acute theological discussions and adhered strictly to the orthodox or established creed, devoting its energies to the development of church organization, the Church of the East, imbued with the Greek philosophic spirit, busied itself with attempts to solve the mysteries of the Christian faith and was a fruitful source of heterodoxy. Strife between the adherents of the various sects was waged with extreme bitterness and frequently culminated in riots and bloodshed. Toleration was unknown; and heretics, like pagans, were classed as criminals and excluded from communion with the orthodox Church. Of the many sects which arose in the fourth and fifth centuries, two were of outstanding importance. These were the Arians and the Monophysites.

Arianism. Arianism had its rise in an attempt to express with philosophical precision the relation of the three members of the Holy Trinity; God the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. About 318 A.D., Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, taught that God was from eternity but that the Son and the Spirit were his creations. Over the teaching of Arius, a controversy arose which threatened the unity of the Church. Accordingly, Constantine intervened and summoned the ecumenical council of Nicaea to decide upon the orthodoxy of Arius. The council accepted the formula of Athanasius that the Son was of the same substance (*homo-ousion*) as the Father, which was the doctrine of the West. Arius was exiled.

The struggle, however, was by no means over, for the Nicene creed found many opponents among the eastern bishops who did not wish to exclude the Arians from the Church. The leader of this party was Eusebius of Caesarea. In 335 A.D. they brought about the deposition of Athanasius, who had been bishop of Alexandria since 328 A.D. After the death of Constantine, Athanasius was permitted to return to his see, only to be expelled again in 339 A.D. by Constantius, who was under the influence of Eusebius. He took refuge in the West, where the Pope Julius gave him his support. At a general council of the Church held at Serdica (Sofia) in 343 A.D., there was a sharp division between East and West; but the supporters of Athanasius were in the majority, and he and the other orthodox eastern bishops were reinstated in their sees (345 A.D.).

When Constantius became sole ruler of the Empire (353 A.D.), the enemies of Athanasius once more gained the upper hand. The emperor forced a general council convoked at Milan in 353 A.D. to condemn and depose Athanasius, while the Pope Liberius, who supported him, was exiled to Macedonia. A new council held at Sirmium in 357 A.D. tried to secure religious peace by forbidding the use of the word "substance" in defining the relation of the Father and the Son and sanctioned only the term *homoios* (like). The adherents of this creed were called Homoeans. Although they were not Arians, their solution was rejected by the conservatives in both East and West. In 359 A.D. a double council was held, the western bishops meeting at Ariminum, the eastern at Seleucia. The result was the acceptance of the Sirmian creed, although the western council had to be almost starved before it yielded. Under Julian and Jovian the Arians enjoyed full toleration; and while Valentinian I pursued a similar policy, Valens went further and gave Arianism his support.

In the meantime, however, the labors of the three great Cappadocians—Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa—had already done much to reconcile the eastern bishops to the Nicaean confession; and,

with the accession of Theodosius I, the fate of Arianism was sealed. A council of the eastern Church met at Constantinople in 381 A.D. and accepted the Nicene creed. The Arian bishops were deposed and assemblies of the heretics forbidden by imperial edicts. Among the subjects of the Empire Arianism rapidly died out, although it existed for a century and a half as the faith of several Germanic peoples.

The Monophysite Controversy. While the point at issue in the dogmatic controversies of the fourth century was the relation of God to the Son and the Holy Spirit, the burning question of the fifth and sixth centuries was the nature of Christ. And, like the former, the latter dispute arose in the East, having its origin in the divergent views of the theological schools of Antioch and Alexandria. The former laid stress upon the two natures in Christ—the divine and the human; the latter emphasized his divinity to the exclusion of his humanity, and hence its adherents received the name of Monophysites. The Antiochene position was the orthodox or traditional view of the Church and was held universally in the West, where the duality of Christ was accepted without any attempt to define with logical exactitude the relationship of his divine and human qualities. Beneath the doctrinal controversy lay the rivalry between the patriarchates of Alexandria and Constantinople and the awakening national antagonism of the native Egyptian and Syrian peoples towards the Greeks. The conflict began in 429 with an attack of Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, upon the teachings of Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople. Cyril, taking the view that the nature of Christ was human made fully divine, justified the use of the word *Theotokos* (Mother of God), which was coming to be applied generally to the Virgin Mary. Nestorius criticized its use and argued in favor of the term Mother of Christ. In the controversy which ensued, Cyril won the support of the bishop of Rome, who desired to weaken the authority of the see of Constantinople, and Nestorius was condemned at the council of Ephesus in 431 A.D.

The next phase of the struggle opened in 448 A.D., when Dioscorus, the occupant of the Alexandrine see, assailed Flavian, the patriarch of the capital, for having deposed Eutyches, a Monophysite abbot of Constantinople. At the so-called "Robber Council" of Ephesus (449 A.D.) Dioscorus succeeded in having Flavian deprived of his see. But the pope, Leo I, pronounced in favor of the doctrine of the duality of Christ and in 451 A.D. the new emperor Marcian called an ecumenical council at Chalcedon, which definitely reasserted the primacy of the see of Constantinople in the East, approved the use of *Theotokos,* and declared that Christ is of two natures. The attempt to enforce the decisions of this council provoked disturbances in Egypt, Palestine, and the more easterly countries. In

Palestine it required the use of armed force to suppress a usurping Monophysite bishop. In Egypt the enforcement led to a split between the orthodox Greek and the Monophysite Coptic Churches.

As the opposition to the decree of Chalcedon still disturbed the peace of the Church, the emperor Zeno in 482, at the instigation of the patriarchs Acacius of Constantinople and Peter of Alexandria, sought to settle the dispute by exercise of the imperial authority. He issued a letter to the church of Egypt called the *Henoticon,* which, while acknowledging the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, condemned that of Chalcedon and declared that "Christ is one and not two." This doctrine was at once condemned by the Pope Silvanus. The rupture with Rome lasted until 519 A.D., when a reconciliation was effected at the price of complete submission by the East and the rehabilitation of the council of Chalcedon. This in turn antagonized the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt and caused Justinian to embark upon his hopeless task of re-establishing complete religious unity within the Empire by holding the western and winning back the eastern Church.

Justinian hoped to reconcile the Monophysites by an interpretation of the discussions of the council of Chalcedon which would be acceptable to them. This led him, in 544 A.D., to condemn the so-called Three Chapters, which were the doctrines of the opponents of the Monophysites. And although this step implied a condemnation of the council of Chalcedon itself and was consequently opposed in the West, he forced the fifth ecumenical council of Constantinople in 553 A.D. to sanction it. However, neither this concession nor the still greater one of the edict of 565 A.D. availed to win back the extreme Monophysites of Egypt and Syria, where opposition to the religious jurisdiction of Constantinople had taken a national form; and the religious disunion in the East continued until these lands were lost to the Empire.

IV. MONASTICISM

The Origin of Monasticism. Monasticism (from the Greek *monos,* "single"), which became so marked a feature of the religious life of the Middle Ages, had its origin in the ascetic tendencies of the early Christian Church, which harmonized with the eastern religious and philosophic ideal of a life of pure contemplation. The chief characteristics of early Christian asceticism were celibacy, fasting, prayer, surrender of worldly goods, and the adoption of a hermit's life. This renouncement of a worldly life was practised by large numbers of both men and women, especially in Egypt. It was there that organized monastic life began early in the fourth century

under the influence of St. Anthony in northern and of Pachomius in southern Egypt.

Anthony and Pachomius in Egypt. Anthony was the founder of a monastic colony, which was a direct development from the eremitical life. He laid down no rule for the guidance of the lives of the monks but permitted the maximum of individual freedom. It was Pachomius who first established a truly cenobitical monastery, in which the monks lived a common life under the direction of single head, the abbot, according to a prescribed rule with fixed religious exercises and daily labor. The organization of convents for women accompanied the foundation of the monasteries. In general, the Antonian type of monkhood continued to be the more popular in Egypt, where monasticism flourished throughout the fourth, but began to decline in the fifth, century.

Eastern Monasticism. From Egypt the movement spread to Palestine, but in Syria and Mesopotamia there was an independent development from the local eremitical ideals. Characteristic of Syrian asceticism were the pillar hermits, who passed their lives upon the top of lofty pillars. The founder of the Greek monasticism was Basil (*ca.* 360 A.D.), who copied Pachomius in organizing a fully cenobitical life. He discouraged excessive asceticism and emphasized the value of useful toil. The eastern monks were noted for their fanaticism, and they took a very prominent part in the religious disorders of the time. The abuses of the early, unregulated monastic life led to the formulation of monastic rules and the subjection of the monks to the authority of the bishops.

Monasticism in the West: Benedict. Monasticism was introduced in the West by Athanasius, who came from Egypt to Rome in 339 A.D. From Italy it spread to the rest of western Europe. The great organizer of western monasticism was Benedict, who lived in the early sixth century and founded the monastery at Monte Cassino about 520 A.D. His monastic rule definitely abandoned the eremitical idea in favor of the cenobitical. In addition to worship and work, the Benedictine rule made reading a monastic duty. This stimulated the collection of libraries in the monasteries and made the monks the guardians of literary culture throughout the Middle Ages.

As yet no distinct monastic orders had developed, but each monastery was autonomous under the direction of its own abbot.

V. LITERATURE AND ART

General Characteristics. The period between the accession of Diocletian and the death of Justinian saw the gradual disappearance of the ancient

Greco-Roman culture. In spite of the work of rehabilitation carried on by Aurelian, Diocletian, and Constantine I, there was a steady lowering of the general cultural level. This was due chiefly to the progressive barbarization of the population and to the decline of paganism which lay at the roots of ancient civilization. The one creative force of the time was Christianity; but, save in the fields of religion and ethics, it did little to stem the ebbing tide of old-world culture.

Literature. The dying-out of this culture is clearly to be seen in the history of the Greek and Roman literatures of the period, each of which shows the same general traits. In the fourth century, under the impulse of the restoration of Diocletian, there is a brief revival of productivity in pagan literature. But this is characterized by archaism and lack of creative power. The imitation of the past produces not only an artificiality of style but also of language, so that literature loses touch with contemporary life and the language of the literary world is that of previous centuries, no longer that of the people. Rhetorical studies are the sole form of higher education and are in part responsible for the archaism and artificiality of contemporary literature, owing to the emphasis which they laid upon literary form to the neglect of substance. In the fifth century, following the complete triumph of Christianity, pagan literature comes to an end.

The recognition of Christianity as an imperial religion by Constantine, its subsequent victorious assault upon paganism, and the intensity of sectarian strife gave to Christian literature a freshness and vigor lacking in the works of pagan writers and produced a wealth of apologetic, dogmatic, and theological writings. But the Christian authors followed the accepted categories of the pagan literature, and, while producing polemic writings and works of translation and of religious exegesis, they entered the fields of history, biography, oratory, and epistolography. Thus arose a profane, as well as a sacred, Christian literature. And since Christian writers were themselves men of education and appealed to educated circles, their works are dominated by the current rhetorical standards of literary taste. Yet in some aspects, in particular in sacred poetry and popular religious biography, they break away from classical traditions and develop new literary types.

But after the first half of the fifth century originality and productivity in Christian literature also are on the wane. This is in part due to the effects of the struggle of the Empire with barbarian peoples, in part to the suppression of freedom of religious thought by the orthodox Church. Even after the extinction of paganism the classical literatures of Greece and Rome afforded the only material for a nonreligious education. And since they no longer constituted a menace to Christianity, the Church became recon-

ciled to their use for purposes of instruction; and it was to the Church, and especially to the monasteries, that the pagan literature owes its preservation throughout the Dark Ages.

A symptom of the general intellectual decline of the later Empire is the dying out of Greek in the West. While up to the middle of the third Christian century the world of letters had been bilingual, from that time onwards, largely as a result of the political conditions which led to a separation of the eastern and western parts of the Empire, the knowledge of Greek began to disappear in the West until in the late Empire it was the exception for a Latin-speaking man of letters to be versed in the Greek tongue.

Pagan Latin Literature. A wide gulf separated the pagan Latin literature of the fourth century from that of the early Principate. Poetry had degenerated to learned tricks, historical writing had taken the form of epitomes, while published speeches and letters were but empty exhibitions of rhetorical skill. The influence of rhetorical studies made itself felt in legal phraseology, which now lost its former clarity, directness, and simplicity. Still there are a few outstanding literary figures who deserve mention because they are so expressive of the tendencies of the time or because they have been able to attain a higher level.

Ausonius and Symmachus (ca. 345–405 A.D.). The career of Ausonius, a professor of grammar and rhetoric at Bordeaux, the Roman Burdigala, whose life covers the fourth century, shows how highly rhetorical instruction was valued. His ability procured him imperial recognition, and he became the tutor of Gratian, from whom he received the honor of the consulate in 379 A.D. His poetical works are chiefly clever verbal plays; but one, the *Mosella,* which describes a voyage down the river Moselle, is noteworthy for its description of contemporary life and its appreciation of the beauty of nature. Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, city prefect and the leader of the pagan party in Rome under Gratian and Valentinian II, is a typical representative of the educated society of the time, which strove to keep alive a knowledge of classical literature. He left a collection of orations and letters, poor in thought but rich in empty phrase.

Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 350–400 A.D.). A man of far different stamp was Ammianus Marcellinus, by birth a Greek of Antioch, and an officer of high rank in the imperial army. Taking Tacitus as his model, he wrote in Latin a history which continued the former's work for the period from 96 to 378 A.D. Of this only the part covering the years 353 to 378 A.D. has survived. His history is characterized by sound judgment and objectivity but is marred by the introduction of frequent digressions extraneous to the subject in hand and by a strained rhetorical style. Nevertheless, it

remains the one considerable pagan work in Latin prose from the late Empire.

Claudius Claudianus and Rutilius Namatianus (both fl. 400 A.D.). The "last eminent man of letters who was a professed pagan" in the western Empire was Claudius Claudianus. Claudian was by birth an Egyptian Greek who took up his residence in Rome about 395 A.D. and attached himself to the military dictator, Stilicho. He chose to write in Latin and composed hexameter epics which celebrated the military exploits of his patron. He also wrote mythological epics and elegiacs. Claudian found his inspiration in Ovid and reawakened the charm of Augustan poetry. A contemporary of Claudian, and like him a pagan, was Rutilius Namatianus, who was a native of southern Gaul but a resident of Rome, where he attained the highest senatorial offices. His literary fame rests upon the elegiac poem in which he described his journey from Rome to Gaul in 416 A.D. and revealed the hold which the imperial city still continued to exercise upon men's minds.

Christian Latin Literature: Lactantius (d. about 325 A.D.). It is among the writers of Christian literature that the few great Latin authors of the time are to be found. At the beginning of the fourth century stood Lactantius, an African, who became a teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia, where he was converted to Christianity. His chief work was the *Divine Institutions,* an introduction to Christian doctrine, which was an attempt to create a philosophical Christianity. Important for the Christian interpretation of the relations of Christianity and the Roman government is his tract on *The Death of the Persecutors.* Lactantius' purity of style has caused him to be called the "Christian Cicero."

Ambrose (d. 397 A.D.). Ambrose, the powerful bishop of Milan, who exercised such great influence with Gratian and Theodosius the Great, also displayed great literary activity. In general, his writings are developments of his sermons and display no very great learning. Their power depended upon the strength of his personality. More important from a literary standpoint are the hymns which he composed for use in church services to combat in popular form the Arian doctrines. In his verses Ambrose adhered to the classic metrical forms, but in the course of the next two centuries these were abandoned for the use of the rhymed verse, which itself was a development of the current rhetorical prose.

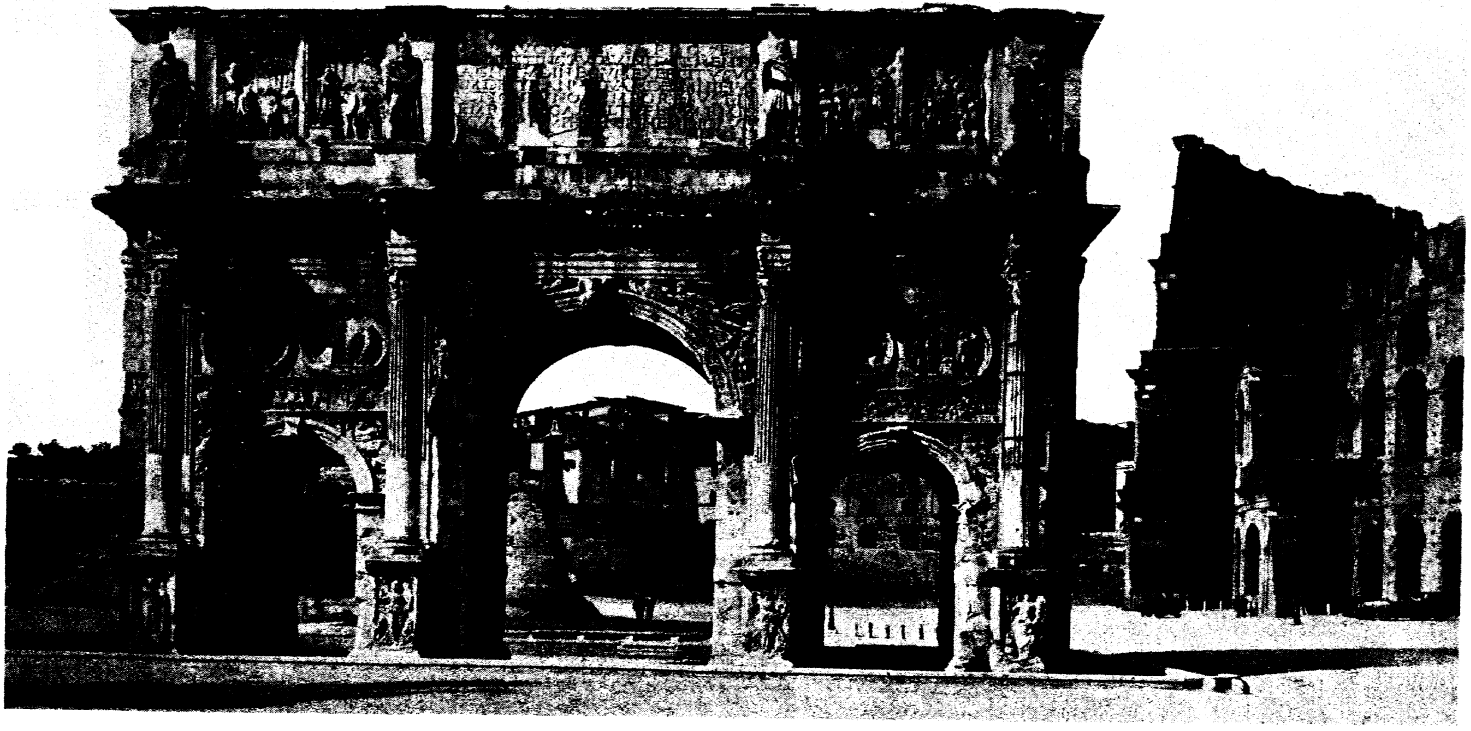
Jerome: 335–420 A.D. The most learned of the Latin Christian writers of antiquity was Jerome (Hieronymus), a native of northern Bosnia, whose retired, studious life was in striking contrast to the public, official career of Ambrose. A Greek and Hebrew scholar, in addition to his dogmatic writings he made a Latin translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew

(the basis of the later *Vulgate*) and another of the Greek *Church History* of Eusebius, whose *Chronicle* he both translated in part and continued.

Augustine: 354–430 A.D. The long line of notable literary figures of the African Church is closed by Augustine, the bishop of Hippo who died during the siege of his city by the Vandals in 430 A.D. In his early life a pagan, he found inspiration and guidance in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. But while Jerome was still dominated by Greek religious thought, Augustine was the first Latin Christian writer to emancipate himself from this dependence and display originality of form and ideas in his works. Of these the two most significant are the *Confessions* and *On the City of God.* The *Confessions* reveal the story of his inner life, the struggle of good and evil in his own soul. The work *On the City of God* was inspired by the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 A.D. and the accusation of the pagans that this was a punishment for the abandonment of the ancient deities. In answer to this charge Augustine develops a philosophical interpretation of history as the conflict of good and evil forces, in which the Heavenly City is destined to triumph over that of this world. His work prepared the way for the conception of the Roman Catholic Church as the city of God.

Boethius (d. 524 A.D.) and Cassiodorus (ca. 480–575 A.D.). Between the death of Augustine and the death of Justinian, the West produced no ecclesiastical literary figure worthy of note. However, under the Ostrogothic régime in Italy, profane literature is represented by two outstanding personalities—Boethius and Cassiodorus. The patrician Boethius while in prison awaiting his death sentence from Theodoric composed his work *On the Consolation of Philosophy,* a treatise embued with the finest spirit of Greek intellectual life. Cassiodorus, who held the posts of quaestor and master of the offices under Theodoric, has left valuable historical material in his *Variae,* a collection of official letters drawn up by him in the course of his administrative duties. His chief literary work was a history of the Goths, of which unfortunately only a few excerpts have remained. In his later years Cassiodorus retired to a monastery which he founded and organized according to the Benedictine rule. There he performed an inestimable service in fostering the preservation of secular as well as ecclesiastical knowledge among the brethren, thus giving to the Benedictine monks the impulse to intellectual work for which they were so distinguishd in medieval times.

Greek Christian Literature. (*a*) Religious Prose. It was in the fourth century that Greek Christian prose literature reached its height. Among its leading representatives were Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria who fought the Arian heresy; Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, the founder of church history; Gregory of Nazianzus, church orator and poet; and Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the organizer of Greek monasticism.



THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AT ROME

Built to commemorate the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, 312 A.D. To the right is a portion of the wall of the Colosseum, showing the arched galleries.

Above them all in personality and literary ability stood John Chrysostom (the Golden-mouth), patriarch of Constantinople under Arcadius. With the fifth century came a decline in theological prose; men resorted to excerpts and collections. But at this time began the development of the popular monastic narratives and lives of the saints which served as the novels and romances of the time.

(*b*) Religious Poetry. It was subsequent to the fourth century also that Christian religious poetry attained its bloom. Here a break was made with classical tradition in the adoption of accentual in place of quantitative verse. This was in harmony with the disappearance of distinctions of syllabic quantity from popular speech. The use of rhythm in verse was introduced by Gregory of Nazianzus, but the chief and most productive representative of the new poetry was Romanus, a converted Syrian Jew whose activity falls in the reign of Justinian.

Greek Profane Literature. Contemporary profane Greek literature exhibits less originality and interest. Historical writing was continued in strict imitation of classical models by both Christian and pagan writers. Of exceptional historical value are the works of Procopius, the historian of the wars of Justinian, who like Ammianus Marcellinus shared in an official capacity in the events which he described. A more popular form of historical writing was the compilation of chronicles of world history, collections of excerpts put together for the most part by men who failed to understand their sources. The profane verse of the time is represented by narrative poems, such as the *Dionysiaca* and the metrical version of the Gospel of St. John composed by Nonnus in Egypt (*ca.* 400 A.D.), and by a rich epigrammatic literature.

In the eastern Empire literary productivity continued, although on the decline, slightly longer than in the West, but by the middle of the sixth century there also it had come to an end.

Art. The art of the late Empire exhibits the same general characteristics as the literature. Not only was there a general lack of originality and creative capacity, but even the power of imitating the masterpieces of earlier times was conspicuously lacking. The Arch of Constantine erected in 312 A.D. affords a good illustration of the situation. Its decoration consists mainly of sculptures appropriated from monuments of the first and second century, beside which the new work is crude and unskilful. A comparison of the imperial portraits on the coins of the fourth century with those of the Principate up to the dynasty of the Severi reveals the same decline in taste and artistic ability.

In the realm of art as in literature Christianity supplied a new creative impulse, which made itself felt in the adaptation of pagan artistic forms

to Christian purposes. We have seen that the earliest traces of Christian art are to be found in the mural paintings of the underground burial vaults and chapels of the Roman catacombs and in the sculptured reliefs which adorned the sarcophagi of the wealthy. These were popular branches of contemporary art, and the influence of Christianity consisted in the artistic representation of Biblical subjects and the employment of Christian symbolical motives. These forms of Christian art decayed with the general cultural decline that followed the third century.

The most important and original contribution of Christianity to the art of the late Empire was in the development of church architecture. To meet the needs of the Christian church service, which included the opportunity to address large audiences, there arose the Christian basilica, which took its name from the earlier profane structures erected to serve as places for the conduct of public business but which differed considerably from them in its construction. In general the basilica was a long rectangular building, divided by rows of columns into a central hall or nave and two side halls or aisles. The walls of the nave rose above the roof of the aisles and allowed space for windows. The roof was flat or gabled and, like the wall spaces, covered with paintings or mosaics. The rear of the structure was a semicircular apse which held the seats of the bishop and the lower clergy. To the original plan there came to be added the transept, a hall at right angles to the main structure between it and the apse. This gave the basilica its later customary crosslike form.

While the basilica became the almost universal form of church architecture in Italy and the West, in the East preference was shown for round or polygonal structures with a central dome, an outgrowth of the Roman rotunda, which was first put to Christian uses in tombs and grave chapels. A rich variety of types, combining the central dome with other architectural features arose in the cities of Asia and Egypt. The masterpiece of this style was the church of St. Sophia erected by Justinian in Constantinople in 537 A.D. Another notable example from the same period is the church of San Vitale at Ravenna.

In the mosaics which adorn these and other structures of the time are to be seen the traces of a Christian Hellenistic school of painting which gave pictorial expression to the whole Biblical narrative. These mosaics and the miniature paintings employed in the illuminated manuscripts survived as prominent features of Byzantine art.

EPILOGUE

The Lombard and Slavic Invisions. In 568 A.D., three years after the death of Justinian, the Lombards descended upon Italy from Pannonia and wrested from the Empire the Po Valley and part of central Italy. The Romans were confined to Ravenna, Rome, and the southern part of the peninsula. Towards the close of the sixth century (after 581 A.D.) occurred the migrations of the Bulgars and Slavs across the Danube which resulted in the Slavic occupation of Illyricum and the interposition of a barbarous, heathen people between the Eastern Empire and western Europe. Early in the seventh century the Roman possessions in Spain were lost to the Goths.

The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. The weakness of the imperial authority in the West led to the strengthening of the papacy and its acquisition of political power in Italy. It was the papacy also which kept alive in western Europe the ideal of a universal imperial Church, for the whole of western Christendom came to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman see. Nor was the conception of a re-established western Empire lost to view; and it was destined to find realization in the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne and his successors. Of great importance for the future development of European civilization was the fact that the western part of the Roman Empire had passed under the control of peoples either already Christianized or soon to become so and that the Church, chiefly through the monasteries, was thus enabled to become the guardian of the remnants of ancient culture.

The Byzantine Empire. The loss of the western provinces and Illyricum transferred the center of gravity in the Empire from the Latin to the Greek element and accelerated the transformation of the eastern Roman Empire into an essentially Greek state—the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Empire inherited from the Roman its organization and the name *Romaioi* (Romans) for its citizens, but before the close of the sixth century Greek had supplanted Latin as the language of government. This transformation further accentuated the religious differences between East and West, which led ultimately to the separation of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches.

The Mohammedan Invasion. Before the middle of the seventh century

Egypt and Syria were occupied by the Saracens, whose conquest was facilitated by the animosity of the Monophysite native populations towards the rule of an orthodox emperor. The loss of these territories gave fresh solidarity to the Empire in the East by restricting its authority to the religiously and linguistically homogeneous and thoroughly loyal population of Asia Minor and the eastern Balkan peninsula. This solidarity enabled the Byzantine Empire to fulfill its historic mission of forming the eastern bulwark of Christian Europe against the Turk throughout the Middle Ages.

The student of Roman History cannot avoid facing the problem of the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and, along with this, he must also seek an explanation of the breakdown of Greco-Roman civilization, which was a contemporary and closely integrated phenomenon. But even though we may recognize many factors which played a part in one or both of these developments, it is exceedingly hazardous to select any one of them as the primary cause of the political or intellectual decline.[1] Cultural stagnation had set in by the middle of the second century A.D. while the political framework of the Empire still remained firm. But whether this was produced by the effects of the imposition of Roman domination upon the Greeks, the growth of an autocratic government, or the absorption of the energies of the educated classes in other spheres of activity, or by a combination of these and other causes, is perhaps beyond our ability to determine. Certainly, however, political and economic decline hastened the later stages of the cultural decline.

As for the political collapse, we can see the calamitous effects of mistaken fiscal and military policies which resulted in internal disintegration and economic breakdown. But we must also take into account unforeseen and incalculable factors such as the depopulation caused by the great plagues and strong external pressure by barbarian enemies at critical moments. But, although we have the right and duty to point out fateful mistakes in Roman governmental policy, it is much harder to say what the Romans could or should have done to solve the problems that confronted them. Perhaps their main problem, to construct a stable and enduring world state out of the heterogenous racial and cultural elements of the Mediterranean area, was a task beyond human power. Nevertheless they made a valiant effort deserving of the respect and gratitude of later ages which have benefited in so many ways from the Roman achievement.

[1] A useful discussion of various theories is provided in M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* chap. xii.

Appendix

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B.C.	
?	Paleolithic Age.
ca. 7,000	Neolithic Age. Ligurian settlement in Italy.
ca. 2,000	Beginning of the Age of Bronze. Palafitte Lake Villages.
1,500	Terremare Villages.
1,000	Beginning of the Iron Age.
IX–VIII cent.	Etruscan settlement in Etruria.
814	Founding of Carthage.
VIII cent.	Greek colonization of Sicily and South Italy begins.
VII–VI cent.	Etruscan expansion in the Po valley, Campania, and Latium.
509	Overthrow of Etruscan supremacy at Rome. End of the early monarchy.
508	The first consuls appointed. Dedication of the Capitoline temple. Commercial treaty with Carthage.
493 (486) ?	Alliance of Rome and the Latins.
471 (466)	Four tribunes of the plebs appointed.
451–449 (444–442)	The Decemvirate. Codification of the Law.
445 (437)	Lex Canuleia.
444 (436)	Office of military tribune with consular powers established.
435	Censorship established.
ca. 400	Celtic migration into Po Valley.
392	Capture of Veii.
390 (387)	Battle of the Allia. Sack of Rome by the Gauls.
366 (362)	The praetorship established.
340 (338)–338 (336)	The Latin War.
340 ?	Alliance of Rome and the Campanians.
339	Lex Publilia.
326 (324)–304	Samnite War.
321 (319)	The Caudine Forks.
309–308	War with the Etruscans.
312 (310)	Appius Claudius Censor.
300	Lex Ogulnia.
298–290	War with Samnites, Etruscans, and Gauls.
295	Battle of Sentinum.
290	Subjugation of Samnium.
287	Secession of the Plebs. Lex Hortensia.
285	Occupation of the Ager Gallicus. Defeat of Gauls and Etruscans at Lake Vadimo.
281–272	War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus.
280	Battle of Heraclea.

279	Battle of Ausculum. Alliance of Rome and Carthage.
278	Pyrrhus invades Sicily.
275	Battle of Beneventum.
264–241	First Punic War.
263	Alliance of Rome and Syracuse.
260	Naval Victory at Mylae.
256–255	Roman invasion of Africa.
250	Roman naval disaster at Drepana.
242	Battle of the Aegates Is. Office of *praetor peregrinus* established.
241	Sicily ceded to Rome.
241–238	Revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries. Sardinia and Corsica ceded to Rome.
237	Hamilcar in Spain.
232	Colonization of the *ager Gallicus.*
229–228	First Illyrian War.
229	Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar in Spain.
227	Provinces of Sicily, and Sardinia and Corsica organized.
226	Roman treaty with Hasdrubal.
225	Gauls defeated at Telamon.
224–222	Conquest of Boii and Insubres.
221	Hannibal Carthaginian commander in Spain.
220 ?	Reform of the Centuriate Assembly.
220–219	Second Illyrian War.
219	Siege of Saguntum.
218–201	Second Punic War.
218	Hannibal's passage of the Pyrenees and the Alps. Roman invasion of Spain.
217	Battle of Trasemene Lake. Q. Fabius dictator.
216	Cannae. Revolt of Capua.
215	Alliance of Hannibal and Philip V of Macedon. First Macedonian War.
214	Revolt of Syracuse.
212	Syracuse recovered. Roman Alliance with the Aetolians.
211	Capua reconquered. Roman disasters in Spain.
210	P. Cornelius Scipio Roman commander in Spain.
207	Battle of the Metaurus.
205	Peace between Philip of Macedon and Rome.
204	Scipio invades Africa.
202	Zama.
200–196	Second Macedonian War.
201	Annexation of Carthaginian Spain.
197	Battle of Cynoscephalae. Provinces of Hither and Farther Spain organized.
196	Flamininus proclaims the "freedom of the Hellenes."
192–189	War with Antiochus the Great and the Aetolians.
191	Antiochus defeated at Thermopylae.
190	Battle of Magnesia.

186	Dissolution of the Bacchanalian societies.
184	Cato the Elder censor.
181	*Lex Villia annalis.*
171–167	Third Macedonian War.
168	Battle of Pydna.
166	Achaean political prisoners held in Italy.
149–146	Third Punic War.
149	Calpurnian Law.
149–148	Fourth Macedonian War.
148	Macedonia a Roman province.
147–139	War with Viriathus in Spain.
146	Revolt of the Achaeans. Sack of Corinth. Dissolution of the Achaean Confederacy. Destruction of Carthage. Africa a Roman province.
143–133	Numantine War.
136–132	Slave War in Sicily.
133	Kingdom of Pergamon willed to Rome. Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus.
129	Province of Asia organized.
123–122	C. Gracchus tribune.
121	Province of Gallia Narbonensis organized.
113	Siege of Cirta.
111–105	Jugurthine War.
105	Romans defeated by Cimbri and Teutones at Arausio.
104–100	Successive consulships of Marius. Slave war in Sicily.
104	Domitian Law.
102	Teutones defeated at Aquae Sextiae.
101	Cimbri defeated at Vercellae.
100	Affair of Saturninus and Glaucia.
91	Tribunate of Livius Drusus.
90–88	Italian or Marsic War.
90	Julian Law.
89	Plautian Papirian Law. Pompeian Law.
89–85	First Mithradatic War.
88	Massacre of Italians in Asia. Mithradates invades Greece.
87	Marian revolt at Rome.
87–86	Siege of Athens and Peiraeus.
86	Seventh consulship of Marius. Chaeronea and Orchomenus.
83	Sulla's return to Italy.
82–79	Sulla dictator.
77–71	Pompey's command in Spain.
75	Bithynia a Roman province.
74–63	Second Mithradatic War.
74–66	Command of Lucullus in the East.
73–71	Revolt of the gladiators.
70	First consulate of Pompey and Crassus Trial of Verres.
67	Gabinian Law.
66	Manilian Law.

63	Cicero consul. The conspiracy of Catiline. Annexation of Syria. Death of Mithradates.
60	Coalition of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus.
59	Caesar consul. Vatinian Law.
58	Cicero exiled.
58–56	Subjugation of Gaul.
57	Cicero recalled. Pompey Curator of the Grain Supply.
56	Conference at Luca.
55	Second consulate of Pompey and Crassus.
55–54	Caesar's invasions of Britain.
53	Death of Crassus at Carrhae.
52–51	Revolt of Vercingetorix.
52	Pompey sole consul.
49–46	War between Caesar and the senatorial faction.
48	Pharsalus. Death of Pompey.
48–47	Alexandrine War.
47	War with Pharnaces.
46	Thapsus.
45	Munda. Julian Municipal Law.
44	Assassination of Julius Caesar (Mar. 15).
44–43	War at Mutina.
43	Octavian consul. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian triumvirs.
42	Battles of Philippi.
41	War at Perusia.
40	Treaty of Brundisium.
39	Treaty of Misenum.
37	Treaty of Tarentum. The second term of the Triumvirate begins.
36	Defeat of Sextus Pompey. Lepidus deposed. Parthian War.
31	Battle of Actium.
30	Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Annexation of Egypt.
27	Octavian princeps and Augustus.
27 B.C.–14 A.D.	AUGUSTUS.
25	Annexation of Galatia.
23	Augustus assumes the tribunician authority.
20	Agreement with Parthia.
18	Julian Law on Marriage.
16	Conquest of Noricum.
15	Subjugation of the Raeti and Vindelici.
14–9	Conquest of Pannonia.
12	Augustus pontifex maximus. Altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum. Invasion of Germany. Death of M. Agrippa.
9	Death of Drusus.
6	Subjugation of the Alpine peoples completed.
A.D. 6–9	Revolt of Pannonia.
9	Revolt of Arminius. Papian Poppaean Law.
14–37	TIBERIUS.

14–17 Campaigns of Germanicus.
19 Death of Germanicus.
26 Tiberius retires to Capri.
31 Fall of Seianus.
37–41 GAIUS CALIGULA.
40 Annexation of Mauretania.
41–54 CLAUDIUS.
43 Invasion and annexation of southern Britain.
48 Aedui receive admission to the magistracies and to the Senate.
54–68 NERO.
58–63 Parthian War.
59–60 Rebellion of Boudicca.
64 Great Fire in Rome.
65 Conspiracy of Piso. Death of Seneca.
66–67 Nero in Greece.
66 Rebellion of the Jews.
68 Rebellion of the Vindex.
68 June–69 Jan. GALBA.
69 Jan.–March. OTHO.
69 April–Dec. VITELLIUS.
69 Dec.–79. VESPASIANUS.
69 Revolt of Civilis and the Batavi.
70 Destruction of Jerusalem. End of the Jewish Rebellion.
79–81 TITUS.
79 Eruption of Vesuvius. Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum.
81–96 DOMITIANUS.
83 Battle of Mons Graupius. War with the Chatti.
84 Domitian perpetual censor.
85–89 Dacian Wars.
88–89 Revolt of Saturninus.
96–98 NERVA.
98–117 TRAIANUS.
101–102 First Dacian War.
105–106 Second Dacian War. Annexation of Dacia.
106 Annexation of Arabia Petrea.
114–117 Parthian War.
114 Occupation of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia.
115 Jewish Rebellion in Cyrene.
116 Annexation of Assyria and Lower Mesopotamia. Revolt in Mesopotamia.
117–138 HADRIANUS.
117 Abandonment of Assyria and Mesopotamia. Armenia a client kingdom.
121–126 Hadrian's first tour of the provinces.
129–134 Second tour of the provinces.
132–134 Revolt of the Jews in the East.

138–161 ANTONINUS PIUS.
161–180 MARCUS AURELIUS.
161–169 LUCIUS VERUS.
161–166 Parthian War.
166 Great plague spreads throughout the Empire.
167–175 War with Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges.
175 Revolt of Avidius Cassius.
177–192 COMMODUS.
177–180 War with Quadi and Marcomanni.
180 Death of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus sole emperor.
193 Jan.–Mar. PERTINAX.
193 Mar.–June. DIDIUS JULIANUS.
193 Revolts of Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus.
193–211 SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.
194 Defeat of Pescennius Niger.
195–196 Invasion of Parthia.
197 Defeat of Albinus at Lugdunum.
197–199 Parthian War renewed. Conquest of Upper Mesopotamia.
208 Caledonians invade Britain.
211–217 CARACALLA and
211–212 GETA.
212 Antoninian Constitution.
214 Parthian War.
217–218 MACRINUS.
218–222 ELAGABALUS.
222–235 SEVERUS ALEXANDER.
227 Establishment of the Persian Sassanid Kingdom.
230–233 War with Persia.
234 War on the Rhine frontier.
235–238 MAXIMINUS.
238 GORDIANUS I and GORDIANUS II. BALBINUS and PUPIENUS.
238–244 GORDIANUS III.
243–249 PHILIPPUS ARABS.
247–249 PHILIPPUS JUNIOR.
249–251 DECIUS.
249 Persecution of the Christians.
251–253 GALLUS and VOLUSIANUS.
253 AEMILIANUS.
253–260 VALERIANUS and
253–268 GALLIENUS.
257 Persecution of the Christians renewed.
258 Postumus establishes Roman Empire in Gaul.
260 Valerian defeated and captured by the Persians. Gallienus sole emperor.
267 Sack of Athens by the Goths.
268–270 CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.
270 QUINTILLUS.

270–275	AURELIANUS.
271	Revolt of Palmyra.
272	Reconquest of Palmyra and the East.
274	Recovery of Gaul and Britain.
275–276	TACITUS.
276	FLORIANUS.
276–282	PROBUS.
282–283	CARUS.
283–285	CARINUS.
284–305	DIOCLETIANUS and
286–305	MAXIMIANUS.
286	Revolt of Carausius in Britain.
293	Galerius and Constantine Caesars.
296	Recovery of Britain.
297	Persian invasion.
301	Edict of Prices.
302–304	Edicts against the Christians.
305	Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS. Severus and Daia Caesars.
306	GALERIUS and SEVERUS. Constantinus Caesar. Revolt of Maxentius.
307	GALERIUS, LICINIUS, CONSTANTINUS, DAIA, and MAXENTIUS.
311	Edict of Toleration.
312	Battle of Saxa Rubra.
313	Edict of Milan. Fall of Daia.
324	Battle of Chrysopolis.
324–337	CONSTANTINUS sole Augustus.
325	Council of Nicaea.
330	Constantinople the imperial residence.
337–340	CONSTANTINUS II.
337–350	CONSTANS.
337–361	CONSTANTIUS.
342	Council of Serdica.
350	Revolt of Magnentius.
351	Gallus Caesar. Battle of Mursa.
354	Death of Gallus.
355	Julian Caesar.
357	Julian's victory over the Alemanni at Strassburg.
359	War with Persia.
360–363	JULIANUS.
363	Invasion of Persia. Death of Julian.
363–364	JOVIANUS.
364–375	VALENTINIANUS I.
364–378	VALENS.
367–383	GRATIANUS.
375–392	VALENTINIANUS II.
376	Visigoths cross the Danube.
378	Battle of Hadrianople.

378–395	THEODOSIUS I.
380–382	Settlement of Visigoths as allies (*foederati*) in Moesia.
381	Council of Constantinople.
382	Altar of Victory removed from the Senate.
383	Revolt of Maximus in Britain. Death of Gratian.
383–408	ARCADIUS.
388	Maximus defeated and killed.
390	Massacre at Thessalonica.
391	Edicts against Paganism. Destruction of the Serapaeum.
392	Revolt of Arbogast. Murder of Valentinian II. Eugenius proclaimed Augustus.
394	Battle of Frigidus. Death of Arbogast and Eugenius.
394–423	HONORIUS.
395	Death of Theodosius I. Division of the Empire. ARCADIUS emperor in the East, HONORIUS in the West. Revolt of Alaric and the Visigoths.
396	Alaric defeated by Stilicho in Greece.
406	Barbarian invasion of Gaul. Roman garrison leaves Britain.
408	Murder of Stilicho. Alaric invades Italy.
408–450	THEODOSIUS II eastern emperor.
409	Vandals, Alans, and Sueves invade Spain.
410	Visigoths capture Rome. Death of Alaric.
412	Visigoths enter Gaul.
415	Visigoths cross into Spain.
418	Visigoths settled in Aquitania.
423–455	VALENTINIANUS III western emperor.
427	Aetius Master of the Soldiers.
429	Vandal invasion of Africa.
438	The Theodosian Code.
439	Vandals seize Carthage.
450	MARCIANUS eastern emperor.
451	Battle of the Mauriac Plains. Council of Chalcedon.
453	Death of Attila.
454	Aetius assassinated. Ostrogoths settled in Pannonia.
455	MAXIMUS western emperor. Vandals sack Rome.
455–456	AVITUS western emperor. Ricimer Master of the Soldiers.
457–474	LEO I eastern emperor.
457–461	MARJORIANUS western emperor.
461–465	SEVERUS western emperor.
465–467	No emperor in the West
467–472	ANTHEMIUS western emperor.
472	OLYBRIUS western emperor. Death of Ricimer.
473–474	GLYCERIUS western emperor. LEO II eastern emperor.
474–475	(480) NEPOS western emperor.
474–491	ZENO eastern emperor.
475–476	ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS western emperor.
476	Odovacar king in Italy.
477	Death of Gaiseric.

486	Clovis conquers Syagrius and the Romans in Gaul.
488	Theodoric and the Ostrogoths invade Italy.
491–518	ANASTASIUS eastern emperor.
493	Defeat and death of Odovacar.
506	Roman Law of the Visigoths.
507	Clovis defeats the Visigoths.
518–527	JUSTINUS I eastern emperor.
526	Death of Theodoric.
527–565	JUSTINIANUS eastern emperor.
532	The "Nika" riot.
533–534	Reconquest of Africa.
534	Franks overthrow the Burgundian kingdom.
529–534	Publication of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis.*
535–554	Wars for the recovery of Italy.
554	Reoccupation of the coast of Spain.
565	Death of Justinian.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

TABLE I. THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN LINE

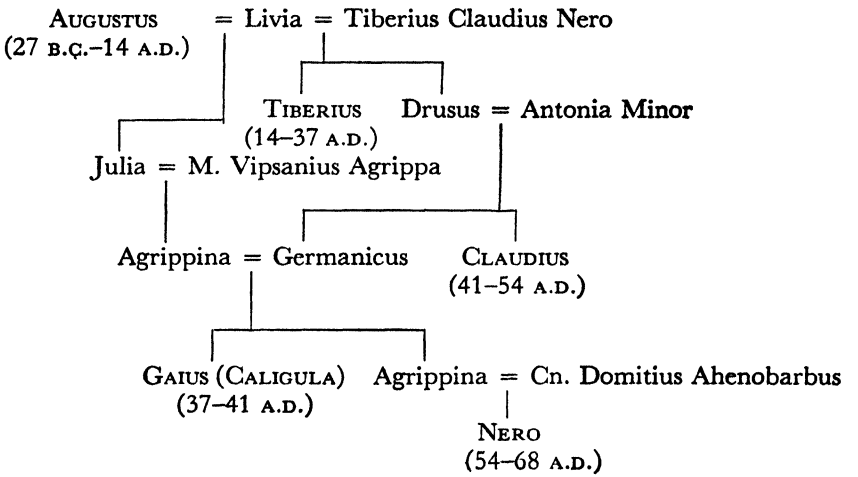


TABLE II. THE DYNASTY OF THE SEVERI

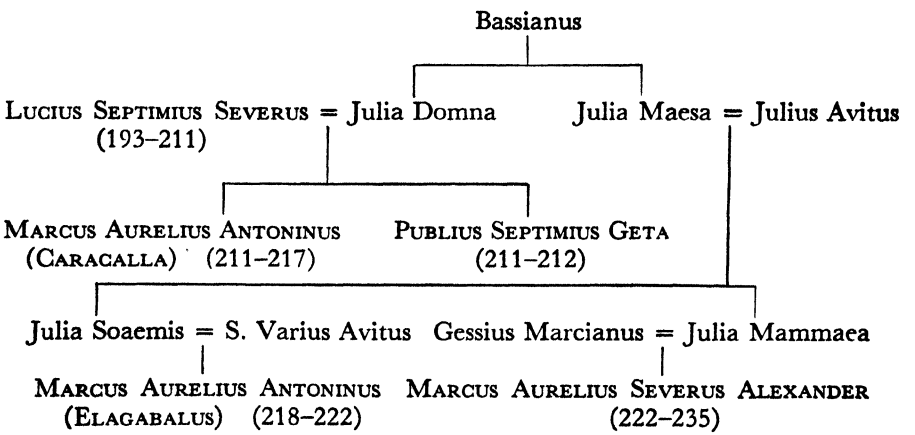


TABLE III. THE HOUSE OF CONSTANTIUS

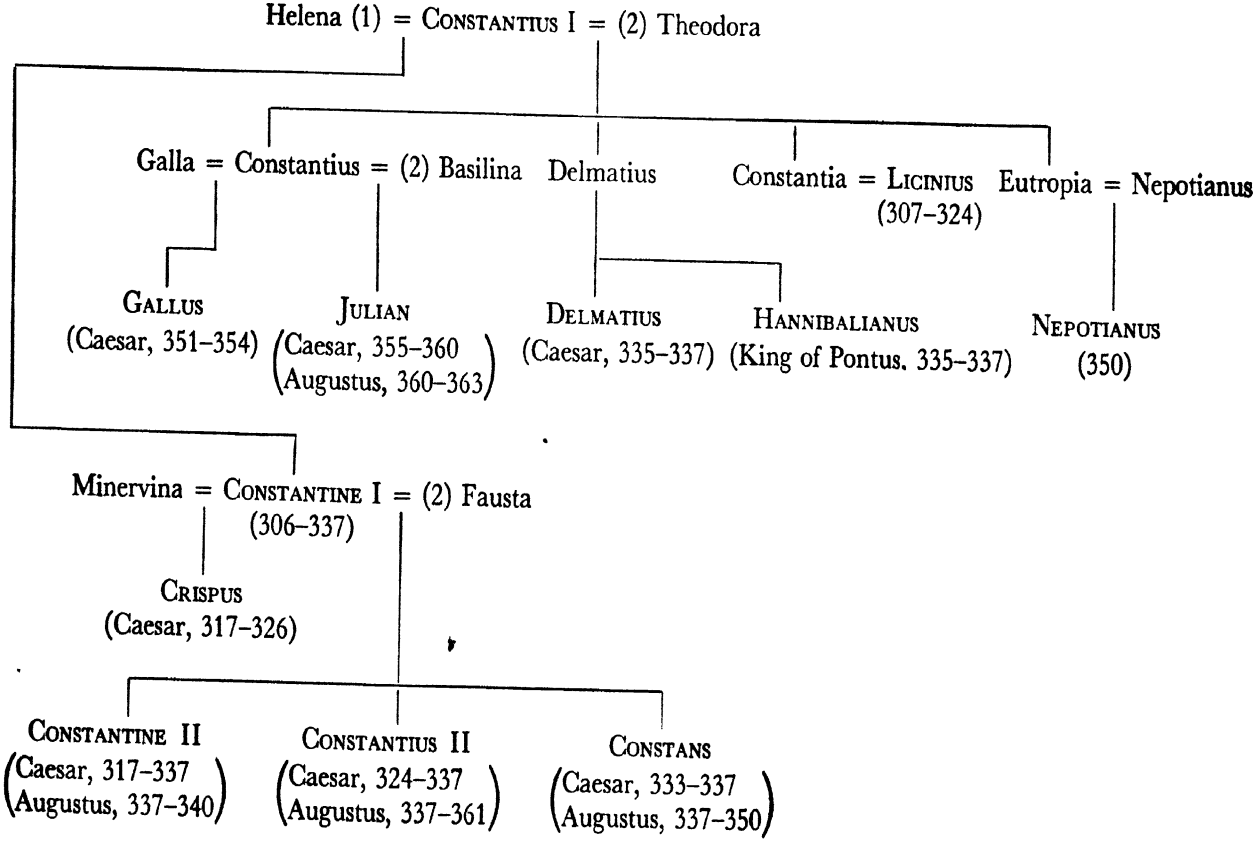
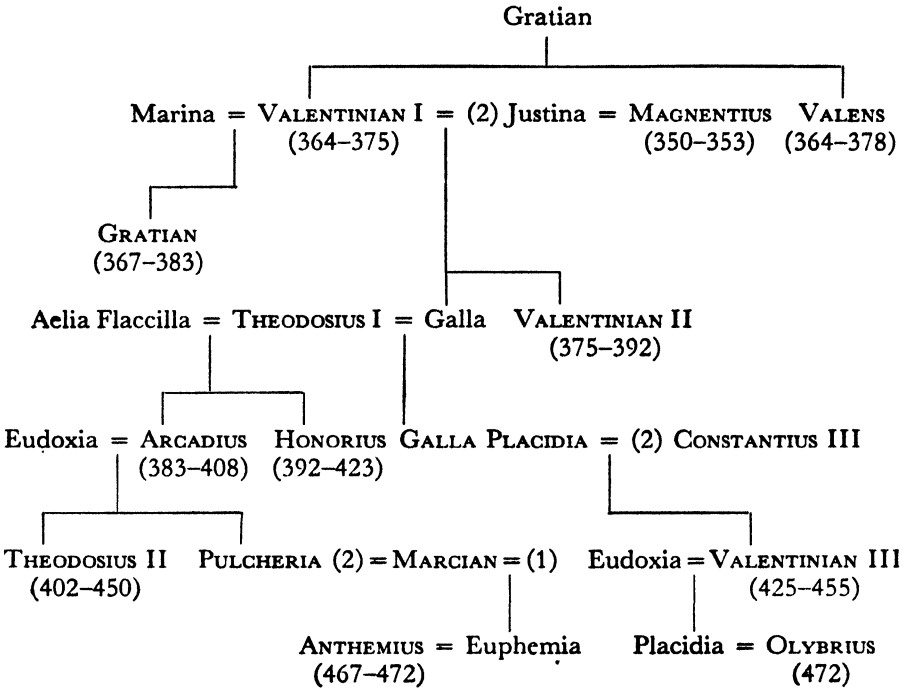


TABLE IV. THE DYNASTY OF VALENTINIAN AND THEODOSIUS



SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

This list of supplementary readings is not meant to be a bibliography of Roman History, but merely a guide for students who desire to find in English discussions of problems and periods that are either more detailed or written from a different point of view than those given in the text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

Detailed bibliographies of the sources and modern literature pertaining to Roman History are given in the *Cambridge Ancient History,* particularly Vols. VII–XII. See also G. W. Botsford, *A Syllabus of Roman History,* 1915. Roman historical writing is treated in J. T. Shotwell, *The History of History,* Vol. I, 1939, pt. iv, as well as in the histories of Roman Literature cited below.

CHAPTER I

H. Kiepert, *Manual of Ancient Geography,* 1881, Ch. ix; M. I. Newbiggin, *The Mediterranean Lands,* 1924, pt. i; *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1942, art. "Italy," § Topography; E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region,* 1931.

CHAPTER II

Comprehensive treatments: T. E. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily,* 1909, now somewhat in need of revision; J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy.* Briefer surveys: *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. II, Ch. xxi and, for problems of race and language, Vol. IV, Chs. xii–xiii; H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy,* 1926, to the end of Ch. ii; D. Randall-MacIver, *Italy Before the Romans,* 1928. More special studies, well illustrated, are Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans,* 1924, and *The Iron Age in Italy,* 1927.

CHAPTER III

On the Etruscans, *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IV, Chs. xii–xiii; R. A. L. Fell, *Etruria and Rome,* 1924; L. Homo, *Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism* (translation, 1926), Bk. I, Ch. iii; Johnstone, M. A., *Etruria Past and Present,* 1930.

On the Greeks, J. B. Bury, *History of Greece,* 2nd ed. 1913, Ch. ii (colonization); *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. III, Ch. xxv; Vol. IV, Ch. xi; Vol. V, Ch. vi; Vol. VI, Ch. x. A good description of the sites and remains of the Greek cities with an historical commentary is found in Randall-MacIver, *Greek Cities in Italy and Sicily,* 1931.

CHAPTER IV

The Latins: L. E. W. Adams, *A Study in the Commerce of Latium from the Early Iron Age through the Sixth Century B.C.,* 1921; T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome,* 2nd ed., 1927, Ch. i; Homo, *Primitive Italy,* Bk. I, Ch. ii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, Ch. xi.

The Origins of Rome: T. Frank, *Economic History,* Ch. ii; S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* under special topics; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, Ch. xi; *The Early Monarchy and Early Roman Society;* G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies,* 1909, Chs. i, ii, v and ix, an analysis of early Roman society in the light of modern social and anthropological studies; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, Chs. x (on the sources), xi, xii, a more conservative treatment; H. H. Scullard, *History of the Roman World from 753 B.C. to 146 B.C.,* 1935, Ch. ii.

CHAPTER V

W. E. Heitland, *The Roman Republic,* 1909, Vol. I, pp. 75–78, 101–113, 135–174; T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* 1914, Chs. i–iv; Homo, *Primitive Italy,* Bk. II, Chs. i–v; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, Chs. xv, xvii, xviii, xx; Scullard, *Roman World,* Chs. iii, iv, vi; J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire,* 1911, Chs. iii–iv. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship,* 1939, Chs. i–iv.

CHAPTER VI

Botsford, *Roman Assemblies,* Chs. iii–xiii; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. II, Chs. viii–xiv, xvi, xx; Frank, *Economic History,* Chs. iii–iv; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, Chs. xiv, xvi; Scullard, *Roman World,* Ch. v.

CHAPTER VII

Early Roman Religion: J. B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa,* 1906, and *Religious Life of Ancient Rome,* 1911, Ch. i; W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals,* 1899, and *Religious Experience of the Roman People,* 1911, Chs. i–xii; T. R. Halliday, *Roman Religion,* 1922; H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture,* Chs. iii–xi; C. Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome,* 1932,

Chs. i–v, also *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Ch. xiv, §§ 1–7; F. Altheim, *History of Roman Religion* (trans.), 1937, Bk. II.

Social and Economic Life: C. W. L. Launspach, *State and Family in Early Rome,* 1908, Ch. xi; W. W. Fowler, *Rome,* 1912, Ch. iii; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. I, Chs. vi, xii and *Agricola, a Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Standpoint of Labour,* 1921, Chs. xx, xxi; P. Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work* (trans.), 1927, pt. I; Frank, *Economic History,* Chs. iii–v, and *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* 1933, Vol. I, introduction and Ch. i; J. Declareuil, *Rome the Law-Giver* (trans.), 1926, Ch. iii, on the Roman family; J. G. Milne, *The Development of the Roman Coinage,* 1937, pp. 1–10.

Military Organization: O. L. Spaulding, H. Nickerson, and J. W. Wright, *Warfare,* 1925, pp. 101–112; F. E. Adcock, *The Roman Art of War under the Republic,* 1940, good general observations.

CHAPTER VIII

General Narratives: T. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (trans. Dickson, 1905), Bk. III, Chs. i–vi; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. II, Chs. xxi–xxvi; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Chs. vi–vii; Homo, *Primitive Italy,* Bk. III; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VII, Chs. xxi, xxiv, xxv, xxvi; Vol. VIII, Chs. i–iv; H. H. Scullard, *Roman World,* Chs. vii–x.

Special Studies: H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War,* 1930; R. M. Haywood, *Studies on Scipio Africanus,* 1933.

Military Operations: Spaulding-Nickerson-Wright, *Warfare,* pp. 112–139; B. H. Liddell-Hart, *A Greater than Napoleon, Scipio Africanus,* 1927, Chs. i–xii.

CHAPTER IX

General Narratives: Mommsen, *History of Rome,* Bk. III, Chs. vii–x; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. II, Chs. xxvii–xxxii; W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism,* 1911, Chs. v–viii; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Chs. viii–x; Scullard, *Roman World,* Chs. xi–xiii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Chs. v–ix.

Biographical Study: F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon,* 1940.

Military Operations: Spaulding-Nickerson-Wright, *Warfare,* pp. 139–145; Liddell-Hart, *Scipio Africanus,* Chs. xiii–xv.

CHAPTER X

General Narratives: Mommsen, *History of Rome,* Bk. IV, Ch. i; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. II, Ch. xxxiii; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Chs. x–xi; Scullard, *Roman World,* Ch. xiv; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Chs. x, xv; Vol. IX, Ch. iii, pt. 1.

CHAPTER XI

The Government: A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life,* 1901, Chs. vi, viii; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. II, Ch. xxxiv; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies,* Chs. xiii, xv; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Chs. vi, xii; W. T. Arnold, *The Roman System of Provincial Administration,* ed. Bouchier, 1914, Chs. ii–iii, vi, pt. 1; Homo, *Roman Political Institutions,* Bk. I, Ch. iv; Bk. II, Ch. i; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Chs. xi, pt. 8, xii; Scullard, *Roman World,* Ch. xv; F. B. Marsh, *A History of the Roman World,* 146–30 B.C., 1934, Chs. i–ii; G. H. Stevenson, *Roman Provincial Administration,* 1939, Ch. iii.

Social and Economic Conditions: Heitland, *Agricola,* Chs. xxii–xxiii; Frank, *Economic History,* Chs. vi–vii; *Economic Survey,* Vol. I, Chs. ii, iii, and iv (in part); *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Ch. xi, pts. 4–7; Scullard, *Roman World,* Ch. xvi; Milne, *Roman Coinage,* pp. 11–22.

Cultural Development: J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature,* 1915, Bk. I, Chs. i–iii; J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age,* 2nd ed., 1914, Chs. i–vii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Chs. viii (Literature), xiv, pt. 7 (Religion), Vol. IX, Ch. xxi, pts. i–viii (Law); Scullard, *Roman World,* Chs. xvii–xviii; Fowler, *Religious Experience,* Ch. xiii; Bailey, *Religion of Ancient Rome,* Chs. v–vi; Altheim, *Roman Religion,* Bk. III.

CHAPTER XII

General Narratives: Mommsen, *History of Rome,* Bk. IV, Chs. i–ix; A. H. J. Greenidge, *A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to 69 A.D.,* 1904, Vol. I (to 104 B.C.); G. Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome* (trans.), 1909, Vol. I, Chs. iii–iv; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. II, Chs. xxxv–xlvii; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Chs. xii–xv; F. B. Marsh, *Roman World,* 1935, Chs. iii–viii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. VIII, Chs. i–vi.

The Allies and Roman Citizenship: Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship,* Ch. v.

Legislation: Botsford, *Roman Assemblies,* Ch. xvi.

The Government: Homo, *Political Institutions,* Bk. II, Ch. ii.

Economic Conditions: Frank, *Economic History,* Ch. viii; *Economic Survey,* Ch. iv, pt. iv.

Biographies: C. W. C. Oman, *Seven Roman Statesmen,* 1902, Chs. i–iv, the Gracchi, Marius, Sulla; G. P. Baker, *Sulla the Fortunate,* 1927; H. Bennett, *Cinna and His Times,* 1923.

Military Reforms: Spaulding-Nickerson-Wright, *Warfare,* pp. 146–157; H. W. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions,* 1928, Ch. i.

CHAPTER XIII

General Narratives: Mommsen, *History of Rome,* Bk. V, Chs. i–vi; Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline,* Vol. I, Chs. vi–xvi; Heitland, *Roman Republic,*

Vol. III, Chs. xlviii-lii; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Ch. xvi; T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire,* 1923, Vol. I, Chs. 2–3; Marsh, *Roman World,* Chs. ix–x; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IX, Chs. vii, viii, xi.

Constitutional Aspects: Botsford, *Roman Assemblies,* Ch. xvii; F. B. Marsh, *The Founding of the Roman Empire,* 1925, Chs. i–iii.

Biographies: Oman, *Seven Roman Statesmen,* Chs. vi–viii, Pompey and Crassus; F. H. Cowles, *Gaius Verres,* 1917, for an insight into provincial mismanagement.

CHAPTER XIV

General Narratives: Mommsen, *History of Rome,* Bk. V, Chs. vii–xi; Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline,* Vol. I, Chs. xvii–xviii, and Vol. II, all; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. III, Chs. liii–lviii; Frank, *Roman Imperialism,* Ch. xvii; Holmes, *Roman Republic,* Vols. II–III; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IX, Chs. xii–xvii; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution,* 1939, Chs. i–viii; Marsh, *Roman World,* Chs. xi–xv.

Constitutional Development: Botsford, *Roman Assemblies,* Chap. xvii; Marsh, *Founding of the Roman Empire,* Chs. iv–v.

Biographies: Oman, *Seven Roman Statesmen,* Ch. vii, Cato; E. H. Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum,* 1914; W. W. Fowler, *Julius Caesar,* 1919; T. Peterson, *Cicero,* 1920.

Conspiracy of Catiline: E. G. Hardy, *The Catilinarian Conspiracy,* 1924.

Military History: T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul,* 1911; Spaulding-Nickerson-Wright, *Warfare,* Ch. viii; Parker, *The Roman Legions,* Ch. ii.

CHAPTER XV

General Narratives: Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline,* Vols. III–IV; Heitland, *Roman Republic,* Vol. III, Chs. lix–lx; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. X, Chs. i–iv; T. R. Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire,* 1928, Vol. I; Marsh, *Roman World,* Chs. xvi–xviii; Syme, *Roman Revolution,* Chs. viii–xxi.

Constitutional Developments: Botsford, *Roman Assemblies,* Ch. xiv; Marsh, *Founding of the Roman Empire,* Chs. vi–vii; Homo, *Roman Political Institutions,* Bk. II, Ch. iii; Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship,* Chs. v–vi.

Social and Economic Conditions: W. W. Fowler, *Social Life in Rome in the Age of Cicero,* 1908; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IX, Ch. xix; Heitland, *Agricola,* Chs. xxv–xxvii; P. Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work,* pt. ii; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* 1926, Ch. i; Marsh, *Roman World,* Ch. xix; Frank, *Economic History,* Chs. ix–xvi; *Economic Survey,* Ch. v.

Biographical Studies: J. Hammer, *The Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus,* 1925, Chs. i–viii; M. Hadas, *Sextus Pompey,* 1930.

Cultural Conditions: in General, Grenier, *The Roman Spirit,* pt. ii; A. O. Gwynn, *Roman Education;* for literature, Mackail, *Latin Literature,* Bk. I, Chs. iv–vii; Duff, *Literary History,* pp. 269–431; Marsh, *Roman World,* Ch. xx; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IX, Ch. xviii; for Roman law, *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IX, Ch. xxi; for art and architecture, H. Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History,* 1912, Ch. ii; C. Bailey, *The Legacy of Rome,* 1923, "Architecture and Art" (G. M. Rushforth), "Building and Engineering" (G. Giovannoni); *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IX, Ch. xx; for philosophy and religion, E. Fowler, *Religious Experience,* Chs. xiv–xvii and *Roman Ideals of Deity in the Last Century Before the Christian Era,* 1914; Bailey, *Phases in the History of Roman Religion,* Chs. iv–v; Altheim, *Roman Religion,* Bk. IV, Chs. i–ii.

CHAPTER XVI

General Narratives: Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline,* Vol. V; Marsh, *Founding of the Roman Empire,* Chs. viii–ix; Holmes, *Architect of the Roman Empire,* Vol. II; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. X, Chs. v–xii, xviii; Syme, *Roman Revolution,* Chs. xxii–xxxiii.

Constitutional Aspects: Greenidge, *Roman Public Life,* Ch. X; F. F. Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions,* 3rd ed. 1911, Chs. xvii–xxi; Homo, *Political Institutions,* Bk. III, Ch. i; M. Hammond, *The Augustan Principate,* 1933; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. X, Chs. v, vi, vii.

Social and Economic Conditions: Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History,* Ch. ii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. X, Ch. xiii.

Biographical: J. Hammer, *M. Valerius Messala Corvinus,* Ch. ix to end; M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa,* 1933; F. A. Wright, *Marcus Agrippa,* 1937.

Military: Spaulding-Nickerson-Wright, *Warfare,* Pt. II, Ch. i; Cheesman, G. L., *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army,* 1914, introduction; Baillie Reynolds, *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome,* 1926, Ch. i; Parker, *Roman Legions,* Ch. iii; C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy,* 1941, *passim.*

Religions: L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor,* 1931, Chs. v–x; F. Altheim, *Roman Religion,* Bk. IV, The Augustan Age; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Chap. xv, pts. 1–4.

CHAPTER XVII

General Narratives: H. Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire,* 1908, Chs. ii–iv; *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* Vol. X, Chs. xix–xxv; Vol. XI, Chs. i–iv.

For Individual Principates: F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius,* 1931; C. E. Smith, *Tiberius and the Roman Empire,* 1942; J. P. V. D. Baldson, *The Emperor Gaius,* 1934; A. Momigliano, *The Emperor Claudius and His Achievement* (trans.) 1934; V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius,* 1940; B. W. Henderson; *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (1905); and *Five Roman Emperors* (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian), 1927.

On the years 68–69 A.D.: B. W. Henderson, *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire,* 1908; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History,* 2nd series, 1909, "The Four Emperors' Year."

CHAPTER XVIII

General Narratives: E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed., J. B. Bury, 1901, Vol. I, Chs. i–vi; Stuart Jones, *Roman Empire,* Chs. v–ix; H. M. D. Parker; *A History of the Roman World from A.D. 138 to 337,* 1935, pts. i and ii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XI, Chs. v, vi, viii, ix; Vol. XII, Chs. i, ii, pts. 1–2.

Individual Principates and Emperors: Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors* (Nerva, Trajan); *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian,* 1925; H. D. Sedgwick, *Marcus Aurelius,* 1921; M. Platnauer, *Life and Reign of Septimius Severus,* 1918; J. Stuart Hay, *The Amazing Emperor Elagabalus,* 1911; R. V. N. Hopkins, *The Life of Alexander Severus,* 1907.

Social and Economic Life: Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History,* Chs. iv–xi; Frank, *Economic History,* Ch. xxi; *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* Vol. XI, Chs. xii–xvi.

Imperial Government: *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* Vol. XI, Chs. x–xi; Vol. XII, Ch. i, pt. 3; Ch. ii, pt. 1.

CHAPTER XIX

On the Imperial Government: Greenidge, *Roman Public Life,* Ch. x; H. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome,* 1910; D. McFayden, *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire,* 1915; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vols. XI and XII, as for Ch. XVIII; Lord Bryce, *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India,* 1914; the Earl of Cromer, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism,* 1910; C. P. Lucas, *Greater Rome and Greater Britain,* 1912; E. Barker, "The Conception of Empire" and H. Stuart-Jones "Administration" in C. Bailey, ed., *The Legacy of Rome,* 1924; Homo, *Political Institutions,* Bk. III, Chs. ii–iii.

Military and Naval Organization and Policy: Cheesman, *The Auxilia;* Baillie Reynolds, *The Vigiles,* Chs. ii–vi; Parker, *Roman Legions,* Chs. iv–ix; Spaulding-Nickerson-Wright, *Warfare,* pt. II, Chs. 1–2; McCartney, *Warfare on Land and Sea,* in general; C. G. Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy.*

Provincial Administration: Th. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire,* 1885; Arnold, *Roman System of Provincial Administration,* Chs. iv, vi, pt. 2, and vii; Stevenson, *Roman Provincial Administration,* Chs. iv–vi.

Individual Provinces: Britain—F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (rev., G. Macdonald), 1924; R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain,* 1925; Spain—E. S. Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire,* 1914; C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Romans in Spain,* 1939; Sardinia—Bouchier,

Sardinia in Ancient Times, 1917; Africa—A. Graham, *The Roman Province of Africa,* 1905; Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa,* 1913; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis,* 1929; Greece—G. Finlay, *Greece under the Romans,* 1844 (rev. in *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146–A.D. 1864.* 1877); Raetia and Noricum—N. B. Peaks, *The General Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia,* 1907; Dacia—V. Pârvan, *Dacia,* 1928; Cappadocia—W. E. Gwatkin, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province,* 1930; Syria—Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province,* 1916; Egypt—J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule,* 3rd ed. 1924.

Municipal Organization: Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire,* Chs. vii–xv; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius,* 1905, Bk. II, Chs. ii–iii; E. G. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters;* F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire,* 1927; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 1937, and *The Greek City,* 1939.

Romanization of the Provincials: Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship,* Chs. vii–xiii.

CHAPTER XX

Agriculture, Industry and Commerce: Frank, *Economic History,* Chs. xvii–xxi; Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work,* pt. III; Heitland, *Agricola,* Chs. xxix–xlix and "Agriculture" in Bailey, *Legacy of Rome;* Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History,* Chs. v–ix, and *Caravan Cities,* 1932; M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire,* 1924; G. H. Stevenson, "Communications and Commerce" in Bailey, *Legacy of Rome;* E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India,* 1928; M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers,* 1929; O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe,* 1935; H. J. Loane, *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome* (50 B.C.–200 A.D.), 1938; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Ch. vii. For special regions: Frank, *Economic Survey,* Vol. II, 1936, *Roman Egypt* (A. C. Johnson); Vol. III, 1937, *Roman Britain* (R. G. Collingwood); *Roman Spain* (J. J. Van Nostrand); *Roman Sicily* (V. M. Scramuzza); *La Gaule Romaine* (A. Grenier); Vol. IV, 1938, *Roman Africa* (R. M. Haywood); *Roman Syria* (F. M. Heichelheim); *Roman Greece* (J. A. O. Larsen); *Roman Asia* (T. R. S. Broughton); Vol. V, 1940, Rome and Italy of the Empire (T. Frank).

Coinage: Mattingly, *Roman Coins,* Bk. II; Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage,* Vols. I–III.

Social Life: Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius,* Bks. I–II; L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (trans.), 1913, Vols. I–II; R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire,* 1928; A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire,* 1928; G. Showerman, *Rome and the Romans,* 1932; V. Chapot, *The Roman World* (trans.), 1928;

M. Maxey, *Occupations of the Lower Classes in Roman Society,* 1938; D. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (trans.), 1941; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Ch. xix for Rome and Italy, and for the provinces, Vol. XI, Chs. xii–xvi.

Pagan Religious Developments: Dill, *Roman Society,* Bks. III–IV; F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* 1911; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire,* 1909; W. R. Halliday, *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity,* 1925; S. Angus, *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity,* 1925; A. D. Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background* (in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*), 1928 and *Conversion,* 1933; K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians,* 1936; Altheim, *Roman Religion,* Bk. V; Bailey, *Phases in the History of Roman Religion,* Chs. vi–vii; Fowler, *Religious Experience,* Chs. xvi–xx; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. X, Ch. xv; Vol. XII, Ch. xii.

Christianity and the Roman Empire: E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government,* 1894—Studies in Roman History, First Series, Chs. i–x, reprinted 1925; E. T. Merrill, *Essays in Early Christianity,* 1924; H. H. Baynes, *The Early Church and Social Life* (an excellent bibliography), 1927; E. R. Goodenough, *The Church in the Roman Empire,* 1931; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XI, Ch. vii; Vol. XXI, Chs. xiv–xv.

Intellectual Life: Mackail, *Roman Literature,* pp. 91–251; R. M. Wenley, *Stoicism and Its Influence,* 1924, Chs. ii–iv; Bailey, *Legacy of Rome*—"Religion and Philosophy" (Bailey), "Science" (C. Singer), "Literature" (J. W. Mackail). J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age,* 1927; Gwynn, *Roman Education; Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XI, Chs. xvii–xviii; Vol. XII, Chs. xvii–xviii; Vol. XII, Chs. xvii–xviii.

Jurisprudence: Bailey, *Legacy of Rome,* "The Science of Law" (F. de Zulueta), Declareuil, *Rome the Law-giver,* Bk. I, Ch. iv; Bk II, Chs. i–ii; H. F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law,* 1932, Chs. xxi–xxiv; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XI, Ch. xxi.

Art and Architecture: Walters, *Art of the Romans;* E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine,* 1907 and *Art in Ancient Rome,* ed. 2, 1930; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XI, Ch. xx; Vol. XII, Ch. xvi, pt. 1; Bailey, *Legacy of Rome,* "Architecture and Art," G. M. Rushforth, "Building and Engineering" (G. Giovannoni).

CHAPTER XXI

General Narratives: Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* ed. Bury, Chs. vii–xii; Parker, *Roman World,* pts. iii and iv; Stuart-Jones, *Roman Empire,* Chs. viii–ix; *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* Vol. XII, Chs. II, pt. 3, vi, ix.

Constitutional Developments: Homo, *Political Institutions,* Bk. III, Ch. iii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Ch. x.

Biographical: J. H. E. Crees, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus,* 1911.

Economic Conditions: *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Chs. vii–viii; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History,* Chs. x–xi; Mattingly, *Roman Coins,* Bk. II, Ch. iii, sec. 4, Ch. iv, sec. 11; Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage,* Vols. IV–V; see also the references to Frank, *Economic Survey,* under Chapter XX.

Christianity and the Empire: *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* Vol. XII, Ch. vi, secs. 4–5.

Literature and Philosophy: Duff, *Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age; Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Ch. xvii, secs. 4–5; Ch. xviii, secs. 1–3.

Art and Architecture: See references for Chapter XX. In addition, *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Ch. xvi, sec. 1.

CHAPTER XXII

General: Gibbon-Bury, *Decline and Fall,* Chs. xiii–xxvii; T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders,* Vol. I (2nd ed.), 1892, Chs. i–viii; *Camb. Med. Hist.,* Vol. I, 1911, Chs. i, iii, vii–viii; Stuart-Jones, *Roman Empire,* Chs. x–xi.

For Diocletian and Constantine in particular, Parker, *Roman World,* pt. V, Chs. i–iii, v–vii; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Chs. ix, secs. 5–9, xix–xx.

Biographical: A. Gardner, *Julian, Philosopher and Emperor,* 1901; E. G. Martin, *The Emperor Julian,* 1919; J. A. McGeachy, Jr., *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West,* 1942.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Imperial Government: *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, Ch. ii; J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian, 1923, Vol. I, Chs. i–ii; A. E. R. Boak and J. E. Dunlap, *Two Studies in Later Roman and Byzantine Administration,* 1924; N. H. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire,* 1926, Ch. iv; Homo, *Political Institutions,* Bk. IV; Parker, *Roman World,* pt. V, Chs. iv–v; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. XII, Ch. xi; Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship,* Chs. xiv–xv.

The Municipalities: Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration,* Ch. xiv; Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Provinces* and *The Greek City.*

Social and Economic Conditions: Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History,* Ch. xii; Heitland, *Agricola,* Chs. l–lx; Louis, *Ancient Rome at Work,* pt. III; see also Frank, *Economic Survey,* Vol. III, for Britain and Gaul; R. A. Pack, *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius,* 1935.

CHAPTER XXIV

General: Gibbon-Bury, *Decline and Fall,* Chs. xxix–xxxix; Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders,* Vol. I, from Ch. ix, Vols. II–III; Bury, *Later Roman Empire,* Vol. I, iii–x, xiii; Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire,* pp. 105–145.

CHAPTER XXV

General: Gibbon-Bury, *Decline and Fall,* Chs. xl–xliii; Bury, *Later Roman Empire,* Vol. I, xiii; II, Chs. xiv–xxii; Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders,* Vol. IV, Ch. xxv; W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora,* 2nd ed. 1912; Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire,* Ch. iii; Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Roman Law,* Chs. xxviii–xxix.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Christian Church under the Autocracy: A. C. Flick, *The Rise of the Medieval Church,* 1909; *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, Chs. iv–vi; xvii–xviii; W. Walker, *A History of the Western Christian Church,* 1918, pp. 1–108; B. J. Kidd, *History of the Church to 461 A.D.,* 1922 and *The Churches of Eastern Christendom from A.D. 451 to the Present Day,* 1927, Chs. i–iv; Bury, *Later Roman Empire,* Vol. I, Ch. xi; II, Ch. xxii; Abbé Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church* (trans.), 1925, Vols. ii–iii; Baynes, *Byzantine Empire,* Ch. v; F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages* (trans.), 1931, Ch. iii; for the period 491–518 A.D., P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire,* 1939.

Cultural Conditions: *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, Ch. xxi, "Early Christian Art"; S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire,* 1899; T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century,* 1901; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology,* 1911, and *East Christian Art,* 1925; Baynes, *Byzantine Empire,* Chs. ix–xi; E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages,* 1928; M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900,* 1931, Chs. i–iv; F. Lot, *The End of the Ancient World,* Chs. viii–ix.

INDEX

NOTE: All Romans, except emperors and men of letters are to be found under their *gens* name: *e.g.* for Cato see Porcius. All others are indexed under the name most commonly used in English: *e.g.* Trajan, Horace, Alaric.

A. = Aulus.
A cognitionibus, secretary for imperial inquests, 295.
A cubiculo, see Chamberlain.
A libellis, secretary for petitions, 295.
A rationibus, secretary of the treasury, 295, 347; title changed, 348.
A studiis, secretary of the records, 295.
Ab admissione, chief usher, 372.
Ab epistulis, secretary for correspondence, 295.
L. Accius, tragic poet, 164.
Achaea, senatorial province of, 276.
Achaean Confederacy, the, opposed to Macedonia, 109; allied with Macedonia, 109; supports Philip V, 116–71; joins Rome, 126; loyal to Rome, 129; friction with Rome, 130; forced to send hostages to Rome, 132; asserts independence, 137; dissolved, 138.
Acilian law (*lex Acilia de repetundis*), 178.
Acilius Glabrio, consul, defeats Antiochus at Thermopylae, 128–29.
Actium, battle of, 250–51.
Adherbal, joint ruler of Numidia, 185–86.
Advocate of the fiscus (*advocatus fisci*), 322.
Aedileship, the, and public games, 144–45, (1) the plebeian, 75; becomes magistracy, 75; (2) the curule, 75; opened to plebeians, 81; under the Principate, 340; (3) in municipalities, 363.
Aedui, the, allies of Rome, 185, 223; desert Rome, 226.
Aegates Islands, the, battle of, 107.
S. Aelius Paetus, consul, juristic writer, 165.
L. Aelius Seianus, praetorian prefect, plot of, 291.
M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul, revolt of, 205.
M. Aemilius Lepidus, master of the horse, 241; pontifex maximus, 242; in Second Triumvirate, 244ff.; deposed, 247.
Aemilius Papinianus, jurist, praetorian prefect, 335, 386.
L. Aemilius Paullus, consul, at Cannae, 115.
L. Aemilius Paullus, consul, defeats Perseus, 131.
Aeneas, and Rome, 35–36.
Aequi, the, 20; wars of, with Rome, 47, 50; Roman allies, 54.
Aerarium militare, the, 347.
Aerarium Saturni, the, state treasury, under senatorial authority, 268; evolution of, under the Principate, 341, 347.
Aetius, Flavius, master of the soldiers, defeats Burgundians, 463; made count, 464; career of, 464–66.
Aetolian Confederacy, the, joins Rome against Philip V, 116, 126; allied with Antiochus, 128; with Rome, 130.
Aetolians, war with Rome, 127–30; subjugation of, 129–30.
Africa, Roman province of, organized, 137; agriculture in, 378–80; conquered by Vandals, 462; reconquered by Justinian, 480–81.
Agathocles, King of Syracuse, 56.
Agentes-in-rebus, 445.
Ager Gallicus, 55, 143, 153.
Ager publicus (public domain), 60.
Ager Romanus, 61.
Agrarian laws, of the Gracchi, 173–75, 179–80; of Saturninus, 192; proposed—of Rullus, 217.
Agriculture, Italy adapted to, 7; changing conditions of, 152ff.; under the Principate, 378–82.
Agrippa, Herod, I, 282, 292.
Agrippa, *see* M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
Agrippina, granddaughter of Augustus, 289; plots of, 291.
Agrippina, niece and wife of Claudius, schemes of, 296; murdered, 297.
Alae, 63, 270.
Alamanni, the, 336, 339, 403; defeated by Gallienus, 404; by Julian, 433; by Valentinian I, 435; by Narses, 482.
Alans, the, invasions of, with the Vandals, 461–62.

Alaric, prince of the Visigoths, invasion of Greece, 459–60; invasion of Italy, 460.
Alba Longa, 34, 36.
Alban Mount, the, 33, 34.
Albinus (Decimus Clodius—), Caesar, 329; Augustus, 330; death, *id.*
Alexander, king of Epirus, 56.
Alexander Severus, *see* Severus Alexander.
Alexandria, capital of Egypt, 122; Caesar besieged in, 232; government of, 359.
Alimentary system (*alimenta*), the, instituted, 314; expanded, 315.
Allia, the, battle of, 49.
Allies, the, *see* Italian allies.
Allobroges, the, conquered by Rome, 185; betray Cataline's conspiracy, 218.
Ambrones, the, 188, 190.
Ambrose, bishop of Milan, conflict with Theodosius I, 437; writings of, 501.
Ammianus Marcellinus, historical writer, 500–01.
Anastasius, eastern emperor, 471–72.
Ancyra, Monument of, 286
Andriscus, Macedonian pretender, 137.
Animism, of early Roman religion, 96.
L. Annaeus Seneca, writer, 383–84; counsellor of Nero, 297–99.
T. Annius Milo, tribune, 224, 227.
Annona, the, 357, 451.
Anthemius, western emperor, 466.
Anthenion, leader of slave rebellion, 190.
Antinoöpolis, 322, 359.
Antioch, Seleucid capital, 123; depopulated by Persians, 483.
Antiochus III, the Great, king of Syria, 123; attacks Egypt, 124; war with Rome, 127–30.
Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, king of Syria, forced to evacuate Egypt, 132.
Antoninian Constitution, the, 335.
Antoninus Pius (Titus Aelius Aurelius—), adopted by Hadrian, 323; principate of, 323–24.
C. Antonius, consul, 216–17.
L. Antonius, brother of Mark Antony, 246.
M. Antonius, praetor, command against pirates in 102 B.C., 190.
M. Antonius, praetor, extraordinary command against pirates in 74 B.C., 207.
M. Antonius (Mark Antony), tribune, 229; master of the horse, 232; consul, 241; takes charge after Caesar's death, 241–42; in Second Triumvirate, 244ff.; in the East and Egypt, 245ff.; projects of Cleopatra and, 248–49; war with Octavian, 250–51; suicide of, 251.
Appius Claudius, censor, *see* Claudius, Appius.
L. Appuleius Saturninus, tribune, 191; proposed legislation of, 192.
L. Apuleius, writer, 385.
Apulia, 53, 54.
Apulians, the, allies of Rome, 54.
Aqua Appia, 82.
Aquae Sextiae, fortress, established, 185; Teutons annihilated at, 190.
Aquileia, Latin colony, 133, 325.
M'. Aquillius, consul, subdues rebellious slaves, 190.
Aquitania, administrative district of Gaul, 278; Roman province, 290; Visigothic kingdom in, 461.
Aquitanians, the, conquered by Caesar, 224.
Arabia, Roman attempt to conquer, 282.
Arabs, the Nabataeans, Roman allies, 282; kingdom of, made Roman province, 318.
Arausio, defeat of Roman armies at, 189.
Arbogast, general of Theodosius, 436; revolt of, 437.
Arcadius (Flavius—), co-emperor, 437; rules in East, 467–68.
Archelaus, general of Mithradates, 197–98.
Archidamus, king of Sparta, 56.
Archimedes, physicist and mathematician, at Syracuse, 116.
Architecture, Roman, 255, 386ff.; Christian, 504.
Arianism, 495–96.
Arians, Justinian's treatment of, 487.
Aricia, battle at, 45; meetings of Latin League at, 35.
Ariovistus, king of the Suevi, 223–24.
Armenia, Lucullus's invasion of, 208; occupied by Antony, 248; Roman protectorate over, 281–82; struggle between Rome and the Parthians over, 298; conquered by Trajan, 318; Roman authority in, reëstablished, 325; won from Persians by Diocletian, 426; Roman claim to, abandoned, 435.
Arminius, German chieftain, 280–81, 290.
Army, Roman, of regal period, 69; of early fifth century, 69; of later fifth century, 69; primitive, 86; phalanx organization of, 86; manipular legion in, 86–87; composition of, 87; discipline of, 87–88; reformed by Marius, 189; by Augustus, 270ff.; power of in naming princeps, 299–300; quartering of auxiliaries under Vespasian, 301; of legions under Domitian, 309; pay of, increased, 308; reformed by Sept. Severus, 333; provincilization of, 348–49; strength of under the Principate, 350; cultural influence of, 353–54; attitude of, 402; revolts of, in third century, 401ff.; reformed, in third century, 416–17; reformed by Diocletian, 426–27; by Constantine I, 430; of the late Empire, 441ff.; of the Age of Justinian, 480. *See also* Auxiliaries *and* Legion.

Arnobius, Christian writer, 385.
Art, Roman, 169–70; of the Principate, 386–88, 419; of the late Empire, 503ff.
Artabanus V, king of the Parthians, 336.
Arverni, the, conquered by Rome, 185.
Asia, Roman province of, organized, 138; revenue of, auctioned off at Rome, 180–81; massacre of Romans in, 197; Sulla's punishment of, 199; Lucullus's remedial measures in, 207–08.
Aspar, master of the soldiers, 469–70.
Assemblies, the Roman, character of, 84–85; become antiquated, 140; dominated by urban proletariat, 157–58; under the Principate, 269.
Assembly, Centuriate, 70–72; approves alliance with the Mamertini, 104; confers proconsular *imperium* on Scipio, 117; induced to declare war on Philip V, 126; reform of, 139; loses right to elect magistrates, 289; confirms powers of princeps, 304.
Assembly, Curiate, the, in regal period, 41; in early Republic, 67; superseded by Assembly of the Centuries, 71–72.
Assembly, Tribal, the, origin of, 79–80; effect of Hortensian law on, 84; use of, by Ti. Gracchus, 174; by C. Gracchus, 183; confers command of army upon Marius, 187; enrollment of Italians in, 196; creates extraordinary commands, 213; loses right to elect magistrates, 289.
Assyria, made Roman province, 318; abandoned, 319.
Astrology, 393.
Astures, the, 278.
Ataulf, leader of the Visigoths, 460.
Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, 495, 502.
Athens, aids Rome against Philip V, 126; ally of Rome, 138; joins Mithradates, 197; siege of, by Sulla, 198.
M. Atilius Regulus, consul, invades Africa, 106.
Atrium, the, in Roman houses, 91, 159.
Attalus I. king of Pergamon, joins Rome against Macedonia, 116; appeals to Rome against Philip V, 125.
Attalus III, king of Pergamon, wills kingdom to Rome, 138, 174.
Attila, king of the Huns, 465–66; relations of, with eastern emperor, 469.
Augurs, college of, 67; number increased, 83; functions of, 97; new members chosen by Tribes, 191.
Augustales, 274.
Augustine, bishop of Hippo, writings of, 502.
Augustus (C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, *q. v.*), position of in 27 B.C., 263–64; receives *tribunicia potestas* and other powers, 264ff.; restores Senate, 267–68; puts equestrian order on definite basis, 268–69; attempts moral and religious revival, 271ff.; cult of Roma and, 273; foreign policy of, 277; conquests in the north, 278ff.; in the east, 281ff.; administration of Rome under, 283–84; policy of, regarding the succession, 284ff.; death and estimate of, 286; deified, 288.
Augustus, title of, 265.
Aurelian (Lucius Domitius Aurelianus), principate and campaigns of, 408–11.
Aurelian laws, (*leges Aureliae*), the, 210.
Aurelius (princeps), *see* Marcus Aurelius.
M. Aurelius Cotta, consul, 207.
Ausculum, 57.
Ausonius, poet, 500.
Auspicium, defined, 66.
Auxiliaries (*auxilia*), of Augustan army, 270f.; denationalized, 349; territorial recruitment of, 349; strength of, 350; effect of permanent fortifications on, 353; of late Empire, 442.
Avidius Cassius, general, Parthian victories of, 324–25; revolt of, 326
Avitus (Eparchius—), western emperor, 466.

Bacchanalian associations, dissolved, 142, 167.
Balearic Islands, the, occupied by Rome, 185.
Basil, founder of Greek monasticism, 495, 498, 502.
Basilica, Roman, 168; Christian, 504.
Basiliscus, proclaimed emperor, 470.
Bastarnae, the, 279.
Batavi, the, 279; revolt of, 301.
Belgae, the, 224–25.
Belgica (*Gallia*—), administrative district of Gaul, 278; Roman province, 290.
Belisarius, campaigns of, 480ff.
Benedict, monastic rule of, 498.
Beneventum, 58.
Bishops, of early Christian church, 398; metropolitan, 398; temporal power of, under late Empire, 493–94.
Bithynia, occupied by Mithradates VI of Pontus, 197; surrendered, 199; made Roman province, 207.
Bocchus, king of Mauretania, aids Jugurtha, then Rome, 187.
Boethius, Christian writer, 502.
Boii, the, 55, 110, 114.
Bonifacius, Count, governor of Africa, 462; master of the soldiers, 465.
Bononia, Latin colony, 133.
Boudicca, queen of a British tribe, 298–99.
Bribery, laws against, 145.
Britain, Caesar's invasions of, 225; conquests in, under Claudius, 295; revolt of, under

Boudicca, 298–99; Agricola in, 309; Sept. Severus, 334–35; the Saxons invade, 435.
Britannicus (Ti. Claudius Britannicus), son of Claudius, 296–97.
Bronze Age, the, 14–17.
Brundisium, treaty of, 246.
Bruttii, the, 20, 49.
Brutus, *see* M. Junius Brutus *and* D. Junius Brutus.
Bucellarii, 480.
Bulgars, the, invade eastern empire, 471, 483, 505.
Bureaucracy, the imperial, 348, 444ff.
Burgundians, the, invade Gaul, 463; treatment of Roman subjects, 476; religion of, 477.
Burrus, Afranius, praetorian prefect, 297.
Business Class, in Rome, 158–59.
Byzantine empire, 505.
Byzantium, punished by Sept. Severus, 330.

C. = Gaius.
Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, praetor, defeats Andriscus, 137; subdues central Greece, 138.
Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, consul, commands against Jugurtha, 186–87.
Caesar, *see* C. Julius Caesar.
Caesar, imperial title, 303; use of in fourth century, 425.
Calendar, the, Caesar's reform of, 235.
Caligula, *see* Gaius Caesar.
Callaeci, the, 278.
Calpurnian Law (*lex Calpurnia*), the, 151.
M. Calpurnius Bibulus, consul, 219–21.
C. Calpurnius Piso senator, conspiracy of, 299.
Camp, camps, Roman military, 87–88; on frontiers, 350ff.
Campania, location of, 4; fertility of, 7; alliance of, with Rome, 51.
Cannae, battle of, 115–16.
Cantabri, the, 278.
Canuleian marriage law, 80.
Cappadocia, Mithradates, king of northern, 196; greater, coveted by Mithradates, 197; surrendered, 199; conquered by Tigranes, 207.
Capua, founded, 23; Roman ally, 51; granted Roman citizenship, 51; deserts to Hannibal, 116; recovered by Rome, 116.
Caput, unit of taxation, 452.
Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus = Bassianus), Caesar, 330; Augustus, 332; principate of, 335–36; Edict of, 335.
Carausius, proclaimed Augustus, 425.
Carbo, *see* Cn. Papirius Carbo.
Carinus (Marcus Aurelius—), Caesar, Augustus, 411–12.
Carnuntum, legionary camp, 305.
Carthage, gains foothold in Sicily and Sardinia, 21; attacks Sicilian Greeks, 29–30, 58; allied with Rome against Pyrrhus, 58; founding of, 102; empire, 102; government of, 102–3; commercial policy of, 103; resources of, 103; treaties with Rome, 104; wars with Rome, *see* Punic Wars; cedes Sicily to Rome, 107; loss of sea power of, 107; war with mercenaries, 107; cedes Sardinia and Corsica to Rome, 108; cedes Spain and African possessions to Rome, 120; reasons for defeat of, in Second Punic War, 120; last struggle with Rome and destruction of, 135–37; Caesar's colony at, 237.
Carus (Marcus Aurelius—), princeps, campaign against Persians, 411–12.
Cassian Law (*lex Cassia tabellaria*), the, 145.
Cassiodorus, Christian writer, 502.
C. Cassius, 239f., 242; war with Antony and Octavian, 245.
Sp. Cassius, 77.
Cassivellaunus, British chief, 225.
Castra Vetera, 279.
Cataphracti (*cataphractarii*), in the Roman army of the third century, 417; under Justinian, 480.
Cato, *see* M. Porcius Cato.
Catullus (Gaius Valerius—), poet, 257.
Caudine Forks, battle of the, 53.
Celtiberians, the, revolts of, 134–35.
Cenomani, the, Roman allies, 110.
Censorship, the origin and powers of, 74, 82; plebeians eligible to, 81; of Appius Claudius, 82; abolished, 202; restored, 210; assumed by Claudius, 294; by Vespasian, 304; by Domitian, 307.
Census, instituted in Rome, 74; taken by censors, 74; basis of army organization, 74; lists of, in Second Punic War, 121; increase of, between 136 and 125 B.C., 176f.; of the empire under Augustus, 276; of 14 A.D., 286; of 47 A.D., 296; of 74 A.D., 304.
Census returns, formula for, 356.
Centenarii, 346.
Centurions, 270; disappearance of, 443.
Chaeronea, victory of Sulla at, 198.
Chaldean astrologers, banished from Italy, 167; great vogue of, 393.
Chamberlain, the, of imperial court, 372, 441.
Chatti, the, 280, 307, 309.
Cherusci, the, 280.
Childeric, king of the Salian Franks, 463.
Chosroes, king of the Parthians, 318.
Chosroes I, king of the Persians, conflicts with Eastern Empire, 483.

Christianity, rise of, and connection with Judaism, 394–95; comes into conflict with Roman state, 396ff., 412–14; effect of paganism on, 491; contribution of, to art, 388, 419–20.
Christians, the, first persecution of, 298, 396; accusations against, 395; imperial policy toward, in first century, 396; in second century, 397; in third century, 397; persecutions of, 412–14; under Diocletian, 427–28; treatment of, by Constantine I, 431–32; by Julian, 434.
Chrysopolis, battle at, 430.
Church, the early Christian, organization of, 397–98; movement for primacy of Rome in, 399; Justinian's reconciliation with western, 479; relation of, to the emperor, 491–92; councils of, 492ff.; growth of the Papacy, 492–93; of the Patriarchate, 493; sectarian strife in, 494–97; architecture, 504.
Cicero, *see* M. Tullius Cicero.
Cilicia, pirate stronghold, 191; made Roman province, 191; an imperial province, 276.
Cimbri and Teutons, the, invade Gaul and Spain, 188–89; invade Italy, 190.
L. Cincius Alimentus, historical writer, 164.
Circus Flaminius, 168.
Cirta, siege of, 186.
Cisalpine Gaul, settled by Gauls, 48; occupied by Romans, 109–11; lost, 114; reconquered, 132; organized as province, 202.
Citizens, Roman, 61.
Citizenship, Roman, granted to Italians, 195–96; obtained by service in army, 270f.; extended by Caracalla, 335; given to barbarian officers, 442.
City Prefect, 283, 446; judicial functions of, 332.
Cives optimo iure, 64n.
Cives sine suffragio, 61n., 64n.
Civil service, the imperial, first step in creation of, 268–69; under Hadrian, 345; growth of, 344–48; of late Empire, 444ff.
Civil War, 171ff., 230ff.
Civilis, Julius, Batavian chieftain, 301.
Civitates in provinces, 148, 358; in Gaul, 358–59.
Clarissimi, 347; under late Empire, 447–48.
Classes, in Roman army, 69f.
Classis, *see* Levy.
Claudian (Claudius Claudianus), poet, 501.
Claudian Law (*lex Claudia*), 144.
Claudius, Appius, censor, 82, 95.
Claudius, Appius, land commissioner, 174.
Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Germanicus), principate of, 293–96.
C. Claudius, consul, at Metaurus, 118.
Claudius Gothicus (Marcus Aurelius), principate of, 404.
Cleonymus, king of Sparta, 55.
Clergy, the, power of, under late Empire, 493–94.
Clients, early status of, 43; in the Principate, 372–73.
Cleonymus, king of Sparta, 56.
Cleopatra, and Caesar, 232, 246; and Antony, 245ff.; at Actium, 250–51; death, 251.
P. Clodius, tribune, 222, 224, 227.
Clovis, king of the Salian Franks, 463; conversion of, 477; conquests of, 477–78.
Clusium, 49.
Cn. = Cnaeus (Gnaeus).
Codification of Roman law by decemvirs, 98; under Justinian, 485–86.
Cohorts (*cohortes*), (1) of allies, 63; (2) urban, 283.
Coinage, first Roman, 94; debasement of, 418; of late Empire, 450–51.
Colleges (*collegia*), in early Rome, 42; character and types of, 364; regulation of, 364, 369–701; of late Empire, 454–55.
Colonate, the, *see* Serfdom.
Coloni, free farmers, 379; in Africa, 380; under the late Empire, 455–56.
Colonies, (1) Latin, 62; loyal to Rome in Second Punic War, 116; championed by C. Gracchus, 182; loyal in Marsic War, 195; in provinces, 358; (2) Roman, 61; established by C. Gracchus, 180; in provinces, 358.
Comitatenses, 426–27, 442.
Comites, (1) associates of provincial governors, 149; (2) *Augusti*, 372; (3) titles of officials of late Empire, *see* Counts.
Comitia, *see* Assemblies.
Comitia centuriata, *see* Centuriate Assembly.
Comitia curiata, *see* Curiate Assembly.
Comitia tributa, see Tribal Assembly.
Commagene, kingdom of, annexed, 306.
Commerce, development of, under Principate, 374ff.
Commercium, 46, 62, 63
Commodus (Lucius Aelius Aurelius–), becomes co-ruler, 326; principate of, 327–28.
Concilium plebis, 78.
Confederacy, of Aetolians, 124; of Achaeans, 124.
Conscripti, 81.
Consistory, the imperial, 446.
Constans (Flavius Julius–), Caesar, 431; co-emperor, 432.
Constantine I, the Great (Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus), Caesar, 428; co-emperor, 428; sole emperor, 430–32;

founds Constantinople, 430; —and Christianity, 431–32; policy of, toward the Church, 491f., 494.
Constantine II (Flavius Claudius Constantinus), Caesar, 429, 431; co-emperor, 432.
Constantinople, founding of, 430.
Constantius I (Gaius Flavius Valerius—), Caesar, 425; emperor, 428.
Constantius II (Flavius Julius—), Caesar, 431; co-emperor, 432; sole emperor, 432–33.
Constantius, master of the soldiers, 460; made co-emperor with Honorius, 464.
Constitutio Antoniniana, see Antoninian Constitution.
Constitutiones principis, 342.
Consulares iuridici, of Hadrian, 322; removal by Antoninus, 323.
Consulate, consulship, the, established, 66; limited to patricians, 68; open to plebeians, 81; Senatorial control over, weakened, 180; under the principate, 264f.; of late Empire, 458; abolished, 487.
Consuls, 66.
Consulship, restoration of, 81.
Contiones, 158.
Contractors (*conductores*), 357.
Conubium, 46, 63.
Copper-Stone Age, the, 13–14.
Corfinium, 194.
Corinth, destroyed, 138; resettled, 237.
Cornelia, "mother of the Gracchi," 173.
L. Cornelius Cinna, consul, opposes Sulla and Senatorial party, 199–200.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio, ex-consul, *legatus* in Spain, 117.
L. Cornelius Scipio, brother of Africanus, consul in war with Antiochus, 129; attacks on, 143–44.
P. Cornelius Scipio, consul, defeated at Ticinus, 114; at Trebia, 114; killed in Spain, 117.
P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, consul, takes Numantia, 135; destroys Carthage, 136–37; patron of letters, 161; supports the Italian allies, 175–76; death, 176.
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, exaedile, given proconsular *imperium* in Spain, 117–18; takes New Carthage, 117; conquers Carthaginian Spain, 118; consul, invades Africa, 119; defeats Hannibal, surnamed Africanus, 120; in Asia, 129; and the Senate, 143–44.
L. Cornelius Sulla, quaestor under Marius, 187; *legatus* in Marsic war, 196; consul, 198; wages war against Mithradates, 198–99; return to Italy and dictatorship of, 200–03; reforms of, 201–02; retirement and death of, 203; character and achievements of, 203.
Corporati, of late Empire, 454.
Corporations, *see* Colleges.
Corpus juris civilis, 485–86.
Corruption, of officials in late Empire, 447.
Corsica, location of, 4; geography of, 5; population of, 21; ceded to Rome, 108, a province, 147.
Count, counts (*comites*), of late Empire, 443, 448; of the sacred largesses, 445, 446; of the private purse, 445, 446; of the consistory, 446.
Court, the imperial, growth of, 372; of late Empire, 440–41.
Court for recovery of damages, the, 151; reorganized by Acilian law, 178; use of, in interest of financiers, 193.
Crassus, *see* M. Licinius Crassus.
Cremona, 111; battles at, 300–01.
Crete, made Roman province, 212; edicts concerning, 275.
Crispus (Flavius Julius—), Caesar, 429–31.
Crixus, leader of slave revolt, 208–09.
Ctesiphon, captured by Trajan, 318; by Avidius Cassius, 325; sacked by Sept. Severus, 330; captured by Carus, 411–12.
Cult, household, 97–98; of the farm, 98; state, 98–99, 389ff.; of Bacchus, 167; of the Great Mother, 167, 392; of the Lares and Genius Augusti, 272–73; of Roma and Augustus (imperial), 273, 390; oriental cults (*q. v.*).
Culture, Greek influences on Italian, 30; on Roman, 161ff., 257ff.; decline of Roman, 388.
Cumae, Greek colony, 24, 29, 30; granted Roman citizenship, 51.
Curatorship, senatorial, 267, 284, 340–41; for reorganizing finances, 368.
Curia, the, municipal council, 363–64; obligations of, 369.
Curiae, the, (1) in Rome, 40; (2) in municipalities, 364
Curiales, of late Empire, 453; relieved from collections of taxes, 471.
Cursus honorum, of senatorial order, 202, 267; of equestrian order, 269, 288ff.
Cursus publicus, 322.
Cynoscephalae, battle of, 126.
Cyprian (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus), Christian writer, 419.
Cyprus, annexed, 222.
Cyrene, revolt of Jews in, 319; edicts affecting, 275.
Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, 496.
Cyzicus, siege of, 207.

D. = Decimus.
Dacia, made Roman province, 317; abandoned, and new province formed, 409.

Dacians, the, war with Domitian, 310; with Trajan, 316–17.
Deacons, of early Christian church, 339.
Decaprotoi, 369.
Decebalus, king of the Dacians, 310, 316–17.
Decemvirs, the, for codifying the laws, 78–79.
Decius (Caius Messius Trajanus–), princeps, Gothic War of, 403; persecution of the Christians under, 413.
Decuma, see Taxes.
Decuriones, 363; obligations of, 369.
Defensores civitatium or *plebis*, 454.
Deification, of ruler, significance of, 235.
Delos, free port, 132; Italian colony at, exterminated, 197.
Dictator, appointment and powers of, 66; plebeians eligible to office of, 81; Caesar permanent dictator, 234.
Dignities (*dignitates*), of late Empire, 448.
Dioceses, 427; distribution of under late Empire, 444–45 *and note* 2.
Diocletian (Gaius Valerius Aurelius Diocletianus), assumes imperial title, 412; reign of, 424–28; division of administration by, 425–26; reforms army, 426–27; abdicates, 428.
Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, 29, 49, 56.
Divus Julius, 245.
Dominus, title, 331, 440.
Dominus et deus, title, 307.
Dominus et deus natus, title of Aurelian, 410.
Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus), principate of, 306–10.
Domitian law (*lex Domitia*), the, 191; abrogated, 202; reënacted, 217.
Cn. Domitius Corbulo, general, campaign of, 298; death of, 299.
Domus divina, 331.
Drama, the Roman or Latin, of third and second centuries B.C., 163–64; of last century B.C., 215.
Drepana, naval battle at, 106.
Drusus, *see* M. Livius Drusus.
Drusus, Nero Cladius, stepson of Augustus, 278–79.
Ducenarii, 346.
C. Duilius, consul, 105.
Duovirate, the, in municipalities, 363.
Dux, duces (duke), military title, 417, 443.

Eburones, the, 225.
Economic conditions, in the early Republic, 91ff.; under the Principate, 374ff.; economic decline, 365ff., 417–19; under Late Empire, 449ff.
Edict (1) of the praetor, in Roman law, 165f.; codified, 322; (2) of the princeps, 342.
Edict, the, of Caracalla, 335; of Milan, 429; of Prices, 427.
Education, in early Rome, 90; after the Punic Wars, 161f.; in the last century of the Republic, 256–57; under the Principate, 382–83.
Egypt, the Ptolemaic monarchy in, 122; loss of sea power of, 123; Caesar's conquest of, 190; added to Roman empire, 251; status of, 264; bureaucratic system of, 359; late municipalization of, 360.
Elagabalus (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Bassianus), selected Imperator, 337; principate of, 337–38.
Elba, 25.
Elymii, the 21.
Emperor, (1) early Roman, *see* Princeps; (2) late Roman, powers and titles of, 438–40; regalia of, 440; elections and cooptation of, 440; court of, 440–41.
Empire, the division of, under Diocletian, 426; partition of, after Theodosius I, 438; condition of, at death of Justinian, 487–88.
Q. Ennius, poet, 163.
Epictetus, philosopher, 386.
Epicureanism, in Rome, 256, 393.
Epirus, sacked by Romans, 132.
Equestrian order, the, growth of, 159; secures right to act as judges in courts, 178; suffers from Sullan proscriptions, 201; debarred from juries by Sulla, 202; restored to juries, 210; character of, 252; position and characteristics of, under Augustus, 268f.; in civil service, 345–46; titles of, 347; rise of in third century, 415–16; merged with senatorial order, 447.
Equites, (1) cavalry in Roman army, 86; (2) in Assembly of the Centuries, 70; (3) a propertied class, *see* Equestrian order.
Etruria, location of, 4, 22.
Etruscans, the, migrations of, 18; location of, 19, 22; origin of, 22–23; expansion of, 23–24; in Latium and Campania, 23; in Po valley, 23; decline of power of, 24; civilization of, 24–25; cities and cemeteries of, 25–26; art of, 26–27; religion of, 27; language of, 27–28; in Italian history, 28; wars of, with Rome, 45, 47–48, 55; Roman allies, 55.
Eudocia, eastern empress, 468–69.
Eudoxia, eastern empress, 468.
Eugenius, revolt of, 437.
Euhemerus, philosopher, 167.
Eumenes II, king of Pergamon, aids Rome against Antiochus, 129; enemy of Perseus, 131; suspected by Romans, 132.
Euric, king of the Visigoths, 461, 473.
Eusebius, historical writer, 502.

Eutropius, grand chamberlain, 468.
Extraordinary commands, origin and definition of, 204; created by Assembly, 213ff.

Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator, strategy of, 115.
Q. Fabius Maximus, consul, defeats Gallic tribes, 185.
Q. Fabius Pictor, historical writer, 164.
Falisci, the, 20.
Familia, see Household.
Fasces, the, 40.
Federated states, 61.
Festivals, public, 144; Secular Games, 275; increase of, 372.
Fetiales, 59.
Finances, administration of, under the principate, 347–48.
Fire, great, of 64 A.D., 298; of 80 A.D., 306.
Fiscus, 295, 347.
Flaccus, *see* L. Valerius Flaccus.
T. Flamininus, consul, defeats Philip V, 126–27; proclamation of, 127.
C. Flaminius, tribune, censor, killed at Trasimene Lake, 114; defies the Senate, 143; and the reform of the Centuries, 139–40.
Flaviales, college of, 307.
C. Flavius Fimbria, *legatus,* in Mithradatic war, 199.
Gn. Flavius, aedile, 83, 95.
Fleet, *see* Navy.
Foederati, of late Empire, 436, 443.
Fonde di Capanne, 12.
Franks, the, 403; invade Roman empire, 404; Salian, allowed to settle, 433; kingdom of, in Gaul, 463; Roman subjects of, 476; religion of, 477; conquests of, 477–78; incursion of, into Italy, 482.
Freedmen, of Sulla, 201; augment Roman plebs, 253–54; become Augustales, 274; rights of, restricted by Augustus, 274–75; influence of, under Claudius, 294–95; influence of, in civil service, 344–45; increase of, under principate, 373–74; laws restricting increase of, 373; occupations of, 374.
Frentani, the, 20, 54.
Frontier defence, system of, 350ff.
Fulvia, wife of Mark Antony, 246.
C. Fulvius Plautianus, praetorian prefect, 332.

Gabinian Law (*lex Gabinia*), the, (1) on use of the ballot, 145; (2) on command against pirates, 213.
A. Gabinius, tribune, 213.
Gaesatae, the, invade Italy, 110.
Gaïnas, master of the soldiers, 468.
Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, 462.
Gaius, the jurist, 385.
Gaius Caesar (*Caligula*), principate of, 292–93.
Gaius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, 285.
Galatia, Celts of, defeated by Romans, 129; made Roman province, 281.
Galba (Servius Sulpicius—), 299; principate of, 300.
Galen (Cladius Galenus), student of medicine, 386.
Galerius (Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus), Caesar, 425; emperor, 428; death, 429.
Gallia Cisalpina, see Cisalpine Gaul.
Gallia comata, 223; divided, 278.
Gallia Narbonensis, province of, 185, 276.
Gallienus (Publius Licinius Egnatius—), principate and campaigns of, 404–05, 414.
Gallus (Flavius Claudius Constantius—), Caesar, 433.
Gaul, peoples of, 223; Caesar's campaigns in, 223ff.; an imperial province, 264; administration of, under Augustus, 278–79; empire of Postumus in, 406; reconquered by Aurelian, 410; late municipalization of, 358–59; kingdom of Visigoths in, 461; Burgundian invasion of, 463; kingdom of Salian Franks in, 463; invaded by Attila and the Huns, 465.
Gauls, the, in the Po Valley, 48; character of, 48; sack Rome, 49; later incursions, 49; renew invasions of peninsula, 406; empire of the, 406, 410.
Gelasius, Pope, 493.
Gelimer (Gailimer), king of the Vandals, 479–80.
Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, 29.
Gens, Gentes, 42–43.
Germanicus Caesar, son of Drusus, 289; campaigns of, 290; death, 91.
Germany, Roman invasion of, 12 B.C., 279; revolt of, 280–81; administrative districts created in, 290; campaigns of Germanicus in, 290; Domitian in, 309–10; lost to Rome, 404.
Geta (Publius Septimius—), Caesar, Augustus, 335.
Getae, the, 279; invade eastern empire, 471.
Gladiatorial combats, preferred by Roman public, 164, 168.
Gladiators, revolt of the, 208–09.
Glycerius, proclaimed emperor, 466.
Gordian III (M. Antonius Gordianus), princeps, 405.
Goths, the, 403ff.; invade Roman empire, 403–404; migration of, in 376 A.D., 354–55;

relations between Romans and, 473–74. *See also* Visigoths, Ostrogoths.
Gracchi, the, *see* Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, tribune, *and* C. Sempronius Gracchus.
Grain Laws, of C. Gracchus, 179; of Saturninus, 192; of Drusus, 194.
Gratian (Gratianus), co-emperor, 435–36; attitude toward paganism, 490.
Great Mother, cult of, the, introduced in Rome, 167.
Greece, devastated by Mithradatic war, 199; Southern, becomes province of Achaea, 276.
Greeks, the, migrations of, 18–21; colonization of, 28; lack of unity among, 29; decline of power in Italy and Sicily, 29–30; rôle of, in Italian history, 30; southern—join Mithradates, 197. *See also the individual states.*
Gregory of Nazianzus, Christian writer, 495, 502.
Grimaldi, caves of, 9–10.
Guilds, *see* Colleges.
Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, 463, 476.

Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus), principate of, 320–23; reforms civil service, 322, 345; reforms army, 349; improvement of *limes* and frontier defence, 321.
Hadrianople, battle of, 436.
Hadrian's Wall, 321, 334; described, 351–52.
Hamilcar Barca, in Sicily, 106–07; conquers mercenaries, 107; in Spain, 111.
Hannibal, son of Hamilcar Barca, Carthaginian commander in Spain, 112; takes Saguntum, 113; invades Italy, 114–16; withdraws from Italy, 119; defeated at Zama, 119–20; at court of Antiochus, 128; exiled from Carthage, 128, 135; death of, 129.
Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, in Spain, 112; treaty with Rome, 112.
Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, commander in Spain, 114, 117–18; marches to Italy, 118; killed at Metaurus, 118.
Helvetii, the, defeated by Caesar, 223.
Helvidius Priscus, senator, 304.
Heraclea, 57.
Hernici, the, 20, 47.
Herodian, historical writer, 419.
Heruli, the, 403–04.
Hiempsal, joint ruler of Numidia, 185.
Hiero (Hieron), king of Syracuse, 29, 104.
Honestiores, 333, 448.
Honorius (Flavius—), co-emperor, 437; rules in West, 460ff., 464.
Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), poet, 275, 383.
Hortensian Law, 83–84.
Q. Hortensius, dicator, 84.
Q. Hortensius Hortalus, consul, 211; orator, 211, 258.
Household, the Roman, 89ff.
Humiliores, 333, 448.
Huns, the, migration of, 435; invade Gaul and Italy, 465–66; relations of Theodosius II with, 469.

Iapygians, the, 20.
Iazyges, the, 310; defeated by M. Aurelius, 326; by Galerius, 426.
Idia, of Egyptian peasants, 381.
Illus, master of the soldiers, revolt of, 470–71.
Illustris, illustres, title of Late Empire, 448.
Illyrians, the, allies of Macedonia, 108; pirates, 108; first war with Rome, 108–09; second war with Rome, 109.
Illyricum, an imperial province, 276; revolt of, 280.
Imperator, Julius Caesar assumes title of, 234–35; title of Augustus, 265; change in use of title, *id.*; revived by Vespasian, 303; title of late emperors, 438–39.
Imperial cult, *see* Cult of Roma and Augustus.
Imperium, of kings, 40; of consuls, 66; conferred by Assembly of the Curiae, 72; proconsular, given to private citizen, 117; extraordinary, 204ff.; of Octavian, in 27 B.C., 264; renewed successively, 266; conferred for life on Tiberius, 288–89; how bestowed, 342; of late Empire, 438.
Indiction (*indictio*), 452.
Indo-European, speech group, 16, 19–20.
Indo-Europeans, 16–17.
Industry, under the Principate, 375ff.
Insubres, the, 110, 114.
Iron Age, the Early, 17–19.
Isaurians, the, 470; rebellion of, 471.
Isis and Serapis, cult of, in Rome, 392.
Italia, 64.
Italian allies, status of, 63; loyal to Rome after Cannae, 116; grievances of, 145–47; championed by C. Gracchus, 182; by Drusus, 194; revolt, war, and enfranchisement of, 194–96.
Italian war, *see* Marsic War.
Italians, the, location and peoples, 20.
Italici, name of Italians, 64.
Italy, geography of, Ch. I; continental, 3; peninsula, 3–4; coastline of, 4–5; climate of, 5; forests of, 6; minerals of, 6f.; effect of physical features, 7; agriculture in, 7; name of, 7; external influences upon, 8; peoples of, 19–21; effect of Second Punic War on, 120–21; reduced to level of a

province, 445; conquered by Ostrogoths, 467; reconquered, 481–82; Lombard invasion of, 505.
Iugum, unit of taxation, 452.
Iuridici, see Consulares iuridici.

Janiculum, secession of plebs to, 84.
Jerome (Hieronymus), Christian writer, 501–02.
Jerusalem, siege and destruction of, 303; Roman colony on site of, 322.
Jews, the, conflict of Caligula with, 293; revolt of, 302–03; rising of, in 115 A.D., 319; in 132 A.D., 322; status of, in Roman empire, 393–94.
John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, 468, 503.
Jovian (Flavius Claudius Jovianus), emperor, 434–35.
Juba I, king of Numidia, 232.
Juba II, king of Numidia, transferred to Mauretania, 282.
Judaea, partly annexed to province of Syria, 214; made Roman province, 282; under imperial legate, 303.
Judiciary law, of C. Gracchus, 178; of Drusus, 194; of Sulla, 202; of Pompey and Crassus, 210.
Jugurtha, prince, later king of Numidia, intrigues and war with Rome, 185–87.
Jugurthine War, 185–87.
Julia, daughter of Julius Caesar, 222; death, 227.
Julia, daughter of Augustus, 285–86.
Julia Domna, 330ff.
Julia Maesa, grandmother of Elagabalus, 337f.
Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander, 337ff.
Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), Caesar, 433; emperor, 433–34;—and Christianity, 434.
Julian (Salvius Julianus), jurist, 322, 326.
Julian law (*lex Julia*), the, granting citizenship to the Italians, 195.
Julian laws, of 19 and 18 B.C., 274.
Julian Municipal law (*lex Julia Municipalis*), the, 363.
Julianus (M. Didius Julianus), princeps, 328–29.
C. Julius Caesar, early life, 215; joins forces with Crassus, 216; pontifex maximus, 217; in First Triumvirate, 219; consul, 219–21; command in Gaul, 221ff.; strife with Pompey, 229ff.; conquers Italy and Spain, 230–31; dictator, 231, 232; in Egypt and Syria, 232; in Africa, 232–33; dictatorship for life, and other powers and honors, 233–35; reforms of, 235–37; aims at monarchy, 235; assassinated, 238–39; estimate of career of, 239–40; deified, 245; oratory and writings of, 259.
C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, heir of Julius Caesar, 241; return to Rome, 242; opposed by Antony, 242ff.; in Triumvirate of 43 B.C., 244ff.; strife with Antony, 246ff.; invasion of Egypt, and triumph, 251; restores the commonwealth, 264; granted titles of Augustus and Imperator, 265. (For subsequent acts, *see* Augustus.)
Julius Nepos, western emperor, 466.
C. Julius Vindex, legate, rebellion of, 299.
Junian law (*lex Junia*), 275, 373.
D. Junius Brutus, conspirator against Caesar, 239, 241ff.
M. Junius Brutus, conspirator against Caesar, 239, 241ff.; war with Antony and Octavian, 245; exactions of, in Cyprus, 252.
Junonia, Roman colony, 180; abandoned, 183.
Jupiter, Latiaris, 34; Capitolinus, 98.
Jurisprudence, Roman, in third and second centuries B.C., 165–66; in last century of Republic, 259–60; under the Principate, 385–86.
Jurists, the Roman, 165, 385–86.
Jury courts, for trial of bribery, etc., established by Sulla, 202; composition of, reorganized 70 B.C., 210; *tribuni aerarii* removed from, 236. *See also* Court for recovery of damages.
Justice, administration of, under the Principate, 342–43.
Justin I (Justinus), eastern emperor, 478–79.
Justinian (Justinianus), eastern emperor, character and policy of, 479; reign of, 479–87; Code of, 485–86.
Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis), satirist, 384.

L. = Lucius.
Lactantius, Christian writer, 501.
Land commission, the Gracchan, 173–74, 175–76.
Land laws, *see* Agrarian laws.
Lares and *Genius Augusti*, cult of the, 272–73.
Latifundia, see Plantation system.
Latin allies, 62–63.
Latin leagues, the, origin of, 34–35; alliance of, with Rome, 45–47; dissolution of, 50.
Latins, the, 19–20, 33f., 61; early culture of, 33–34; wars with Rome, 46, 50. *See also* Latin leagues *and* Colonies, Latin.
Latium, location of, 4, 33.
Lautulae, 54.
Law, Roman, codification of, 78–79; extension through edict of praetor, 166–67;

study of, 165; codification planned by Julius Caesar, 236; liberalization of, 259–60; forms of legislation, 342; writers on, 385–86; development of, under the Principate, 385; the Theodosian code, 469; Justinian's codification of, 485–86.
Legati, provincial officials, 149, 355;—Augusti, 355.
Legion, legions, manipular, 86–87; men of no property admitted to, 189; probable increase in size of by Marius, 189; of Augustus, 270; quartering of, under Domitian, 309; Wars of the Legions (*q. v.*); territorial recruitment of, 349; number of, 350; change in, under late Empire, 442.
Leo I, Pope, 493.
Leo I, eastern emperor, 469–70.
Leo II, eastern emperor, 470.
Lepidus, *see* M. Aemilius Lepidus.
Leucopetra, 138.
Levy, the, for the Roman army, 86ff.; tribunes interfere with, 135.
Lex, Acilia de repetundis, 178;
Aelia Sentia, 274, 373;
Aurelia, 210;
Calpurnia, 151;
Canuleia, 80;
Cassia tabellaria, 145;
Claudia, 144;
Domitia, 191; abrogated, 202; reenacted, 217;
Fufia Caninia, 274, 373;
Gabinia, 145;
Gabinia, conferring command against pirates, 213;
Hortensia, 83;
Julia, granting citizenship, 195;
leges Juliae, of 19 and 18 B.C., 274;
Junia, 373;
Liciniae Sextiae (*leges*), 81, 156;
Maenia, 72;
Manilia, 213;
Ogulnia, 83;
Oppia, 160;
Papia Poppaea, 274;
Plautia Papiria, 195;
Pompeia, granting citizenship, 195;
Publilia, 72;
Sempronia, 173;
Titia, 244;
Trebonia, 225;
Vatinia, 221;
Villia annalis, 144.
Lex Romana Burgundionum, 476.
Lex Romana Visigothorum, 473.
Libyans, the, subjects of Carthage, 102.
Licinian-Sextian laws, 81.
Licinianus Licinius, Caesar, 429, 431.
Licinius (Valerius Licinianus—), Caesar, 428; Augustus, 428; co-emperor with Constantine I, 429–30.
M. Licinius Crassus, praetor, command against Spartacus, 209; consul, 210; creditor of Julius Caesar, 216; in First Triumvirate, 219; campaign against the Parthians, and death, 226–27.
L. Licinius Lucullus, quaestor of Sulla, 199; consul, commands against Mithradates, 207–08.
Lictors, 40.
Ligurians (Ligures), the, a neolithic people, location of, 19; conquered by Rome, 133.
Lilybaeum, 58, 106.
Limes, limites, 350; fortification of, 350–53.
Limitanei, 353; organized, 427; of late Empire, 441.
Literature, background of, 94; rise of Roman, 162ff.; of last century of the Republic, 215ff.; of the Principate, 383ff.; decline of, 419; of the late Empire, 499ff.; Christian, 385, 499, 501ff.
Livia, Augusta, 288.
M. Livius, consul, at Metaurus, 118.
Livius Andronicus, author, 163.
M. Livius Drusus, tribune, opposes C. Gracchus, 181–82.
M. Livius Drusus, tribune, legislative program of, 193–94.
Livy (Titus Livius), historical writer, 383.
Lombards, the, invade Italy, 505.
Luca, conference at, 224.
Lucan (M. Annaeus Lucanus), poet, 299, 384.
Lucanians, the, 20, 55.
Lucian (Lucianus), Greek writer, 386, 393.
C. Lucilius, satirist, 164.
Lucius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, 285.
T. Lucretius Carus, poet, 258.
Lucullus, *see* L. Licinius Lucullus.
Lugdunensis (Gallia—), administrative district of Gaul, 278; Roman province, 290.
Lugdunum, 279; victory of Sept. Severus at, 330.
Lusitanians, the, Roman war with, 134–35.
Q. Lutatius Catulus, (1) consul, campaigns against the Cimbri, 190; (2) consul, defeats Lepidus, 205.
Luxury, in Rome, 160; legislation against, 160.

M. = Marcus.
M'. = Manius.
Macedonia (Macedon), Antigonid kingdom, 123,124; divided into four republics, 131; Roman province, 147.
Macedonian Wars, first, 116–18, 124; second, 125–27; third, 130–32; fourth, 137. *See also* Philip V *and* Perseus.

Macrinus (Marcus Opellius—), principate of, 336–37.
Maenian Law, 72.
Magister, see Master.
Magistracy, the, 66; characteristics of, 75; expansion of Roman, 73ff.; controlled by Senate, 142; enhanced value of higher magistracies, 144; order regulated, 144; age limit set for each, 145; interval between tenures, 145; in senatorial career, 267; under the principate, 340; in municipalities, 363, 453.
Magistrates, of early republic, 65–66; order of rank, 75; veto of, 76; tribunes gain practical status of, 85; committees of senators, 142.
Magnentius (Magnus—), proclaimed Augustus, 432; killed, 433.
Magnesia, 129.
Mago, Carthaginian writer, 154.
Maior potestas, 76.
Majorian (Flavius Julianus Majoriamus), western emperor, 466.
Malaria, in Italy, 5–6.
Mamertini, the, 104f.
Mancinus, consul, surrendered to Numantines, 135.
Manilian law (*lex Manilia*), 213.
C. Manilius, tribune, 213.
Maniple, unit of Roman army, 86.
Manufactures, 375ff.
M. Marcellus, consul, takes Syracuse, 116; killed, 118.
M. Marcellus, consul, 229, 238.
M. Marcellus, nephew of Augustus, 285.
Marcian (Marcianus), eastern emperor, 469.
Marcomanni, the, 290, 310; defeat Domitian, 310; defeated by M. Aurelius, 325–26.
Marcus Aurelius (M. Aurelius Antoninus = M. Annius Verus), adopted by Antoninus, 323; principate of, 324–27.
Marcus Manlius, 77.
C. Marius, consul, commands against Jugurtha, 186–87; re-elected consul, 187, 190; reforms army, 189; annihilates Cimbri and Teutons, 190; sixth consulship of, 192; *legatus*, in Marsic War, 195; struggle with Sulla, 198; death, 200.
C. Marius, the younger, consul, 200–01.
Marjorian (Flavius Julius Marjorianus), western emperor, 466.
Marsi, the, 20, 54; in Italian War, 194ff.
Marsic War, the, 194–96.
Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis), satirist, 384.
Masinissa, Numidian chief, Roman ally, 119; made king of Numidia, 120; attacks of, on Carthage, 136.
Massilia, Greek colony, ally of Rome, 112; appeals for aid, 184; siege of, by Caesar, 231.
Master (*magister*), title of, 346.
—of the foot (*peditum*), 430, 444.
—of the horse (*equitum*), (1) of the Republic, 66; (2) of the late Empire, 430, 444.
—of the offices (*officiorum*), 445.
—of the privy purse (*rei privatae*), 348.
—of the soldiers (*militum*), 444.
Mauretania, client kingdom, Roman province, 293; divided, 295.
Maxentius (Marcus Aurelius—), Caesar, Augustus, 428; death, 429.
Maximian (M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus), co-emperor, 425–28; campaigns of, 425–26; abdication, 428.
Maximinus (C. Julius Verus—), proclaimed Augustus, 339.
Maximinus Daia (Galerius Valerius—), Caesar, 428; *filius Augusti*, 428; emperor, 429.
Maximus (Magnus Clemens—), revolt of, 436; co-emperor, 436.
Maximus (Petronius—), western emperor, 466.
Mediterranean Race, 10–11.
Mesopotamia, Trajan's conquest of, 318; abandoned, 321; Romans regain upper, 325; made Roman province, 331; Persian invasion of, 339; Diocletian regains, 426.
Messalina, wife of Claudius, plot of, 296.
Messana, 104; blockade of, 104.
Messapians, the, 20, 56.
Metaurus, battle of the, 118.
Metellus, *see* Q. Caecilius Metellus.
Micipsa, king of Numidia, 185.
Milan, becomes seat of government for West, 426.
Military service, universal, 85f.; age limits of, 87; length of, 87; under Augustus, 270f.; changes of Sept. Severus in, 333; under late Empire, 442.
Military system, *see* Army, Roman.
Militia, Roman, *see* levy.
M. Minucius, master of the horse, 115.
Minucius Felix, Christian writer, 385.
Misenum, treaty of, 247; naval station, 271.
Mithradates VI, Eupator, King of Pontus, war with Rome, 196ff.; comes to terms, 199; alliance with Sartorius, 206; renews war with Rome, 207; attacked by Pompey, 214; death, 214.
Mithraism, 392.
Modestine, jurist, 386.
Moesi, the, 280.
Moesia, province of, 280; divided, 310.
Mogontiacum, 279.
Mohammedan invasion, 505–06.

Monarchy, the early, 39f.; fall of, 41.
Monasticism, rise and growth of, 497–98.
Monophysite controversy, 496–97.
Monophysites, Justinian's treatment of, 479, 486–87, 497.
Moors, the, revolts of, 296, 426, 480.
Mos maiorum, influence of, 91.
Q. Mucius Scaevola, proconsul of Asia, 193; legal writings of, 260.
L. Mummius, consul, defeats Achaeans, 137–38.
Munda, battle of, 238.
Munera, 357, 452–53.
Municipalities (*municipia*), Roman, 61; Italian towns organized into, after Marsic War, 196; Caesar and the, 237; under the Principate, 358; 362ff.; of Gaul and Egypt, 359; Hellenic type, 362–63; Latin type, 363–64; decline of, 368; burden of curiales in, 453–54.
Mursa, battle of, 432.
Mutina, Roman colony, 133; war at, 244.
Mutiny, of army in Illyricum and on Rhine, 289.
Mylae, naval battle at, 105–06.

Cn. Naevius, author, 163.
Naples, 53.
Narbo, founded, 185.
Narcissus, freedman of Claudius, 295f.
Narses, Roman general, campaigns of, 481–82.
Navy, Roman, in first Punic War, 105–07; of Augustus, 271, 353.
Neolithic Age, *see* New Stone Age.
Neoplatonism, 393, 489.
Neopythagoreanism, 393.
Nepete, founded, 50.
Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar), parentage of, 296; principate of, 297–99.
Nerva (Marcus Cocceius Nerva), principate of, 314–15.
Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, 496.
New Carthage (Carthagena) founded, 112; taken by Romans, 117.
New Stone Age, 10–13.
Nicaea, council of, 492, 495.
Nicomedes III, king of Bithynia, wills kingdom to Rome, 207.
Niger (C. Pescennius–), saluted Imperator, 328; death, 329.
"Nika" riot, the, 485.
Nisibis, Roman colony and fortress, 330.
Nobilitas, Senatorial aristocracy, 140–41.
Nobility, of late Empire, 456–57.
Nomen Latinum, 63.
Nomes (*nomoi*), in Egypt, 359.
Norba, 47.
Noricum, Roman province of, 278; abandoned, 467.
Numantia, siege of, 135.
Numeri, the, 349, 417.
Numerianus, (M. Aurelius–), Caesar and Augustus, 411–12.
Numidia, added to province of Africa, 282.

Octavia, wife of Antony, 246, 247–48; divorced, 250.
Octavia, daughter of Claudius, 296–97.
Octavianus, *see* C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.
C. Octavius, *see* C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.
M. Octavius, tribune, deposed by Assembly of Tribes, 174.
Odenathus, king of Palmyra, 405, 407.
Odovacar, patrician and imperial regent, 467.
Oenotrians, the, 21.
Officiales, of the Principate, 348; of the late Empire, 446–47.
Officials, equestrian, 269, 345ff.; provincial, 355; of imperial household, 440; of late Empire, 446–47ff.
Ogulnian Law (*lex Ogulnia*), 83.
L. Opimius, consul, leads attack on C. Gracchus, 182.
Oppian Law (*lex Oppia*), the, 160.
Oppidum, 34
Optimates, the, struggle with the Populares, Chap. XII; under Gracchan ascendancy, 183; under Marian ascendancy, 191ff.; under Sullan ascendancy, 201ff.; opposed to Pompey and Caesar, 219, 220ff.; led by Cato the younger, 225; side with Pompey against Caesar, 228.
Oratory, in Rome, 161–62, 258.
Orchomenus, victory of Sulla at, 198.
Orestes, master of the soldiers, 466.
Oriental cults, rise and progress of, 256, 390–93.
Oscans (Osci), the, 21, 52n.
Ostia, 41, 294.
Ostrogoths, the, conquer Italy, 467; Romans under régime of, 475–76; reconquest of Italy from, 481–82.
Otho (Marcus Salvius–), principate of, 300.
Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso), poet, 383.

P. = Publius.
Pachomius, founds first monastery, 498.
Pagan, origin of term, 491.
Paganism, in the Principate, 389; in the late Empire, 489–90; persecution of, 490–91.
Pagus, 34.
Palaeolithic Age, the, *see* Old Stone Age.
Palaftta, -fitte, 14–15.
Palatini, 442.

Pallas, freedman of Claudius, 295f.
Palmyra, kingdom of, 406–08; overthrown, 409–10.
Panaetius of Rhodes, philosopher, in Rome, 161, 168.
Pannonia, a Roman province, 280.
Pannonians, the, 279–80.
Panormus, captured by the Romans, 106.
Papacy, growth of the, 492–93, 505.
Papian Poppaean Law, 274.
Papinian, *see* Aemilius Papinianus.
Cn. Papirius Carbo, consul, opposes Sulla, 200; executed, 203.
Parma, Roman colony, 133.
Parthians, the, campaign of Crassus against, 226–27; Antony's campaign against, 248; Augustus and, 281–82; struggle with Rome over Armenia, 298; Trajan's campaign against, 318–19; war with, 161–165 A.D., 324–25; campaigns of Sept. Severus against, 329, 330–31; Caracalla and, 336; overthrown by the Persians, 338.
Pater patriae, title of Julius Caesar, 234; title of Augustus, 267.
Patres, see Patricians.
Patres conscripti, 81.
Patria potestas, 90.
Patriarchate of Constantinople, the, growth of, 493.
Patricians, the, definition of, 43; in regal period, 43; in control of government, 68; new families of, created, 236, 272; title under late Empire, 448.
Patricii, see Patricians.
Patrimonium, evolution of the, 347.
Patrons, in early Rome, 43; under the Principate, 373; in late Empire, 455, 456.
Patrum auctoritas, exercised by patrician senators, 71; restricted for the Assembly of the Centuries, 72.
Paul (Julius Paulus), jurist, 386.
Peasantry, the, decline of, in Italy, 155–57; increase of, due to Gracchan laws, 184; reduced to serfdom, 455–56.
Perfectissimus, title, 347.
Perfectissimate, the, 448.
Pergamon, kingdom of, 124; enlarged by Romans, 129; willed to Rome, 138.
M. Perperna, leader of Marian faction, 205–06.
Perseus, son of Philip V, and king of Macedonia, war with Rome, 130–32.
Persians, the, campaign of Severus Alexander against, 339; of Gordian III, 405; of Valerian, 405; of Carus, 411–12; of Diocletian, 426; of Constantius II and Julian, 433–34; of Valens, 435; wars with Eastern Empire, 469, 471; Justinian's war with, 483.
Pertinax (Publius Helvius–), principate of, 328.
Perusia, 246.
C. Petronius, writer, 384.
Phalanx, the, in Roman army, 86.
Pharisees, the, 302.
Pharnaces, son of Mithradates, 214; defeated by Caesar, 232.
Pharsalus, battle of, 231–32.
Philip V, king of Macedonia, 116; at war with Aetolians, 109; becomes an ally of Carthage, 116; attacks Roman possessions in Illyria, 116–17; at war with Rome, Aetolians, and Pergamon, 116–17; concludes peace, 119; alliance with Antiochus III, 124; second war with Rome, 125–27; defeat of, 126–27; cedes Greek possessions to Rome, 127; supports Rome against Antiochus, 129; later hostility to Rome, 131.
Philip (M. Julius Philippus), princeps, 405.
Philippi, battles of, 245.
Philosophy, 168, 256, 393, 489.
Phoenicians, the, *see* Carthaginians.
Phraates IV, king of the Parthians, 281.
Picentes, the, 20, 52, 55.
Pietas, Roman conception of, 90.
Pilum, javelin, adopted in Roman army, 87.
Piraeus, Athens and, besieged by Sulla, 198.
Pirates, depredations of, 190; Roman attempt to suppress, 190; command of Marcus Antoninus against, in 74 B.C., 207; command of Pompey against, 212–13.
Piso, *see* C. Calpurnius Piso.
Placidia, Roman princess, 460, 464.
Placentia, 111.
Plague, the, of 166 A.D., 268; of 251 A.D., 418.
Plantation system, the, 152ff., 254; transformation of, under Principate, 379ff.
Plautus (Titus Maccius–), dramatist, 163.
Plebeians, the, definition of, and status in early Rome, 43; struggle for political equality, 76–77; and the higher magistracies, 80–81; admitted to consulship, 81; in Senate, 82; secession to Janiculum, 84.
Plebiscites (*plebi scita*), 80; binding without Senate's previous sanction, 84.
Plebs, the, (1) *see* Plebeians; (2) of later Republic, 253ff.; under Augustus, 269; colleges of, 364.
Pliny, (1) the elder (Caius Plinius Secundus), writer, 384; (2) the younger (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus), 316; letters of, 384.
Plotinus, philosopher, 419.
Plutarch, Greek writer, 386.
Police, of Rome, the, under Augustus, 283.
Polybius, Greek historian, 101; view of Roman constitution, 143.

Pomerium, the, of Rome, 38.
Pompeian law (*lex Pompeia*), granting citizenship and Latin rights, 195.
Pompeii, 306.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great), raises army for Sulla, 200; receives honors from Sulla, and triumph, 203; command against Sertorius, 206; consul, 70 B.C., 210; command against pirates, 212–13; command against Mithradates, 213–14; in First Triumvirate, 219; *curator annonae*, 224; sole consul, and height of power, 227–28; strife with Caesar, 228–32; defeat and death, 232.
Cn. Pompeius (Pompey), son of Pompey the Great, 238.
S. Pompeius (Pompey), son of Pompey the Great, 238, 243; opposition to Antony and Octavian, 246ff.; makes terms, 247; defeated, 247.
Pontifex Maximus, office of, 67.
Pontiffs, the, number increased, 83; new members chosen by Tribes, 191.
Pontus, kingdom of Mithradates VI, 196ff.; subjugated and made a Roman province, 214.
Popilius (Laenas), (1) Roman ambassador, 132; (2) consul, 175.
Populares, the, struggle with the Optimates, Chap. XII; under Gracchan ascendancy, 173ff.; under Marian ascendancy, 187ff.; led by Saturninus and Glaucia, 192–93; led by Sulpicius Rufus, 198; support Pompey and Crassus, 209.
Populus (*i*), 34.
Populus Romanus, 42.
M. Porcius Cato, the Elder, hostility to Carthage, 136; *On Agriculture*, 154; opposes luxury, 160; writer of Latin prose, 164.
M. Porcius Cato, the Younger, 218, 222, 225; death, 233.
Porsena, Lars, 45.
Portoria, customs dues, 149, 356.
Posidonius, 256.
Postumus, M. Cassius Latinius, general, forms empire in Gaul, 406.
Potestas, (1) *maior*, 76; (2) *tribunicia*, *see Tribunicia potestas*.
Praefectus annonae, *see* Prefect of the grain supply.
Praefectus morum, Julius Caesar appointed, 234.
Praefectus urbi, *see* City Prefect.
Praefectus vigilum, *see* Prefect of the watch.
Praeneste, 62, 200–01.
Praeses, *praesides*, title of, 334, 355, 415.
Praetor peregrinius, *see* Praetorship.
Praetorian prefect, 270; increase in power of, 332, 340, 416; attains senatorial rank, 346; court of, 332; title, 347; deprived of military authority, 430; under late Empire, 445.
Praetorians, praetorian guard, under Augustus, 270; nominate Claudius princeps, 294; disbanded and reconstituted by Sept. Severus, 329; disbanded by Constantine I, 441.
Praetors, 66; provincial, 147; increased by Sulla, 202; by Caesar, 236.
Praetorship, the, city, establishment of, 74; plebeians eligible to, 81; praetor peregrinus, 139; effect of praetorian edict on Roman law, 165; decline of, 343; of late Empire, 446.
Prefect, City (*praefectus urbi*), *see* City Prefect.
Prefect of Egypt, the, 359.
Prefect of the grain supply, the, 284, 340; functions limited, 332.
Prefect of the watch (*praefectus vigilum*), 283, 340.
Prefectures, (1) of auxiliary corps, 269; (2) the great, 269; titles of occupants of, 347; (3) of Late Empire, 444–45; *see also* Prefects.
Priesthoods, the, general characteristics of, 67–68; opened to plebeians, 83; enlarged by Julius Caesar, 236; decline of, 255; reëstablishment of, 272.
Princeps, Pompey considered as, 228; definition of, 266; title of, in Egypt, 359.
Princeps iuventutis, 285.
Principate, the, foreshadowed by Pompey's position, 227–28; establishment of, Chap. XVI; defined and explained, 266; weakness of, 287; constitutional development of, 311–12, 339–43; end of, 414–15.
Principes, officials of late Empire, 444, 447.
Probus (Marcus Aurelius—), principate and campaigns of, 411.
Proconsulship, the, instituted, 75; frequent in Second Punic War, 121; under the Principate, 355.
Porcopius, historical writer, 503.
Procuratorships, equestrians eligible to, 269, 345; freedmen admitted to, 345; classification, 346; replace *publicani*, 357.
Proletariat, the urban, 157–58.
Promagistracy, the, 75; reorganized by Sulla, 202f.; law of Pompey regulating, 229; in senatorial career, 267.
Propertius, poet, 383.
Property classes, 69, 70.
Propraetorship, the, use of, in Second Punic War, 121; *see also* Promagistracy.
Proscriptions, the, of Sulla, 201; of Second Triumvirate, 244–45.

Provinces, the, organization and government of, 147ff.; governors of, appointed on new basis, 202; imperial and senatorial, 276–77, 355; condition of, under the Principate, 354–62; officials of, 355; subdivision of, by Diocletian, 427; government of, under late Empire, 444–45.
Provincial governors, under the Republic, 147ff.; under the Principate, 202, 355; under late Empire, 445.
Ptolemais, 359.
Ptolemy IV, Philopater, king of Egypt, supplies Rome with grain, 121; death of, 124.
Ptolemy XIV, 232.
Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus), astronomer, 386.
Publicani, tax-farmers, 149–50; equestrians, 158–59; under the Principate, 357.
Publius Clodius, consul, 106.
Pulcheria, regent for Theodosius II, 468.
Punic Wars, the, first, 104–08; second, 111–20; effect of, on Italy, 97–98; third, 120–121.
Pydna, 131.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, 57; in Sicily, 58.

Q. = Quintus.
Quadi, the, 310; defeated by M. Aurelius, 325–26.
Quaestio rerum repetundarum, see Court for recovery of damages.
Quaestorship, the, (1) Roman magistracy, 74; plebeians eligible to, 80; number increased by Sulla, 202; by Julius Caesar, 236; in senatorial career, 267; of late Empire, 446; (2) in the provinces, 149, 355, (3) in municipalities, 363; (4) at court of later Emperors, 444–45.
P. Quinctilius Varus, defeat of, 280–81.
Quinquennales, 363.
Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus), writer, 384.
Quirites, 42.

Raeti, the, 19, 278.
Raetia, Roman province of, 278; abandoned, 467.
Rationalis, secretary of the treasury, 348; superseded by count of the sacred largesses, 446.
Ravenna, naval station, 271, 353; Ostrogothic capital, 476; capture of, by Belisarius, 481.
Recruitment, of legions, territorial, 349; of army under late Empire, 442.
Religion, of early Rome, 96–100; foreign influences in, 99, 166–67; adoption of Greek mythology by Rome, 166; increasing skepticism in, 167–68; in last century of Republic, 255; revival under Augustus, 271ff.; under the Principate, 389ff.; oriental cults, 390ff.; Judaism and Christianity, 393ff., 412ff.; of the Germanic tribes, 476–77.
Res privata, 334, 347–48; of late Empire, 366.
Rex, 39.
Rhegium, 30.
Rhodes, commercial center of Aegean, 124; appeals to Rome against Philip V, 125; joins Rome against Antiochus, 129; territory enlarged, 129; punished by Rome, 132.
Ricimer, master of the soldiers, career of, 466.
Road system, of Italy, improved under C. Gracchus, 179. *See also Via Appia, etc.*
Roma, worship of, 273.
Roman Confederation, 61–63.
Roman foreign policy, 59–60; new field for, 102; in eastern Mediterranean, 125–26, 131–32; from 167–133 B.C., 134.
Romans, the, historic, 38–39; a Latin people, 39; under the Visigoths, 473–75; under the Vandals, 475; under the Ostrogoths, 475–76; under the Burgundians and the Franks, 476.
Romanus, poet, 503.
Rome, the city of, site, 35; origins of, 35; of the Four Regions, 38; Etruscan influence, in Rome, 41–42; alliance with Latin League, 45–47; sacked by Gauls, 49; Servian wall of, 49; wars with Gauls and Etruscans, 55–56; war with Pyrrhus and Tarentum, 57–59; foreign policy in Italy, 59–60; city mob in, 157; change in appearance of, in third and second centuries B.C., 168; administration of, under Augustus, 283–84; devastated by fire, 298; receives title of *sacra*, 331; under the Principate, 371–74; fortification of, 409; ceases to be capital, 426; plundered by Alaric, 460; by Vandals, 462; Belisarius besieged in, 481.
Romulus, 36.
Romulus Augustulus, western emperor, 460.
Rubrian Law, 182.
Rufinus, praetorian prefect, 458, 468.
Rutilius Namatianus, poet, 501.
P. Rutilius Rufus, ex-legate, trial of, 193.

S. = Sextus.
St. Anthony, founds monastic colony, 498.
St. Sophia, building of, 486, 504.
Sabellians, the, 20; expansion of, 52.
Sabines (Sabini), the, 20, 59.
Sacrosanctitas, of tribune, granted to Caesar, 234; to Octavian, 265.

Saducees, the, 302.
Saguntum, allied with Rome, 112; taken by Hannibal, 113; by Romans, 117.
Salassi, the, 278.
C. Sallustius Crispus, historical writer, 259.
Saluvii, conquered by Rome, 184.
Salvius, leader of slave rebellion, 190.
Salvius Julianus, jurist, 322, 385.
Samnites, the, 20; wars of, with Rome, 53–55; Roman allies, 55; confederacy broken up, 58–59; join Tarentum, 57; reconquered, 58.
Saracens, the, invasion of, 506.
Sardinia, location of, 4; geography of, 5; population of, 21; ceded to Rome by Carthage, 108; a Roman province, 147; an imperial, 276.
Sarmatians, 403ff.
Satire, origin of name and form, 164.
Saxons, the, 403; invade Britain, 435, 463–64.
Scaevola, *see* Q. Mucius Scaevola.
Scholarians, the, 441, 442.
Scipio, *see* Cornelius.
Scribonia, wife of Octavian, 246.
Secretaryships, the Imperial, 345.
Sectarianism, of the eastern church, 494; sectarian strife, 494ff.
Secular Games, the, 275.
Seianus (Sejanus), *see* L. Aelius Seianus.
Seleucia, 325, 330.
Sempronia, wife of Scipio Aemilianus, 176.
Sempronian Law, 173.
Ti. Sempronius, consul, in Sicily, 113; defeated at Trebia, 114.
C. Sempronius Gracchus, land commissioner, 174; tribunate and legislation of, 177–82; overthrow, 182; oratory of, 258.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, consul, killed by Hannibal, 116.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, tribune, 173–75.
Senate, the Roman, in regal period, 40; limited to patricians, 43, 66; directs foreign policy, 60, 63; represents wealthy proprietors, 63; supports propertied elements in Italy, 63; of early Republic, 66; appoints promagistrates, 75; plebeians admitted to, 82; revised by Appius Claudius, 82; sends ultimatum to Philip V, 126; supports Greek aristocracies, 131; control of public policy, 142–43; and the Scipios, 143–44; dissolves Bacchanalian associations, 142; failure of foreign policy of, 145; and, provincial government, 148–51; prerogatives attacked by Gracchi, 174ff.; weakened as result of Gracchan disorders, 183; intrigues with Jugurtha, 185–86; alteration proposed by Drusus, 194; veto revived, 198; restoration of power of, by Sulla, 201–02; membership increased, 202; and extraordinary commands, 206, 213; passes "last decree" against Caesar, 230; membership and composition of, altered by Julius Caesar, 236; purged and restored by Augustus, 268; takes over election of magistrates, 289; friction with Vespasian, 304; strained relations with Domitian, 307; loss of powers under Principate, 340–42; friction with Princeps, 341–42; as a court for cases of extortion, 275; loses right to create the emperor, 415; of late Empire, 448–49.
Senatorial order, the, (1) an officeholding aristocracy, 141, 252; under Augustus, 267f. expansion of, 341; burden of public spectacles on, 372; (2) new, of late Empire, 447–48; power and exemptions of, 448, 456. *See also* Senators.
Senators, appointed by consul, 66; by censors, 74; largely ex-magistrates and magistrates, 140ff.; deprived of right to act as judges in trials for extortion, 178; right restored, 202; property qualifications of, under Augustus, 267; freedom from imperial jurisdiction, 314, 315 and *passim;* exclusion of, from military commands, etc., 415; exemption from municipal control, 456; taxes on, 452.
Senatus consultum ultimum, defined, 142, 183; passed against Catiline, 217–18; against Caesar, 230.
Seneca, *see* L. Annaeus Seneca.
Senones, the, 55.
Sentinum, battle of, 55.
P. Septimius Severus, saluted Imperator, 328; wars with rivals, 329–30; principate of, 329–335; reforms civil service, 333, 345–46.
Septimontium, festival of, 38.
Serfdom, under late Empire, 455–56.
L. Sergius Catilina, 216; conspiracy of, 217–18.
Q. Sertorius, governor of Spain, 205–06.
Servilian Law, 191.
Q. Servilius Caepio, consul, recovers Tolosa, tried by Senate, 188.
C. Servilius Glaucia, tribune, 191; praetor, leads populares, 192; killed, 192.
Q. Servilius Rullus, tribune, proposes land bill, 217.
Servius Tullius, 39, 40.
Severus (Flavius Valerius—), Caesar, Augustus, 428.
Severus (Libius—), western emperor, 466.
Severus Alexander (Marcus Aurelius—), adopted by Elagabalus, 337; principate of, 338–39.
Sexagenarii, 346.

Sibylline Books, the, 99.
Sicans, the, 21.
Sicels, the, 21.
Sicily, location of, 4; geography of, 5; population of, 21; Roman possession, 107; province, 147; rebellions of slaves in, 155, 190; misgovernment of Verres in, 210–12.
Signia, 47.
Silkworm, introduction of, into west, 487–88.
Slaves, importation of, 155; rebellions of, in Sicily, 155, 190; revolt of, under Spartacus, 208–09; decrease of, under the Principate, 373; admitted to army, 442.
Slavs, invasions of, 483, 505.
Society, of early Rome, Chap. VII; of the third and second centuries B.C., 152–160; of the last century of the Republic, 252ff.; of the Principate, 371ff.; of the late Empire, 449ff.
Socii, federate allies, 63, 97, 145–47.
Socii Italici, *see* Italian allies.
Socii navales, 63.
Sosigenes, astronomer, 236.
Spain, coast of, controlled by Carthage, 102; Carthaginian expansion, 111–12; invaded by Romans, 117–18; Romans conquer Carthaginian territory in, 118; divided into provinces of Hither and Farther, 133; revolts in, 133; Latin colonies in, 133; further wars in, 134–35; revolts in, 191; Sertorian rebellion, 205–06; Caesar reduces Pompeians in, 231–38; Latin right extended to communities of, 358; occupied by Vandals, 461–62; Justinian's intervention in, 482.
Sparta, appeals to Rome against Achaians, 130; hostilities with Achaians, 137; Roman ally, 138.
Spartacus, rebellion of, 208–09.
Spectacles, lavishness of, under the Principate, 371–72.
Spurius Cassius, 77.
Spurius Maelius, 77.
Stilicho, master of the soldiers, 458ff.
Stipendium, *see* Taxes.
Stoicism, in Rome, 168, 256, 393.
Stone Age, the new, 10–12; the old, 8–9.
Suetonius (C. Suetonius Tranquillus), historical writer and biographer, 384–85.
Suevi, the, in Gaul, 223–24; invade Spain with Vandals, 461–62.
Sugambri, the, 279.
Sulla, *see* L. Cornelius Sulla.
Sulpician laws, the, 198, 199.
P. Sulpicius Rufus, tribune, legislation and reign of terror, 198.
S. Sulpicius Rufus, legal writer, 260.
Sun-God, worship of, introduced into Rome, 337, 392, 410.
Survey of Empire, 276.
Sutrium, 50.
Symmachus (Quintus Aurelius–), writings of, 500.
Syphax, Numidian chief, 119.
Syracuse, tyrants of, 29–30; kingdom of, 102; wars with Mamertini, 104; alliance with Rome, 105; goes over to Carthage, 116; taken by Romans, 116.
Syria, Seleucid kingdom of, 123; conquered by Tigranes, 207; made Roman province, 214; Crassus in, 226–27; an imperial province, 264.
Syrians, traders, 375.

T. = Titus.
Tacitus (Marcus Claudius–), princeps, 411.
Tacitus (P. Cornelius–), historical writer, 263, 384.
Tarentum, 28, 56; wars with Italians, 56; with Rome, 57–58; Roman ally, 58; occupied by Hannibal, 116; recovered by Rome, 118; treaty of, between Antony and Octavian, 247.
Tarquinius, (L. Tarquinius Priseus), 39; (L. Tarquinius Superbus), 39–40.
Tartessus, 111.
Taxation, burden of, 365ff.; system of, under late Empire, 451–52.
Taxes, (1) affecting Roman citizens, *tributum*, 77; tax of 5% on emancipated slaves, 121, 357; inheritance tax, 271, 357; tax on sales, 271; of late Empire, 357; tax system, 451–53; (2) provincial, *decuma*, 149; *stipendium*, 149, 357; direct collection of, 357; *tributa*, 356; *vectigalia*, 356; (3) special, of Second Triumvirate, 245; head-tax on Jews, 303; of late Empire, 451–52.
Telamon, 110.
Tercenarii, 346.
Terence (P. Terentius Afer), dramatic poet, 163.
C. Terentius Varro, consul, at Cannae, 115.
M. Terentius Varro, writer and antiquarian, 259.
Terramara, *Terremare*, 15f.
Terremare Settlements, 15–16.
Tertullian (Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus), Christian writer, 385.
Tetricus, emperor, in Gaul, 406, 410.
Teutoberg Forest, Roman disaster in the, 281.
Teutons, the, *see* Cimbri and Teutons.
Thapsus, battle of, 283.
Theodora, empress, 483ff.
Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, invades Italy, 467; conflict with Zeno, 470; re-

ceives imperial symbols, 475; conflict with Orthodoxy, 476–77; foreign policy of, 477–78.
Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, 461.
Theodoric, "the Squinter," conflict with Zeno, 470.
Theodosian code, the, 469.
Theodosius I, the Great, co-emperor, 436–38; conflict with Ambrose, 437; suppression of paganism by, 490–91.
Theodosius II, eastern emperor, 468–69.
Theodosius, general of Valentinian I, 435.
Thrace, client kingdom, 280; Roman province, 295.
Thurii, 30, 56, 57, 116.
Ti. = Tiberius.
Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero), stepson of Augustus, campaigns of, 278ff.; designated successor of Augustus, 285, 286; principate of, 288–92; estimate of, 247, 292.
Tiberius Gemellus, grandson of Tiberius Caesar, 292.
Tibullus (Albius–), poet, 383.
Tibur, 62.
Ticinus, battle of the, 114.
Tigellinus, Ofonius, praetorian prefect, 297.
Tigranes, king of Armenia, 207–08; ally of Rome, 214.
Tigurini, the, Gallic tribe, 188, 190.
Timesitheus, praetorian prefect, 405.
Tiridates, king of Armenia, Roman vassal, 298.
Titus (Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus), besieges and destroys Jerusalem, 305; principate of, 306.
Tombe, a pozzo, 18; *a fossa*, 18.
Totila, leader of the Ostrogoths, 481–82.
Toulouse (Tolosa), Gothic capital at, 475.
Trade guilds, *see* Colleges.
Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus), adopted by Nerva, 314; principate of, 315–19; column of, 316; attitude toward the Christians, 397.
Trasimene Lake, 114.
Trebia, 114.
Trebonian, jurist, 485.
Trebonian law (*lex Trebonia*), the, 225.
C. Trebonius, tribune, 225.
Treviri, the, 225; rebellion of, 301.
Tribes, the Roman, 40–41, 68; voting units in Tribal Assembly, 79; final number of, 139; enrollment of Italians in, 196.
Tribunate, the, (1) military, with consular powers, 73, 80–81; first plebeian elected to, 80; (2) military, in legions, 84; in senatorial career, 268; in equestrian career, 269; (3) plebeian, origin and character of, 77; increased to ten members, 79; effect of Hortensian law on, 85; interference of, with levy, 135; controlled by Senate, 142; Ti. Gracchus attempts reelection to, 175; of C. Gracchus, 177ff.; weakened by reforms of Sulla, 201–02; privileges restored, 210; disappearance of, 340.
Tribunes, military, with consular power, 73; legionary officers, 73.
Tribuni aerarii, share in jury service, 210; removed, 236.
Tribunicia potestas, granted to Julius Caesar, 234; to Augustus, 265.
Tributum, property tax, levied on Roman citizens, 77; burden of, on plebeians, 77; ceases to be levied, 132; *capitis*, 356; *soli*, 356.
Triumvirate, (1) the First, 219; (2) the Second (43 B.C.), 244ff.; renewed, 249; terminated, 249–50.
Triumviri agris iudicandis assignandis, the Gracchan land commission, 173, 175.
Triumviri rei publicae constituendae, *see* Triumvirate, (2) the Second.
M. Tullius Cicero, aedile, prosecution of Verres, 210–11; praetor, supports Manilian law, 213; consul, 216; thwarts Catiline's conspiracy, 217–18; banished, 222; returns, 224; hostility to Antony, 243; death, 245; oratory and writings of, 258–59.
Tusculum, 47.
Twelve Tables, Law of the, 78–79, 92.

Ulpian (Domitius Ulpianus), jurist, 338, 386.
Umbri, the, location of, 20; Roman allies, 54.
Umbro-Sabellians, the, 20.
Urban cohorts, the, *see Cohortes*.

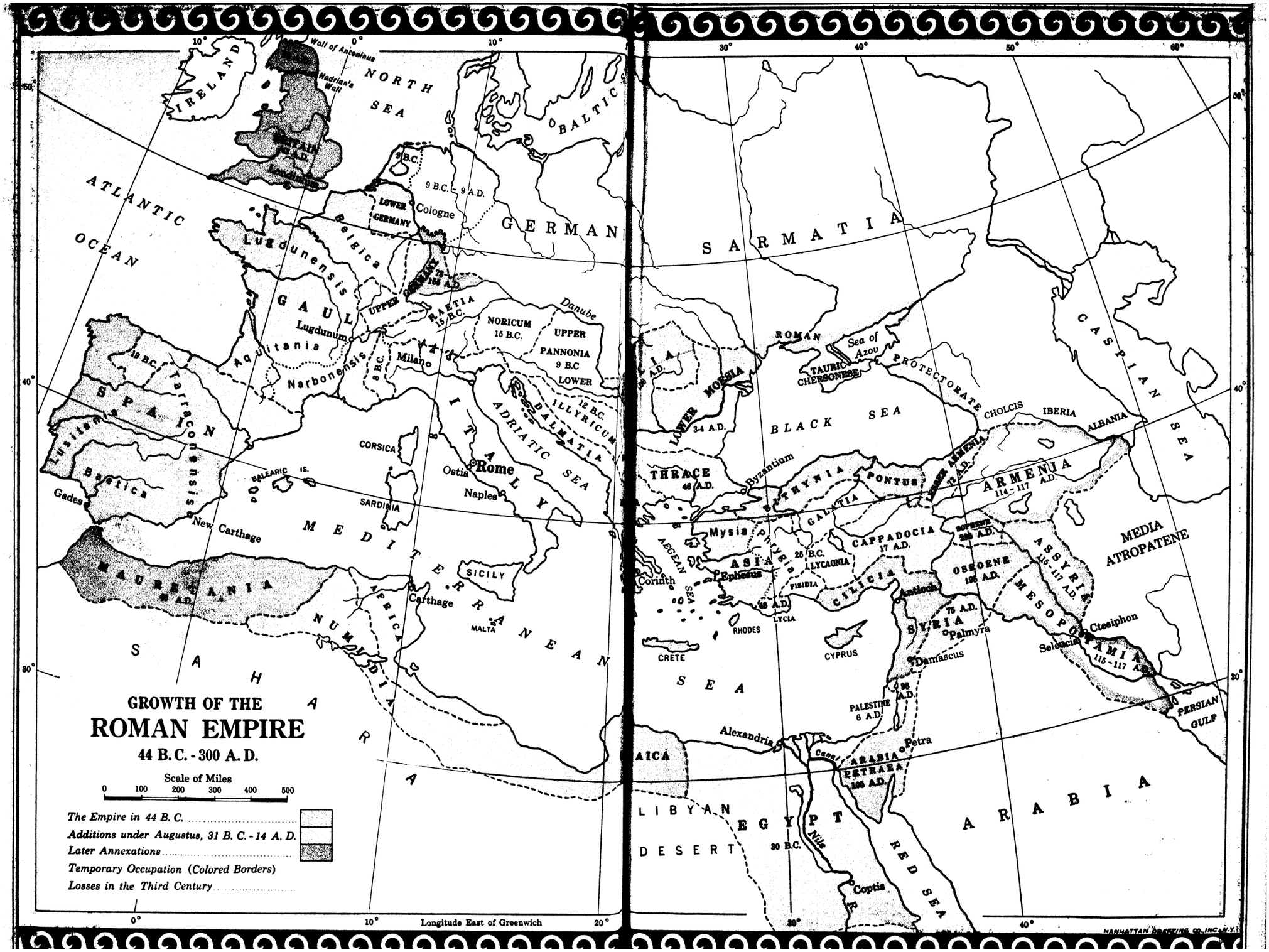
Vaballathus, king of Palmyra, 407–08, 409.
Vadimonian Lake, battle at the, 56.
Valens (Flavius–), co-emperor, 435–36.
Valentinian I (Flavius Valentinianus), emperor, 435.
Valentinian II (Flavius Valentinianus), co-emperor, 435–37.
Valentinian III (Flavius Valentinianus), western emperor, 464–66.
Valerian (Publius Licinius Valerianus), principate and campaigns of, 405; persecution of the Christians, 413–14.
Valerian Law, on appeals, 83.
L. Valerius Flaccus, consul, in Mithradatic war, 198–199.
Vandals, the, invade Gaul and Spain, 461–62; kingdom of, in Africa, 462, 475; relations between Romans and, 475, 476; conquered by Eastern Empire, 479–80.

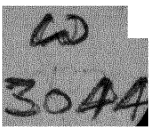
Varro, *see* C. Terentius Varro, *and* M. Terentius Varro.
Vatinian law (*lex Vatinia*), the, 221.
Veii, capture of, 47–48.
Veneti, the, (1) of Italy, 19, 49; Roman allies, 110; (2) of Gaul, 224.
Vercellae, Marius destroys the Cimbri near, 190.
Vercingetorix, rebellion of, 226.
C. Verres, ex-propraetor of Sicily, trial of, 210–11.
Verus (Lucius Aurelius—), principate of, 324–27.
Vespasian (Titus Flavius Vespasianus), proclaimed Imperator, 300; principate of, 301–06; campaign against the Jews, 303.
Vestini, the, 20.
Vesuvius, eruption of, 306.
Vetranio, emperor, 432.
Via Aemilia, 133.
Appia, 54, 82;
Cassia, 133;
Flaminia, 133.
Vicars (*vicarii*), governors of dioceses, 427, 445.
Vigiles, 283.
Viginti-virate, in senatorial career, 267.
Villa, change in meaning of word, 252.
Villanova culture, 17–18.
Villian Law (*lex Villia annalis*), the, 144.
Vindelici, the, 278.
Vindex, *see* Julius Vindex.
Vindobona, legionary camp, 305.
Vindonissa, 279.
M. Vipsanius Agrippa, general of Octavian, 247ff.; conducts survey of empire, 276, in Spain, 278; as successor to Augustus, 285.
Virgil (P. Virgilius Maro), poet, 246, 383.
Viriathus, Spanish chief, at war with Rome, 135.
Visigoths (West Goths), in Roman Empire, 435–36; the, migrations of, under Alaric and Ataulf, 459–60; kingdom of, in Gaul, 461, 473–74; treatment of Roman subjects, 474–75; religion of, 476.
Vitalian, master of the soldiers, 471–72, 478.
Vitellius (Aulus—), principate of, 300–301.
Vologases I, king of the Parthians, war with Rome, 298.
Vologases III, king of the Parthians, 324.
Vologases IV, king of the Parthians, 330.
Vologases V, king of the Parthians, 336.
Volsci, the, 20; wars with Rome, 47, 50, 51.

Wallia, leader of the Visigoths, 460.
Wars of the Legions, (1) First, 299–301; (2) Second, 328–30.
Women, position of, in Rome, 89, 253; in *collegia*, 364.

Xantippus, 106.

Zama, 119–20.
Zealots, the, in Judaea, 302.
Zeno, master of the soldiers, 470; eastern emperor, 470–71.
Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, 407–08, 409.


GROWTH OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
44 B.C. - 300 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
The Empire in 44 B.C.
Additions under Augustus, 31 B.C. - 14 A.D.
Later Annexations
Temporary Occupation (Colored Borders)
Losses in the Third Century
Longitude East of Greenwich
IRELAND
BRITAIN 43 A.D.
Wall of Antoninus
Hadrian's Wall
NORTH SEA
BALTIC
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMANIA
SARMATIA
LOWER GERMANY
Cologne
9 B.C.
9 B.C. - 9 A.D.
Belgica
Lugdunensis
GAUL
Lugdunum
Aquitania
Narbonensis
UPPER
RAETIA 15 B.C.
NORICUM 15 B.C.
UPPER PANNONIA 9 B.C.
LOWER
Danube
Milano
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
ILLYRICUM 12 B.C.
SPAIN
Lusitania
Baetica
Tarraconensis
Gades
CORSICA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Ostia
Rome
Naples
New Carthage
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
MAURETANIA
Carthage
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
MALTA
SAHARA
ROMAN PROTECTORATE
Sea of Azov
TAURIC CHERSONESE
LOWER MOESIA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
CHOLCIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
THRACE 46 A.D.
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
LESSER ARMENIA 72 A.D.
ARMENIA 114 - 117 A.D.
GALATIA
Mysia
Phrygia
CAPPADOCIA 17 A.D.
SOPHENE 298 A.D.
ASIA
25 B.C.
LYCAONIA
AEGEAN SEA
Corinth
Ephesus
PISIDIA
OSROENE 195 A.D.
ASSYRIA 115 - 117 A.D.
MEDIA ATROPATENE
CILICIA
Antioch
46 A.D.
LYCIA
75 A.D.
SYRIA
Palmyra
MESOPOTAMIA 115 - 117 A.D.
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Damascus
SEA
PALESTINE 6 A.D.
106 A.D.
PERSIAN GULF
Alexandria
Canal
ARABIA PETRAEA 105 A.D.
Petra
ARABIA
LIBYAN DESERT
EGYPT
30 B.C.
Nile
Coptis
RED SEA
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., INC., N.Y.


LD
3044